

SURVEY GRAPHIC

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The material in this index is arranged under authors and subjects and in a few cases under titles. Anonymous articles and paragraphs are entered under their subjects. The precise wording of titles has not been retained where abbreviation or paraphrase has seemed more desirable.



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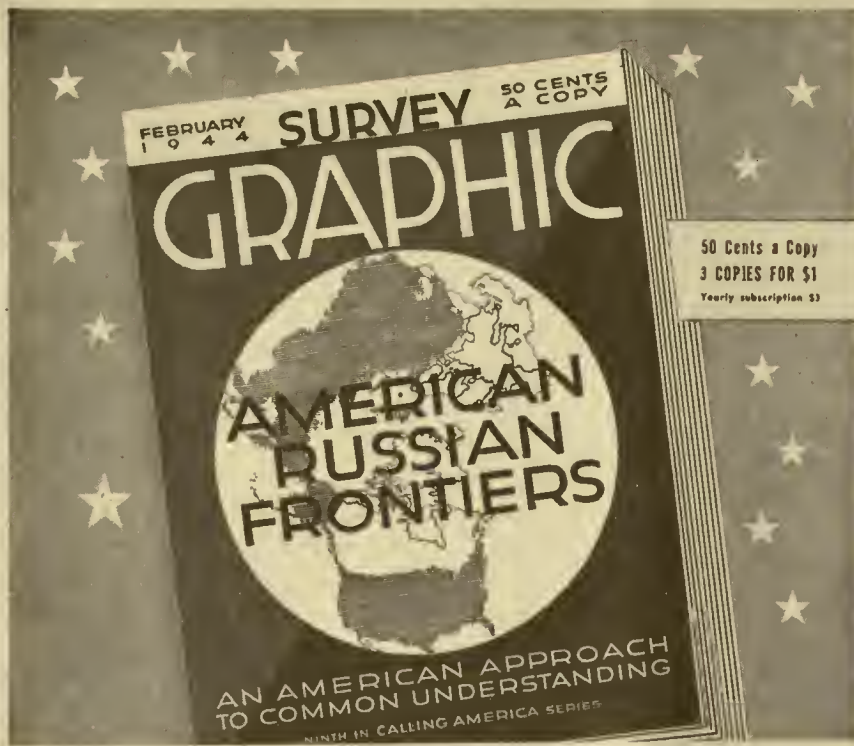
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AMONG OURSELVES

"A LAYMAN'S PROGRAM FOR PEACE." Samuel S. Fels of Philadelphia has done it again. Readers of our "Calling America" special issue last spring will recall his article "Earn, Spend, and Develop More Work." There he canvassed long run plans on how to get full employment and keep it going. His trenchant thinking as a manufacturer in that instance is matched in the play of his mind as a citizen in the magazine section of *The New York Times* for November 11. There he offers "10 safeguards which would go a long way to rid the world of war." Again, his analysis is marked by keen observation and originality in minting practical measures that he would have us unlimber while the war is on. Reprints can be had by addressing *Survey Graphic*.

FOUR DECADES AT PENN SCHOOL. When in 1930, Yale University Press brought out "School Acres" by Rossa B. Cooley, it reincarnated a series of articles in *Survey Graphic* which, with radiant in-

sight, interpreted the drama of one of the most creative demonstrations in community education in the United States. This was by the principal of Penn School on St. Helena Island off the coast of Beaufort, South Carolina; and the same sequence was true of her earlier book, "Homes of the Freed" (*The New Republic* press). Meanwhile Grace Bigelow House, associate principal, had caught the island life in inimitable short stories.

Penn School had its inception in the '60s when Union forces occupied the coastal islands, and forty years later its founders turned it over to two young Hampton teachers. Miss Cooley and Miss House have pioneered in ever fresh ways, and now, again after a forty-year span, are handing its administration over to Howard and Alice Kester. Their successors are themselves from the South, active in the cause of education and opportunity among sharecroppers and other underprivileged folk, Negro and white. The occasion comes on January 8, with Dr. Jackson Davis of the General Education Board as speaker at the inauguration.

IN HER COLUMN "MY DAY", MRS. ROOSEVELT shared her adventures on her trip to the war zones in the Southern Pacific. There followed her report to the American Red Cross, charged with insight and edge, and she is today writing a brace of articles for a leading woman's magazine. Here (page 5), she pauses to contribute a foreword to...

Helen Hall's lively interpretation of her own earlier work as director of service clubs and leave areas in the South and Southwest Pacific (page 6) on leave of absence from Henry Street Settlement in New York City. To this assignment Miss Hall brought experience as director of ARC activities in base hospitals at Chateauroux and Solmes, France, in World War I; and organizer of service clubs, U. S. War Department, in China and the Philippines, 1920-22. In private life she is Mrs. Paul Kellogg.

TRAINED UNDER JOHN R. COMMONS AT THE University of Wisconsin, Arthur J. Altmeyer has been in Washington for a decade—with NRA; as second assistant Secretary of Labor; head of the technical board of the President's Committee on Economic Security; member and now chairman of the Social Security Board. Page 13.

JOHN J. CORSON, who tells (page 16) what was discovered in a nationwide study of retired workers and how they live, administers this country's old age insurance program. *Survey Graphic* readers will recall his September article on social security in Mexico.

A FORCEFUL ADVOCATE OF PUBLIC HOUSING years before there was federal housing legislation, Dorothy Rosenman (Mrs. Samuel I. Rosenman) is the active chairman of the National Committee on Housing, Inc. She was one of the founders of the Citizens Housing Council of New York. Page 20.

BORN IN SPAIN, JUAN VICENS HELPED ESTABLISH popular libraries in Spanish villages before coming to Mexico to take part in a similar development in the Federal District. He has written widely on library service and on adult education. Page 23.

Excuse It, Please

A POEM PUBLISHED IN THE DECEMBER ISSUE, "This Will Be the Land," expressed so vividly, in Basic English, the release from fear felt by the recent emigré from fascist-dominated Europe, that we leaped to the conclusion it was written by a newcomer to the United States. And said so. This greatly surprised the author, Jock Rantz, who was born in Philadelphia and is a Harvard graduate. Mr. Rantz has been teaching Basic English for some years.



Red Cross photo by Poague

BEHIND THE FRONT IN NEW GUINEA

The first Red Cross service club in New Guinea was set up in a huge grass hut. Here are servicemen, ARC women workers, and their two Papuan assistants.

SURVEY GRAPHIC

MAGAZINE OF SOCIAL INTERPRETATION

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New Stepping Stones in the Pacific

A Foreword by ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

The quintessence of Mrs. Roosevelt's own discoveries in her days in the South Seas last summer on invitation of the American Red Cross.

IN THE YEARS THAT ARE AHEAD OF US, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT, for the people of the United States, the Pacific basin may be of even greater interest than the Mediterranean. The contacts established with New Zealand and Australia and the various islands, during this war, may be the stepping stones into fields of future cooperation which are as yet untouched.

The story that follows by Helen Hall, of the opening there of American Red Cross service clubs and rest homes, is of great interest to anyone of us who understands the needs of the boys in our armed services, many of whom are far away for the first time in their lives. To find a Red Cross club with American men and women in charge is a little like finding a bit of home.

THE AUSTRALIANS AND NEW ZEALANDERS HAVE DONE WONDERS toward this future cooperation and many an American boy will remember the households where he has been made so warmly welcome. Many a boy will have a better understanding of the natives on the islands, because he or a wounded buddy may have been carried gently down from the line of battle to the nearest base hospital by the Fuzzy-Wuzzies of New Guinea, or he may have been fed and hidden from the Japanese on some island after drifting around in the ocean for days.

The memory of kindness will lead to a better understanding of what should be done for native populations. They may have been exploited in the past; the way for development is now open.

Since the Cairo conference we know that Japan is not to be a dominating factor in the Pacific. If this is so, the Chinese and other such nations as have interests in that area, must see to it that better health conditions and opportunities for self-development come to its many peoples. We, of the United States, who have seen what our course in the Philippines has brought us in the way of loyal

brothers-in-arms among the Filipinos, should be able to help in such a policy of development for the island populations of the Eastern Hemisphere.

The American Red Cross, on these islands and in New Zealand and Australia, has had a unique opportunity to pioneer. It has done wonderful things for our own men and the fact that its clubs have been open, not only to them, but to the servicemen of the United Nations, means that they have played a part in drawing people together who in the future must work with each other in peace as they have worked together in war.

As we move our armed forces forward, the ARC moves with them, and our responsibilities will grow greater among the native populations. The Red Cross definition of responsibility has never been a narrow one and I have an idea that this war is going to broaden our concept of what Red Cross services should mean in peacetime to some of the less well developed areas of the world. I think the influence of women will have a great deal to do with our new concept.

WHEN I WAS IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC, I WAS STRUCK BY the quality of the women serving in the field, sometimes as area supervisors or directors of clubs; and sometimes, when a man is director, as able assistants. We certainly have been able to bring to the Red Cross services overseas some of our most able and attractive women. All of them have learned to meet unusual situations and cope with them, even though they may have had moments when they wondered just what was going to be the outcome of their predicaments.

Each new success brings greater confidence; and be it said not only does it bring them greater confidence, but it also brings to the army and navy officers a sense that they can trust these women to take on a real share of the burdens of war.

Red Cross Under the Southern Cross

by HELEN HALL

Army bombers and navy seaplanes lent their wings. Pilots, marines, and bushy haired Papuans; generals, governors general, consuls general; played their parts along with admirals and adopted families, with social workers and servicemen of every stripe. So, too, an all-American boxer, a woman tennis champion, a Greek ice-cream maker—all manner of Australians, New Zealanders, Free French, Americans—as service clubs and rest homes spread north to the battle areas.

IN THE WORDS OF THE OLD CAROL, "CHRISTMAS COMES BUT once a year." But this winter, as last, tens of thousands of American families whose sons are soldiers or sailors, marines, airmen, must have made the discovery that it really comes twice. That sixteenth century axiom does not hold if it runs, for example, to the South and Southwest Pacific. Christmas falls in midsummer in New Guinea and we celebrated it there last year in a huge grass hut the day before it came at home. All because the earth tilts a bit and spins in its path around the sun.

At army headquarters on the mainland, General Douglas MacArthur had forecast early in November that within six weeks the Australians and Americans would have pushed the Japanese back far enough across the Stanley Range for me to bring women into New Guinea to start American Red Cross service clubs—women, he specified, "who would do group work—not soloists." No, it was not his intention to disparage those who do "casework." Rather, he spoke from the book of experience and was gun-shy of feminine recruits out to star in theaters of war. But in my first talk with him, as afterward, he proved himself a convinced backer of the responsible, outgiving parts women can play close in to the fighting.

My hope was that we could get something going by the holidays. In the interval, General MacArthur himself had gone to Port Moresby, the landing stage for the New Guinea operations. Less than two weeks before Christmas, I took off to report and see if he were ready for us.

OUR SEAPLANE ALIGHTED IN A TROPICAL DOWNPOUR, AN OPEN boat ferried us to the dock, and I climbed out soggy and dripping. My companion was a Red Cross medical social service worker assigned to a hospital. There was a telephone in a small shed and a startled voice at the other end of the line switched nervously from "Yes, sir" to "Yes, ma'am," and then back again to "sir," in the conviction that a woman's voice *must* have been a mistake. In my early months in the Southwest Pacific I often met this sort of surprise and incredulity. Once I was able to prove I wasn't a trick of the eye or ear, the welcome was always heartwarming enough to make up for rugged traveling.

Army nurses had preceded us to Moresby and would afford shelter. That evening two Red Cross men drove us over, cautiously, by a rocky, roundabout way through the hills, some miles longer than the shore road. Their concern, it proved, was to protect womankind from passing even in the dark any *un*-uniformed forces—stripped for a cool swim. We reached our destination about nine

o'clock and were given a charming welcome by a head nurse with sparkling eyes who made things look easy as she put at our disposal such comforts as were available in New Guinea at the time. In my case, these consisted of a khaki tent shared with two nurses, a bed with a khaki mosquito bar, a khaki coverall to slide into quickly in case of an air raid, a helmet and—what I needed most of all—a "bully beef" sandwich. My recollection is of a big hunk of bread and canned meat which could scarcely have been called tasty, yet I shall never forget how glad I was to get it.

We were put to bed soon after. I was about to sink in with gratitude under my netting, when an alert sounded. Every light went off. It had seemed strange, after the browned-out night cities of Australia, to get comparatively near the front and find it brightly lighted. There was no blackout in the Moresby area such as we practiced in New York. A single switch, I was told, put every bulb out of commission at once. With the steel helmet wobbling on my head, I took the friendly hand of a nurse who piloted me to a slit trench in front of our tent. Other nurses joined us there and we sat in the wet in our coveralls, feet dangling in the trench, as we fought the mosquitos together. As the real attack got nearer, the ack-ack made Fourth of July of the southern sky, hunting for Nip planes. We had watched the searchlights disclose these like reluctant flies before I was dragged into the trench. This was my first raid, I was keyed up, and hated to be hauled down under the sandbags.

It must have been two hours before the "all clear" sounded and I could crawl back under my mosquito bar and take on the night's business again. An hour later came another alert and this time it brought no sense of adventure. I had seen an air raid and did not feel the need of another that night. As I staggered to the trench again, the thought came over me how much more devastating fatigue must be than danger to men and women who have had to do this sort of thing months on end.

A Service Club Under Thatch

THE ARMY MAIL CARRIED ME INTO PORT MORESBY AFTER breakfast. General MacArthur's timetable had worked and I was to bring over two Red Cross women at once and open our first service club on the island. But first, accommodations had to be found for it and that in a district overwhelmed by the military. Lieutenant General George C. Kenney, head of the Australian and American Air Forces in the Southwest Pacific, took me on his rounds.

The only place not preempted was the huge grass hut, eighty feet long by thirty-two wide, handiwork of an army sergeant who had built it for a mess hall. He had tried to improve on native craftsmanship but, alas, the roof was not steep enough to shed the rain. His failure gave our club work its first foothold in New Guinea.

Now, the great advantage of a grass hut in the tropics is that it is one of the coolest forms of architecture ever devised. Its great disadvantage is that it cannot easily be screened. As a result, two schools of thought had developed on the island, dividing on the issue of bugs *vs.* heat. General Kenney was of the corrugated iron or tin roof school, but that day thatch and bugs won. The hut was all there was to be had and as much a refuge from the tropical sun as the Nepa shacks I had known in the Philippines in the Twenties.

Early the next morning, I flew back to Australia and four days before Christmas we had travel orders to return. The companions I had picked for this foray into a man's war were Leota Kelly, a beguiling executive, regional supervisor in the days of the WPA, and Helen Schoeni who for two years had directed our Henry Street Playhouse in New York. We set off with a special allowance of six hundred pounds of luggage between us. By great good luck we had procured the only purchasable amplifying system in northern Australia, but this engrossed much of our precious quota of weight. Then there were musical instruments, games and magazines, songs, play scripts, Christmas decorations, and other things that seemed essential to get going. We knew only too well that what went *with* you, you had; what didn't, some day you *might* have.



HELEN HALL

Blackstone

As director of ARC service clubs and rest homes in the South and Southwest Pacific

Our hopes that the plane might be traveling light were dashed at the airport where there was strict counting of pounds, and in choosing what to take, we envied Solomon's ingenuity with that baby. Some of the packages that we had to leave behind were to show up later, carried by soldiers or officers whose sympathy for our predicament had been enlisted.

Christmas Against Odds

THERE WERE LESS THAN THREE DAYS LEFT AFTER WE LANDED to get up our Christmas party. To help us we were assigned a soldier and, also, two natives with wonderful headdresses and very little else. A bright red sarong around the one named "Somewally" and the bright blue shorts sported by "Decanter" were in brilliant contrast to their shiny dark skins. They were practically presented to us by the corporal who brought them, with "You do what the ladies say." Speaking loudly to make up for the difference in language, he added, "And wash much." They looked pleased, but speculative. We were a rarity and hoped they would consider it an honor to be with us rather than a step down from the masculine world. We need not have worried, for the next day when the silver tinsel was unpacked for Christmas decorations it was only a short while before our boys were adorned with it head and foot—a bow round the ankle and much wound about the head.—Primitive, yes, but their kind have counted courageously in military operations and in saving lives throughout the entire New Guinea campaign.

Outfits for miles around soon turned out to help open up for the occasion. Miss Schoeni was busy "scaring up talent" for an impromptu show. Some gathered small palm trees and decorated them with tinsel. Others improvised much of our equipment—benches from boards and packing cases, even a ping-pong table. One missing package was our bundle of magazines, so we made a start with three *New Yorkers* from my personal belongings, spreading them out to look as much like a library as possible. A platform, electric lights, and a piano all came bumping up to our door—or to the opening where a door would have been. These were soon in place with ease, good temper, and humor. At home, men usually look pretty grim about moving a piano, but in the army it is a matter for jokes and a good deal of good humored personal slander directed at each other as they push and pull.

Christmas night we were ready when our audience spread themselves out on the hillside facing the platform we had placed in front of the club. Lights were strung so that a civilian orchestra brought over from the mainland could see their scores. Unfortunately the lights also lit up the orchestra perfectly for the mosquitoes and its members played between angry slaps and scratches.

To climax things, an alert sounded, that switch was turned off again, and we were in sudden darkness. The music stopped short—but almost as swiftly resumed. I climbed on the platform with a flashlight to find that our civilian talent had made for a slit trench and in their place was a wholly new band. Eager musicians from among the soldiers had scuttled down from the hillside and sprung to the instruments. Seemingly without losing a beat, there they were in the dark, carrying on as lively as you please.

Next came a downpour of rain and it took the fear of spoiling the strings to stop our volunteers long enough for the piano to be heaved inside to the one dry spot in

the exact center of the hut. Then we started up once more indoors and in the dark, until the all-clear sounded and lights went on to the tune of Christmas carols.

Women in the War Area

THE SURPRISE OF HAVING WOMEN RUNNING A SERVICE CLUB in New Guinea kept up for some time. The news spread and at any moment we might catch sight of boys in a jeep driving under the grass caves and peering in. They greeted us with, "Hello! Someone said there were ladies over here but we didn't believe them, so we thought we would just come and see." Or, "Just go on talking. We don't care what you say! We like to hear an American woman's voice." They bore out General MacArthur's conviction that the presence of Red Cross women contributed to morale in its assurance that security had been established back of the front.

Our grass hut itself fell victim neither to bombs nor bugs but to a very modern fire. The quickness with which the contents were salvaged testified to what the club had meant to the men who used it. A letter from Miss Schoeni told me the story:

Last night at 8:20 the shack burnt to the ground. No one was hurt and practically all equipment saved. . . . Most of the boys were out on the hillside waiting to see the movie. I had asked a writer to come over to talk with me about collaboration on a script for a show. The lights went off and as I stepped out to see why, the electric wires began to snap and sparkle and then flames shot up and scattered over the ceiling of the little office.

Leota and I dashed out and called "Fire!" Before you could say Jack Robinson, the men had rushed in and rescued the new piano. I remember yanking the Red Cross banner down and picking up the loud speaker and records. The boys kicked out the side of the shack and crashed through with all the tables. Others made a sort of bucket brigade and passed thirty or more boxes of supplies and our refrigerator down the hill. The entire place was stripped before the flames leaped up through the roof with a roar. . . .

The outdoor movie started up as the roof fell in with a crash. . . . The assistants went back to sit down . . . and I picked up my talk as to the "future" with that writer. Once the movie was over, we asked the boys sitting on the chairs to carry them to the kitchen for storage and got a group to hoist the piano on a truck to take to the new mess hall for the evening show. . . .

A MUCH MORE DURABLE AND STYLISH AFFAIR, BUILT BY THE army, was to take the place of the grass hut. Sometime before the fire, we had opened our second stage of operations in New Guinea in a circus tent which lived up to its name with a spread of 140 feet. Here movies could be given with comfort in the rainy season; and here Big Top Shows led off with an adaptation—"Hellzapapuan."

Those of us brought up in the last war cherish memories of the hot chocolate we were able to give out in the cold French winter. In contrast, here in New Guinea, we had to adjust our ways to a fight for refrigeration and be grateful in the early days if we dispensed even mildly cool drinks. Strangely enough, the old American doughnut is still sought after and we are producing it in some of our hottest climates, but hand in hand with fruit juice instead of chocolate.

One of the hardest things that anyone doing this sort of remote wartime work has to face is waiting for supplies essential to the job. What made it easier for our Red Cross workers were the unremitting efforts of men in the

service, from generals to privates, to figure out ways for us to get ahead with what they themselves could spare. In these northern operations everyone was tired, hot and driven. The army's ingenuity was taxed to its utmost by its fabulous exploit in vaulting the Stanley Range, getting scouts, landing parties, fighters, food, munitions, guns, tanks, field hospitals, across by transport planes to the coastal battlegrounds above Buna. That was their prime job, but there never was a time when some of their ingenuity did not spill over to help take the edge off our own impatience to render good service.

Sydney—by Way of Contrast

IF CHRISTMAS NUDGED RED CROSS ELBOWS UNDER THE primitive conditions of a battle area, our American Thanksgiving played a similar role earlier in the fall in opening service clubs in Australia and New Zealand. Sydney, for example, is a modern city the size of Los Angeles, its beautiful harbor rimmed with beaches. Here, the ARC took over a five-story building belonging to a rugby sports club.

We had scarcely three weeks in which to make the transformation—to install kitchens, dormitories, recreation rooms, and all that these involved in refrigerators, stoves, crockery, beds, showers, and repartitioning. When I asked the Australian contractor, "Could we make it?" he pointed out that his working force was either too old to hurry, or too young to be expert, and that they had been under pressure for three years. However, they turned to, worked night and day—and finished things for us on time.

On time meant, first of all, a preliminary inspection by the governor general of the Province, with an Old World touch in the stiff etiquette no less than the graciousness. Lord and Lady Wakehurst were accompanied in their private view by Consul General and Mrs. Palmer. Next came a reception and official opening by Major General R. J. Marshall, then head of the U. S. Service of Supply in Australia. This gathered in "the beauty and the chivalry" of what had become a great military center for both Australian commonwealth and American republic.

Then came the real housewarming—our Red Cross dance for servicemen, American and Australian alike—with, as hostesses, an active committee of Sydney women under Mrs. Palmer's chairmanship. Charles Lloyd Jones, a leading merchant, had generously sent in his decorators. No Yankees with the fruits of a New England harvest could have made ballroom and stage more alive with the spirit and color of Thanksgiving.

All this was typical of the cooperation we found on every hand and in every walk of life. Thus, Australian talent put on a Sunday night stage show which helped pass an otherwise difficult evening, for Sydney is like Philadelphia in its Sunday quiet. Along with special events, dances with girls provided by a committee of Australian women, dances with their own dates who had been introduced to the hostesses, gave gaiety to the general run of the week.

This service center came to be called "The Club with Flowers," for Sydney is blessed with gardens and we were blessed from the start with a flower committee of Australian women who have given generously from the bounty. Its chairman came to us every day to arrange the flowers and the result was a joy to even the least observing. I felt sure that Lady Smith's constant interest was catch-

ing, from the comments of the soldiers who trailed after her admiring the fresh clusters and comparing them with home grown varieties they knew. However, as the chairman has a very winning way, it is possible that their interest might not have been entirely horticultural. Anyway, the two interests made an engaging combination which has had counterpart in other clubs throughout Australia.

Along Our Assembly Line

ONE OF OUR EARLIEST CITY OPERATIONS HAD BEEN STARTED in a Brisbane women's club. Soon after my coming this proved too small and we rapidly took over space hitherto occupied by an automobile showroom, a photographer's studio, and endless small shops. All had to be incorporated while we went on supplying 2,500 meals a day. We always seemed to be serving food over the heads of carpenters and plumbers as they darted in and out of an expanding kitchen. For once a club starts, it cannot stop.

When the bathroom leaks these days, here in the United States, we often feel that we call for help from members of a fast vanishing vocation. There, in Australia, we were urgently bidding for skill in a population of seven million people (just the population of New York City) scattered over a whole continent—people who have been at war for over three years and given of their best. This will afford some idea of what it meant for the ARC to transform in ten months fifty-six buildings (including rest homes and annexes to the first clubs) into attractive places for eating, sleeping, and recreation. While skilled workmen were scarce, so also were cooks and managers and food buyers. Our Red Cross staff from home has had to do a double job in teaching American ways while they trained themselves as restaurateurs. In the absence of a better tutor, I set myself to recapturing and passing on our native art of mixing ice cream sodas. By the spring of 1943 we were supplying 800,000 meals a month in our service clubs and rest homes and the number has been increasing rapidly ever since. There were American correspondents who featured this as the largest chain of hotels and restaurants in the Southwest Pacific, but our real Red Cross assignment was to make these places as much like home as possible.

BETWEEN GRASS HUT AND BIG TOP IN NEW GUINEA AND OUR hotel-like clubs in the large cities ranged the installations in smaller communities. These may not have had the drama of the former, nor the facilities of the latter, but they were warmly welcomed.

Thus in one small place we had taken its best—the equivalent in hotel comfort and toilet facilities to be found in an average town of perhaps 3,000 in our own Middle-west. Work started before any troops arrived, and the night they descended on us we supplied supper for 2,400 hungry stomachs. A large Red Cross Service Club seventeen miles away prepared hamburgers and sent them over on army trucks. The women of the community made and served the cakes and lemonade which went along with the supper. It was dark when the troops reached there, tired and hungry as they got down from the trucks. They ate by flashlight and lantern. From then on, the outfit adopted that service club and helped as the hotel was done over into something airy, sunny, and homelike.

Its Red Cross director figured that ice cream is a primary need to Americans. But freezers take time to make and time to transport, so she made a still hunt throughout

a village which had never known manufactured ice cream. Perhaps the homemade variety was to be found. "Yes," she was told, "a Greek used to make it by hand and sell it from a pushcart." Not one to be balked, she at last came upon him late in the afternoon "spread out on the grass asleep, covered by cats." She pushed off enough of these to get his attention. Would he come and make ice cream for the American Service Club? This was clearly a new idea to him and, offhand, an unwelcome one; but the persuasive powers of Lenore Lucas are considerable and in due course he became an institution. Installed on the back porch of the club, with a crew of khaki-clad volunteers he turned out twenty gallons a day.

New Zealand No Less than Australia

CHARTS IN THE AMERICAN RED CROSS HEADQUARTERS IN Washington hopefully plan eleven people to run large service clubs and more could well be used. Nevertheless, one Red Cross man or woman has often started things alone in Australia or New Zealand, as staff filtered slowly across the Pacific. Our first club people showed hardihood and initiative in taking on new and unexpected jobs and all but working the clock round. Florice Langley kept at it at a northernmost post until pneumonia overtook her.

One of the hardest things to bear in work of this kind is to turn soldiers away. If a city is small, the troops coming in many, it is difficult to get sufficient space; but this is precisely where and when it is hard for soldiers to find any other place to go. It is also hard for us to get carpenters, plumbers, builders, equipment. A club in such a community comes to my mind at which breakfast started at 6:30 A.M. and the line in the cafeteria kept up until 8 P.M. Thereupon everyone would set to and rustle the tables and chairs into the courtyard. That gave a chance to brush up the floor while the orchestra plucked its strings for the evening's dance. David Starry's staff would take its place at the door to meet the incoming girls and the dance would go on until 11:30. Then, if all club beds were taken, the floor would be hurriedly brushed again and blankets given out to soldiers who had unsuccessfully combed the town for a place to sleep.

Similar stories could be told of the development in New Zealand. In this same period, service clubs were opened in Auckland and Warkworth, three in the beautiful capital city of Wellington, and a rest home at Auckland. In writing for American readers it would be hard to over-emphasize the part played in this work for American soldiers by men and women in both these progressive commonwealths in the Southern Pacific. In the days of our early expansion (before we could get people over) fifty-five Americans held the fort in the fifty-six buildings I have spoken of, but they did it with a thousand Australians and New Zealanders on the club staffs, aided by several times that number of volunteers. One club alone had a roster of 500 of the latter, not counting the young hostesses at dances and the like whose tasks did not involve what was considered undue sacrifice.

General Strategy

YOU WILL HAVE SENSED THAT THE AMERICAN RED CROSS was dealing with a situation much in process. With the fall of Singapore and the conquest of the Philippines, the continent had been threatened by the advancing Japanese. Had the Nips, as they are called in these parts, taken Port Moresby on the landward side of (*Continued on page 12*)



Above: Australians join American servicemen in enjoying the hospitality of the large ARC club in Sydney, Australia, formerly the home of a rugby sports club. Left: Its impressive exterior. Below: Lieutenant General George C. Kenney, head of the Australian and American Air Forces in the Southwest Pacific under General MacArthur, with two Red Cross women workers in New Guinea.





Above: Admiral William F. Halsey, Commander of the South Pacific, is welcomed at the opening of the service club at a base in New Caledonia by (left to right) Coletta Ryan, area supervisor; Marion Bigelow; Isabel Lee and Renee Guthman, club directors. Right: A young aviator, back from fighting, plays with the puppies at an ARC rest home. Below: Scene from "Hellzapapuan," a show with a soldier cast, directed by Helen Schoeni at the Big Top, New Guinea.



American Red Cross photos



New Guinea, or had they held their major footholds in the Solomons, not only would communications have been cut, but Australia and New Zealand would have been open to invasion. Early contingents of their own troops had long since gone off to battlefronts on the other side of the world. The swift rally of American army, navy and air forces, with the sense of protection they brought, is a tie that will hold between the English-speaking peoples that look out on the Pacific. That has been assured me time and again.

At first, in Australia, American reinforcements were based in the highly developed regions to the Southeast. The situation had lifted by the time I reached Melbourne in August of 1942. Troop movements were now headed northward along the coast to buttress the advances in New Guinea under General MacArthur as chief of the united command in the Southwest Pacific, and in the islands under Admiral Halsey, the newly appointed chief in the South Pacific. I am afraid that in the United States we never took the geography of these parts very seriously. The heat encountered has been a surprise to wartime Americans. The ARC is today doing the largest part of its work there in the tropics. That's what heading north means in this part of the world.

In World War II, the American Red Cross has for the first time undertaken—at the request of the army—to supply service clubs and rest homes for the able-bodied, outside the continental limits of the United States. The ARC was fortunate in enlisting a staunch and vigorous American, Charles Gamble, as delegate (volunteer head) for both the South and Southwest Pacific. He knows the entire region, for he has headed Socony Vacuum operations there for many years. Irving Williams, a Red Cross field representative in the Philippines, who had brought a boatload of wounded successfully out of Manila, began the work in Australia. He continued under Mr. Gamble to direct activities in camps and in hospitals and these have been expanded enormously.

Alert American residents of Melbourne had early set up there the first center for American servicemen in an Australian city. That was taken over and expanded by the ARC and two others were projected. But both army and Red Cross, overseas and at home, became aroused to the need for the rapid development of service clubs and leave areas (rest homes). This was my commission on a year's leave of absence from Henry Street Settlement in New York.

In ten months we lifted their number from 3 to 34. The team work which brought this about is a joy to look back upon—first with a small headquarters staff, traveling constantly and working with uncompromising zeal. These were Stanley Sommer, who became my successor, Grey Lusty, Dow Sweeney, and Hannah Moore Frazier who organized the work in New Zealand. Sally Whittaker McHose was one of us, epitomizing for me the generosity and intelligence of Australian women who threw themselves so quickly and willingly into building up a stable program—as American as we and they in their friendliness could make it.

Always I have in mind the work of the men and women in the field. One of the first women club directors was Hilda Thompson; another Mary K. Browne, a former woman tennis champion of the United States. Miss Browne proved as skilful in serving the American soldiers in her club in Brisbane as she had been on the courts and

this fall I was told she is again in full swing heading the canteen service the ARC is setting up in New Guinea. Among many I should like to name, these two pioneers helped to break the stalemate in Red Cross policy which stood in the way of vesting real responsibility in women.

Wings

THERE WAS ANOTHER HURDLE, NATURAL ENOUGH IN the sheer fact of distance, but artificial, also, in that Australian provinces long since set disparate gauges for their roads. As passengers and supplies have to change cars going from one province to another, some of my most difficult long trips were by train. Certainly, I had no anticipation of what the job of covering space would entail.

A member of our headquarters staff with a taste for statistics once asked me how many miles I thought I had covered by air. After some figuring the guess was 50,000 miles. But mileage is a dull way to count distance. Besides, of it are the dark hangars and the start at dawn, the long hours of flying, the airsickness and early morning emptiness, the tiredness at the end of a day. But back of the mileage, also, is the satisfaction of getting swiftly where work is to be done, and going on to what's next. The satisfaction is so great that no discomforts in the world could quench the elation as you set off—as my first trip to New Caledonia will illustrate.

The start was from Sydney at nine in the morning (an unusually comfortable hour) and the first lap was for only a few hours—and smooth. Enroute I picked up members of my staff at a service club at Brisbane and visited their rest homes in the district. Three weeks before, we had picked out the hotel for one of these; now it was full of men on leave from the battlefield and they surrounded us telling how "swell" the place was.

That night, a three-hour ride brought us back to the airport—all through the brown-out which made driving pretty dreary. We all but lost our way to our destination for it is not easy to get space on a bomber, and we had done considerable persuading to be taken that particular night. The airport was pitch dark with only the black shadows of the ships looming up against a less black sky. Finally we found ours—it was to take off at 12:30, but we left at two after hanging around in a little shed-like place with scanty lights and crumpled magazines.

A bomber stripped for passengers is a far from comfortable place. Usually I curled up on the softest baggage I could find. There were seats in this one, but invented by someone with a taste for torture. Add coldness oozing in every pore, a hideous roar, and complete darkness! On the way, it was not very rough, but I lost my meanness just from misery. Dawn found us traveling above the clouds and we landed alongside other bombers at our first stop in New Caledonia. What was meant to be breakfast comprised cold fried French toast; burnt, thick bacon; and something called coffee. I chose a small package of cereal with some canned milk to pour over it as least likely to be upsetting. Those silly little sophisticated separate packages of puffed breakfast food tucked in between the bombers and burnt bacon!

The commanding officer looked after our comfort in a small shack, and got us on our way again by air in the mid-morning. Now I was well repaid, for it was clear and we looked down on the coral reef which surrounded the island with beautiful blue-green water and palm trees.

(Continued on page 29)

Undermining Unemployment Insurance

by ARTHUR J. ALTMAYER

The chairman of the Social Security Board drives home how the competition among states to cut down employers' taxes is in fact reducing unemployment insurance payments. Yet that is the only safeguard for jobless workers and their families today—and in the postwar period of adjustment.

NOT LONG AGO, THREE MEMBERS OF A FAMILY EMPLOYED IN a textile mill found themselves out of work. Not that there was no work for them to do. The trouble was that they lived seventeen miles from the mill, the tires of their car had worn out, they could not get any more tires, nor could they get recaps. One thing they could do and did. They asked the mill management for transfer from the first shift to the second shift, so they could ride to work with their neighbor. But the management said no. Then they tried to get living accommodations in the mill community. They gained no luck. So there was no alternative but to leave the mill, and sign up with the local employment office for other jobs.

This they did, and in accordance with the state law, they filed claim for unemployment insurance benefits. If they failed to get jobs before the prescribed waiting period was up, it would seem that they would be eligible for the weekly insurance payments provided for by law to help them over the weeks while they had no work and no wages. Meanwhile, they had been offered their mill jobs back again—but lacking transportation they could not accept them.

They didn't get their insurance benefits. They were disqualified on three counts, two of which meant postponement of benefits four weeks on each count, a total of eight weeks instead of eight because two weeks were overlapping. Then on a third count their benefits were denied outright. Count No. 1, they had left their jobs "voluntarily without good cause attributable to the employer." They might, the ruling suggested, have bought bicycles, or a horse and buggy to carry them the thirty-four miles round trip each day. Count No. 2, they had "refused suitable work." The jobs they refused were obviously suitable work, because they had already been doing it. Count No. 3, since they still could not get to the only jobs offered, they were "unavailable for work," and therefore ineligible for benefits at all.

Now that is a shocking story, but unfortunately, a true one. And it has counterparts in many states. The chief cause is to be found in a system of tax reduction now in effect under the unemployment insurance laws of forty-one states. The system is called "experience rating." It is a device for reducing employers' taxes, and for that it works, although not always to the satisfaction of its advocates. But it gives employers a financial stake in defeating the main purpose of unemployment insurance, which is to pay insurance benefits to people out of work through no fault of their own. It has motivated changes in the laws and a line of precedents which can lead to the denial of unemployment insurance benefits earned by thousands of war workers soon to be laid off, and even servicemen returned from the battlefronts.

In the past year or two, with experience rating coming into effect in state after state, the legislatures, as a corollary, have been amending the laws to restrict payments of benefits under a variety of situations. The taxes which are being reduced by this procedure are the "contributions" required of employers to provide the state funds out of which unemployment insurance benefits are paid. Those taxes were originally the same for all employers covered by the law and the rate was 2.7 percent of payroll. Now there are employers in five states whose tax has been reduced to nothing and the minimum rate is 1.5 percent or less in all but one of the experience rating states. Employers get the reductions on the basis of their "experience with unemployment," and that is measured in most states by the *amount of unemployment benefits paid to workers who have been on their payroll*.

The theory is that each employer can control layoffs and turnover in his own establishment, and should be rewarded with a lower tax rate than his competitor whose "experience rating" is not as good as his. But the time will soon be here when the very firms with the best experience ratings for wartime employment will be laying off thousands and thousands of people. Is this "experience with unemployment" within their own control?

And what about the employers who do not get the tax reduction? Nowadays many of these are the firms that have been hardest hit by the war—small firms, which have had to lay off most of their working force. However, in big business, also, there are many responsible men who oppose experience rating because they believe that it will lead to high taxes after the war. Many of the original advocates now acknowledge that experience rating does not work out according to their expectations. But tax reduction for employers, desirable or not in itself, is only one result of experience rating. What I am concerned about is its results to the unemployed workers for whose protection these laws were passed.

"Good Cause Attributable to the Employer"

IN THE STORY OF THE THREE MILL WORKERS WHOSE INSURANCE benefits were denied, the reasons for the decisions seem incredible. But they are based on the law—in many states on recent amendments to that part of the law which disqualifies an unemployed worker for benefits if he has quit his job "voluntarily without good cause attributable to the employer." Only two states had that limitation in 1938, two more had adopted it by 1940, and now it is in the laws of eighteen states and in the regulations of one more. Eleven of those states also provide for cancellation of some or all of the wage credits earned by the worker and standing to his account at the time he lost his job. That means denial of benefit rights and benefit payments.

although admittedly an unemployed worker may have had good cause for leaving his job—compelling personal reasons or because by so doing he might make a greater contribution to the war effort.

Clearly, the effect of the language of the law and decisions under it is to limit the cherished American right to leave one job in order to take a better one—better for the worker, the community, and the nation.

Here is another decision with the same implication—a decision of a state supreme court. In this case a seasonal laborer, who knew he would be laid off at the end of the season, got a better job just before that time came. His new work lasted seven weeks, after which he registered for another job, and claimed his unemployment insurance benefits. He did not get them. He was disqualified for leaving his earlier job “without good cause attributable to his employer,” and the supreme court held that he was not entitled to *any* benefits based on *any* wages credited to his account at the time he quit. In other words, he was penalized for trying to prevent his own unemployment, and the benefit rights he had earned under the terms of the law were cancelled.

Many good causes for leaving work are, of course, in no way attributable to the employer. There was a man in a midwest state, for example, who could not find a place for his family to live near enough to his job to permit him to keep it. The same thing came up in a case in an eastern state, and the decision was the same. These men were disqualified. Still more surprising, perhaps, is a state decision against a man who quit his job to enlist in the Air Force. “While it may be found that the claimant left his employment for good reason, his separation was in no way attributable to the employing unit or its agent,” says the record. A variation of this decision comes in another state where a man gave up his job to join the navy. The state tribunal said: “While it may be good cause for a man to leave a job in order to enter the armed forces of the United States during the present emergency, it cannot be said that such leaving is attributable to the employer.”

What has all this to do with experience rating? It is surely no mere coincidence that the “tightening up” of the law on disqualifications has gone along with experience rating, beginning either at the time the system came into effect or soon after. But the evidence is not altogether circumstantial. Here is a quotation from a decision by a state unemployment compensation commission in a case where the claimant had left a job for what the commission agreed was in itself good cause, but not “good cause attributable to the employer.” The commission said: “When the legislature amended the Employment Security Act of 1941, it placed definite limitations on what would constitute good cause for voluntarily quitting a job by adding the words ‘attributable to the employer.’ The purpose of the legislature was to protect the employer’s merit rating [i.e. experience rating] account, and to protect the employer against charges to his benefit account for voluntary unemployment for which the employer was in no way responsible.”

Now I am not saying there should be no such thing as disqualification of a claimant for unemployment insurance benefits when he leaves a job without good cause. Some provision of that kind is necessary to prevent an individual from taking advantage of the law to obtain benefits when he really could be at work, or when he has

been discharged for misconduct. But there are many causes for leaving a job which should be recognized as good and justifiable—which have been so recognized hitherto and which should not disqualify the unemployed worker for the benefits he has earned.

Suitable Work

INEQUITABLE DISQUALIFICATIONS ARE ALSO BEING IMPOSED under the usual provision found in state laws which denies benefits to an unemployed worker who refuses “suitable work” without “good cause.” That phrase, “suitable work,” has been interpreted to mean the same job the worker had left, although he had already been penalized for leaving it. In other words, it has been used to inflict a double disqualification, first for “voluntarily leaving without good cause attributable to the employer,” and then for “refusing suitable work.”

Not only that, one legislature has lately written into law the state supreme court’s doctrine announced in the case of a worker who was disqualified because she gave up a job in that state to move with her husband to a distant state, where he was employed. When the wife applied for work in the town to which the family had moved, and claimed the benefits she had earned in her former post, she was disqualified for leaving “without good cause attributable to the employer.” The court said she had “voluntarily put distance between herself and the job.” She was offered her old position again but she could not take this, since she was now living 1,500 miles away, so they disqualified her again. This time because she had “refused suitable work.” To “tighten up” on disqualifications for “refusing suitable work,” the state legislature has now amended the law to make sure that considerations of distance shall be disregarded in determining “suitable work” in cases like this, involving either men or women.

When the state laws were originally passed, disqualification usually involved only *postponement* of benefits, which, however, were ultimately payable. The hardship involved under those circumstances was in the delay of payments. In contrast, *cancellation* of benefits means denial of rights already earned. A worker’s wages have been credited to his record and enable him to satisfy the eligibility requirements for insurance payments. Cancellation wipes out in whole or in part the benefit rights he has earned. Yet now, under the laws of twenty-seven states, all or some of the wage credits of disqualified workers can be cancelled—in nineteen of these states for voluntary leaving; in twenty-one for refusal of suitable work.

Fallacy of Experience Rating

I HAVE GIVEN ONLY A FEW OF THE CASES THAT COULD BE cited from the records of state after state. These should serve, however, to point up the ill effects of “experience rating.” I believe they call for a reexamination of both the theory and the practice of this provision.

Surely it is clear by now in the light of our national experience that unemployment in general is beyond the control of any one employer or of any one state. There is no statistical evidence that the different contribution rates in themselves have resulted in stabilization of employment through individual employer’s efforts. In any event, reduced overhead costs offer employers a far greater incentive to stabilize employment. Evidence that the advocates of merit rating have come to recognize this lies in the fact that they have now shifted their emphasis

from "incentive to stabilize" to "proper allocation of the cost of employment" as a justification of employer experience rating. Aside from the doubtful economic theory upon which this argument is based, it should be noted that none of the various experience-rating formulas actually incorporate such well known indices of employment stabilization as separation and accession rates, or fluctuations in employment, payrolls, or man-days of employment. On the contrary, they are based (with two exceptions) on benefits paid which are largely dependent upon the benefit formula of the state law—including the effects of the eligibility and disqualification provisions, in addition to general labor market conditions. What is even more illogical from the standpoint of merit rating theory is that these formulas, except in five states, charge not only the employer who laid off the worker but previous employers as well, some of whom he may have left of his own accord more than two years prior to the time he claims benefits.

But regardless of differing views as to employer experience rating, surely all can see the basic evil of pitting employer against employe in a contest for money payable under state law, from a state fund of which the state is trustee for claimants under that law. If the purpose of unemployment insurance is to protect workers against some of the hardships of involuntary unemployment, clearly the worker's claim should be against the state, not against an individual employer. A jobless worker should not have to prove not only that he is involuntarily unemployed, but that this is due to the fault of his employer.

Inadequate Benefit Provisions

INEQUITABLE DISQUALIFICATION PROVISIONS ARE NOT THE ONLY shortcomings of present state unemployment insurance laws. In many states the benefit provisions, irrespective of disqualifications, are inadequate for the purposes of unemployment insurance. Facing, as we shall have to do, the demobilization of war workers and perhaps many servicemen as well, what have we to offer them as unemployment insurance while they return to normal life.

In nearly half the states they cannot get more than \$15 or \$16 a week, for a maximum of fifteen or sixteen weeks, except for two states which pay for no more than fourteen weeks. The rest of the states pay higher benefits—up to \$22 in one, \$20 in nine, \$18 in fifteen states, for maximum periods varying from sixteen to twenty-three weeks.

How many war workers will find new openings within sixteen weeks or less? Or even twenty weeks? Many, we hope, but certainly not all, and most of them have families to support. In 1940, a fairly good year, the records show that 50 percent of unemployed workers exhausted their benefit rights before finding another job.

How far will \$15 or \$16 a week go toward supporting a family, even a small one? And remember this is the maximum the unemployed worker can receive in half the states. The benefit rate comes to about 50 percent of regular full time pay, but in no event more than the state maximum. For those in the lower wage brackets the benefit payment may be anywhere from \$16 down to \$5 a week, the lowest legal minimum, except in one state, where the minimum is \$2 a week.

These benefits are in striking contrast to the weekly benefit payments under workmen's compensation laws in most states. For disability from a work accident, two states pay as much as \$30 a week (in addition to medical

and hospital costs), although the same states pay not more than \$20 and \$22 a week to the unemployed worker. Five states pay as much as \$25 a week for accident compensation but only one state pays more than \$20 for unemployment insurance. In all, there are thirty-two states that pay higher rates for accident compensation than for unemployment insurance. Why this difference? Why should the same man get more to live on when he is not working because of temporary disability than when he is out of work? As workmen's compensation payments are in addition to medical and hospital expenses, the purpose is the same as for unemployment insurance—to help him over the time when he has no pay coming in.

What We Can Do

THERE MAY BE MORE THAN ONE WAY THESE SHORTCOMINGS can be remedied. The states could change their own laws. Will they do so? Time will tell, of course, but there is not much time, and there is interstate competition to keep employers' taxes down, which means keeping workers' benefits down also. Such competition is the very thing many people hoped the unemployment insurance provisions of the Social Security Act would prevent. But with experience rating now operative in forty-one states, competition among those states is in full swing.

To my mind these are all arguments for a national rather than a state-by-state system of unemployment insurance, and the national unemployment insurance system should be itself a part of a national social insurance system which should include old age and survivors and disability insurance. Under such a national system we would have a national reserve fund, which I think should be made up of employer and employe contributions, at equal rates. This would be a fair and sensible way to pay the insurance costs, and at the same time do away with the fallacies and evils of so-called "experience rating."

In a national system, there would be no possibility of interstate competition to reduce benefit rates, or to narrow the coverage within states by restrictive provisions and disqualifications. There could be uniform minimum standards in benefit rates as well as tax rates; uniform eligibility requirements, uniform procedures for claims and claim payments. Then the people who work in more than one state could acquire benefit rights on the same terms everywhere, instead of finding themselves as now, eligible and ineligible on opposite sides of the same state line. Yet these uniform provisions would possess the necessary inherent adaptability to varying conditions throughout the country because contributions would be related to wages and benefits would be related to wage loss.

These are the possibilities of a truly national system. They go along with the far greater security afforded by a broad based national reserve fund, which spreads the costs as the risks are spread. All the states would then be protected against the financial strain that is bound to come—a strain that would affect the states unevenly because of the uneven stresses of the vast and varying industrial conditions of this broad and various land.

This is what I believe in—a national unemployment insurance system which would be part of a comprehensive national social insurance system. However, for those who think otherwise, I suggest that the best guarantee of retaining the present fifty-one separate systems is to improve them by removing manifest inequities and inadequacies. In that task all of us should be united.

How Do the Aged "Get Along"?

by JOHN J. CORSON

The preceding article revealed a crack in one cornerstone of this country's social security scheme. Here, a study of how 3,600 retired workers are faring raises questions as to how far old age insurance provides a fair measure of security for industry's veterans.

THEY WERE SITTING ON THE STONE STEPS OF AN OLD WAREHOUSE, the weatherbeaten, lame old man and the alert, college-marked young interviewer. In response to the interviewer's questions the old man told him how he lived. His home was in a "flop house"; his rental, 20 cents a night. His meals he bought from an old age insurance payment of \$10 a month. When his money ran out, he went to the soup kitchen at the Sunshine Mission. He had no relatives. He had been a bricklayer in the good old days, but those days seemingly were over.

In another city, another "retired" worker sat in his parlor telling another interviewer how he had saved to buy his home. He had been secretary and bookkeeper for the local coal dealer. Two years earlier, when he was sixty-six, his health broke. He had been out of work since. His old age insurance payment of \$26 monthly, when added to \$65 a month from investments and \$30 a month paid as a pension by his former employer, enabled him and his wife to live without want. The house was paid for. There was money each month to meet the bills.

Mrs. Richardson told another interviewer how she and her husband, who had been discharged from his job as a rockman at the mill, had lived in this same house for twenty years. Mr. Richardson had never earned big wages, but they had "gotten along," she wanted the interviewer to know. Now that Mr. Richardson could not work, it was more difficult. The \$21 a month he received monthly as old age insurance helped a lot. And Mr. Richardson had had some unemployment compensation when he was first laid off. But their principal dependence was the wage of their daughter, Margaret, a telephone operator, earning \$84 a month. "I don't know what we would do if anything happened to Margaret," her mother commented.

AS A NATION WE HAVE ACCEPTED THE OBLIGATION OF PROVIDING old age security. But what is necessary to provide security for the average aged person? When and why are they unable to provide their own security? Do they live alone, these aged persons, or in family groups? What income do they have when they come "to the end of the road," and what is its source? What savings have they accumulated? The truth of the matter is, we have not known. And after a decade's effort to provide security for the aged, we recognize the need for answers to such questions.

Hence, the Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance of the Social Security Board has undertaken a series of surveys to ascertain the income, assets, and living arrangements of those who receive old age and survivors insurance payments. Surveys have been made in seven cities: Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Baltimore, Atlanta, St. Louis,

Memphis, and Birmingham. The 3,661 aged persons in the 2,963 families studied constitute, in some respects, a "select" group. They all live in large cities and, to become eligible for old age insurance, they were able to work in insured employment after they were sixty-one years of age. Yet an analysis of how they live will suggest how old age and survivors insurance can more effectively provide security.

Retirement—Theory and Fact

THE TERM "RETIREMENT" HAS ALWAYS CARRIED WITH IT A connotation of rest, fishing, reading, or just "puttering around." But is this what retirement actually means to the average American? It is not what it means for most of the somewhat favored group visited in these surveys.

Over half of the 2,805 former workers interviewed testified that they had not retired—they had lost their jobs. And when pressed, the majority of these reported "old age" as the cause for discharge. Some may have misunderstood or refused to acknowledge the real causes. Heart disease, arthritis, and failing vision, family members testified, were the actual reasons for "retiring" in some cases. Two causes—ill health and "the employer thought me too old"—accounted for the retirement of almost nine of every ten recipients of old age insurance interviewed. Only one of every ten had retired voluntarily. Retirement for most of these men and women meant either a final "layoff" followed by a persistent, if unsuccessful search for work,—or ill health, equally persistent.

John Schneider, a Philadelphia machine operator, had "retired" only because his employer had an age limit of sixty-five years. His own son, who had become foreman of the machine shop, had to notify his father that he was laid off with a pension. John Schneider did not "hold it against" his son, but he did say: "They know they made a mistake; why, they have three men doing my work at the shop now!"

Each man or woman entitled to old age insurance payments, was asked: "Are you able to work now?" Out of every ten, three or four replied with an unqualified "Yes"; two or three said they were able and anxious to do lighter work; four or five stated they were unable to work. The interviewers report that these replies overstate the employability of the group. Nevertheless, four to six of every ten either had some employment in the year surveyed, or actively sought work. A larger proportion would have preferred work to retirement but, discouraged by earlier attempts, they had given up. Some 600,000 men and women over sixty-five years of age, entitled to old age insurance whenever they retire, are continuing to work today. The attitude of the "retired" and the continuance

at work of the 600,000 who have been more fortunate in holding on to jobs, or to good health, give final answer to those who have contended that a measure of security would weaken the moral fiber of the American people, that no worker would continue to work "if the government would pay him a benefit."

It's Hard to Change

HOW DO RETIRED WORKERS ADJUST THEIR WAYS OF LIVING? Traditionally, we have taken for granted the responsibility of children for their aging parents. But questions have been raised in recent years as to whether this arrangement, developed in an agricultural civilization, can be relied upon in an urbanized, industrial civilization. There is evidence in these surveys both of the basic human significance of the concept, and the difficulties involved when wage earners living in small city flats try to aid their parents.

Among the aged men and women visited, few had broken up their homes and gone to live with their children. Indeed, relatively few had made any change at all in their living arrangements. At the time they were visited, about 17 percent were single men (usually widowers) or single or widowed women living alone; 33 percent were married couples in their own establishments; the balance, about 50 percent of the total, were aged individuals or couples living in larger family groups. Whatever their status, they tried to continue living just as they had been living and to hold their homes together.

When the living conditions changed, it usually meant that sons or daughters came back to live with their parents and to help maintain the old home. About one tenth of the aged persons surveyed had given up their own homes and moved into households of relatives, usually sons or daughters, hard-pressed to support their own children. But the unattached person as often as not moved in with a relative of his own generation. Before making such a move, most old people had tried one of three other expedients: renting out part of their own homes; persuading relatives to move in and share expenses; moving to obtain lower rentals.

What Income They Have

WHEN THEY DID RETIRE, WHAT RESOURCES DID THEY HAVE? Perhaps it is more accurate to ask: "When they became unemployed or disabled what resources did they have to get along on?"

The summary answer that is given to these questions by the aged persons interviewed is: "We don't have much." About one in every ten had no income except the monthly insurance payment. These payments, though permanent, are small. In the group surveyed, they ranged from the statutory minimum of \$10 to the maximum of \$61.20 for an aged couple in which the breadwinner had had an average monthly wage of \$250 since the insurance system started.

About half of these men and women had some additional permanent income. In St. Louis, 30 percent of the aged men interviewed had continuing incomes, including benefits, of \$600 a year or more. A similar proportion was found in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Los Angeles. In the three southern cities—Atlanta, Birmingham, and Memphis—only about 19 percent had permanent incomes of \$600 or more a year.

The income these people relied upon was derived prin-

cipally from three sources: their insurance benefits; employers' retirement pay or pensions; their own investments. The greater part of this income came from benefits and from investment—the house they had subdivided into apartments, for example, interest on a few bonds they had accumulated, or dividends.

In addition to such cash income, over half of the aged couples visited owned their homes. Of those living in Philadelphia and Baltimore, two in three owned their homes, and one of these two owned his home clear. In Los Angeles these proportions were almost as high, and in each of the four other cities, more than half of the couples and about one fourth of the non-married owned their homes.

Temporary income was reported by many of the beneficiaries. About half the aged men in St. Louis, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Los Angeles, and an even larger proportion in the three southern cities, reported income from temporary sources. Some of this income, such as unemployment compensation, was received for a very limited period of time; most of it came from small amounts earned doing an occasional odd job, or returning to their old jobs for a few days or weeks. But some in each city—about one tenth of all those interviewed—reported earning \$600 or more during the year of the study.

The combined income received from insurance benefits, from investments, pensions, earnings from boarders and roomers, and the occasional earnings of their wives, meant that approximately two thirds of the aged men in Los Angeles, and half those in the other six cities, received \$50 or more a month during the year studied. From 8 to 17 percent (varying with the different cities) had over \$125 a month. But some of these larger incomes were due to steady employment. When the labor market changes, or the health of the workers deteriorates, these incomes will drop drastically.

But even \$50 or \$60 a month yields a meager living, especially if the income cannot always be relied upon. The case of Harold Athan is perhaps representative. He was a carpenter laid off at sixty-five. In 1941, he was unable to find other employment, try as he would. His monthly insurance payments amounted to \$21. He supplemented this by earnings as gardener or handyman, which averaged about \$20 a month. But he and his wife (who at sixty-two was not yet entitled to insurance payments) couldn't "make ends meet" on around \$40. She helped out by taking in a roomer whose payments added \$25 monthly to the family resources. On this income, the Athans and Mrs. Athan's invalid brother, long dependent on them, had to "get along," hoping for "another job soon."

From one third to one half of the aged men interviewed had income from *all* sources of less than \$50 a month. As has been pointed out, one tenth had only their insurance benefits. The balance had some additional income, but the amounts were so small that their total was less, on the average, than \$50 a month. Sometimes the added sum was the interest on small savings accounts. In such cases, the savings were frequently tapped to help meet living costs. This was the experience of Mr. and Mrs. Woodbridge, who had lived for twenty-three years in their own un-mortgaged home in one of the southern cities. Their 6-room bungalow, worth \$2,850, was modestly furnished, clean and neat. They had saved about \$3,000 which had been cautiously deposited in two (*Continued on page 29*)



The Vineyard by Marion Olds

Portrait of a Community

For this season's exhibit, the Chaffey Community Art Association of Ontario, California, invited artists in the vicinity to portray the life of the community, which includes eight rural towns. Local artists, and those working in war plants nearby, painted vineyards and other rural scenes, the industries, towns, and the neighborhood children. There were forty-four pictures in the exhibit, which attracted great crowds and was later circulated among the elementary and junior high schools and libraries. Purchases were made for schools and individual homes.



Marion Olds at her easel beside the Guasti church in the vineyard



Cucamonga Siding by Anders Aldrin



Anders Aldrin at work (with audience) at Cucamonga

A Truce Upon Your Housing!

by DOROTHY ROSENMAN

As her own contribution to a new American decennial, here a self-made "houser" ventures with refreshing candor along the bristling trench lines where private industry confronts public housing. Since the aim of both is adequate postwar homes, she holds they should and can get together.

WHEN I HEARD THAT 1943 MARKED THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY of public housing in the United States, my first reaction was: "Tain't so. The Wagner act wasn't passed before '37." Then it came over me that public housing is a large term covering a program that has been evolving for some time and is still in the process of evolution.

I am disturbed when opponents of public housing confuse the 1933 pattern with that in present use. It had flaws which today's pattern does not have. It was essentially a make work program to which housing was incidental and costly. I am equally disturbed when public housers assume a cocksure loyalty to every comma in the present formula. Neither attitude helps the cause of low income families which cannot find a decent home at a price they can afford.

A vast home construction program is looked upon as one of the bootstraps by which the United States can pull itself into peacetime prosperity. It is high time to consider the arguments arrayed against public housing, the defects and the values of pre-war public housing, and the signposts pointing to successful postwar housing for all income groups.

While many advocates of public housing zealously guard a formula of aid and administration which obviously requires changes in light of experience, its opponents bluster and threaten any resumption of the program after the war, and add to the confusion by striking out in all directions to solve the problem—which they acknowledge.

Nonetheless, the greatest milestone marking the tenth anniversary of public housing is the absence of apathy. The greatest gain achieved to date is that there *is* universal acknowledgment that something must be done about it.

THE NEXT GAIN IS OBVIOUS. IN COMMUNITIES OVER THE country, 109,533 slum dwellings have been demolished and 105,373 new dwellings have been built. (These figures do not include war housing construction.) However, it is estimated that approximately a third of our 27,749,200 non-farm families are still living in substandard homes. Though there are other important gains which I shall take up later, I should like to point out at once that the families still in substandard homes present a formidable challenge and opportunity to all who are interested in housing construction, housing finance, local economy, and social well being. The forces equipped to meet that challenge are disintegrated, unprepared to marshal the knowledge, experience, and good will necessary to tackle a tremendous task. Present activity is devoted largely to mudslinging, presentation of exploded panaceas, and wind filled statements. But here and there we find

the hatchet buried and serious attempts being made by both sides to meet the situation.

On the whole we're not back where we started in 1933. We have been enriched by certain experience which will be most helpful in formulating a new program if proponents of private enterprise and public endeavor will review that experience together and on this foundation chart a future course.

Rehabilitation Isn't the Answer

I STARTED IN "HOUSING" BY RECOGNIZING THE NEED FOR rehousing the families in New York City tenements. As I rolled my baby carriage along Central Park West I saw many half vacant buildings in the side streets and even some facing the park. So I went to the New York City Housing Authority, which was just in its formative months, and suggested the rehabilitation of old housing that was structurally sound and situated in neighborhoods that would provide park and playground facilities, good transportation and schools. I was interviewed—and I use that word advisedly—by an impatient young woman who got me out of her office in record time. Although she left me with the impression that I was half-baked (and I really did not know anything about housing), she had given me no information to dispel my hopes of solving the housing problem through rehabilitating existing structures.

If I were a preacher I would use this experience as the text of my story.

Not only the general public but the majority of those in the building and real estate field still look to rehabilitation as a solution. In these ten years, no one has taken the trouble to explain that rehabilitation is usually expensive and rarely practical. I have found out for myself that while it often provides gadgets it seldom provides essential space, light, and air. I have found out that spotty rehabilitation does nothing for the neighborhood and that people move from a rundown neighborhood just as they move from a badly maintained house. I have found out a great deal more about the costs and instability of such conversion. Nevertheless the National Association of Home Builders of the United States, gathered in conference at Cleveland on November 15, 1943, still could say:

A great reservoir of existing structures conveniently situated and structurally sound is available for conversion. There is no necessity for building all new housing for the low income group. . . . Secondhand housing, like secondhand automobiles, can adequately serve, provided it conforms with minimum requirements of decency, safety, and sanitation. It is the responsibility of the entrepreneur, aided by federal credit, to convert many slum structures into livable and decent shelter.

Have representatives of the National Association of Home Builders been hustled out of the office, too? I am afraid so. No one has made clear the feeble contribution that rehabilitation can make to the total picture in normal times. Wherever I go, whether in real estate, financial or building circles, rehabilitation is given as the panacea, the substitute for a public housing program.

Housers' Errors

HERE IS A JOB FOR THE LOCAL HOUSING AUTHORITIES. THEY should collate the facts on this subject and on many other subjects as well, and set them forth for public scrutiny, comment, and refutation. The absence of such facts has not only retarded progress but has acted as a boomerang against the desired objectives.

A housing authority should not be merely a group of government employes who administer public housing. It should be a broad-gauge body activated by the desire to obtain its objective through every well considered means. It must act as the clearing house for information, ideas, contacts. It should not sit apart from the community and hand forth decisions.

On the one hand, the housing authority should explore ways and means enabling private production to meet the housing needs of families farther and farther down the income ladder. To this end it should work with members of the real estate, building, and financial professions. On the other hand, the authority should plan and present public housing as a complement to that program.

Though there may be a stragglng zealot here and there, I do not know a single responsible advocate of public housing who would recommend spending one dollar of public funds for housing if private enterprise can build sound structures for low income families with profit. Most proponents of public housing believe it is an auxiliary to private enterprise; that the local, state or federal government should furnish loans and grants only when private enterprise cannot provide adequate housing. But the public does not understand this.

For some reason or other—and I suspect the underlying reason to be the housing expert's tendency to hustle the public out of the office—the average citizen has received the impression that public housing is intended as a substitute for privately produced homes. The articulate opponents of public housing have fostered that conception, though most of them know better. They demand an end to it on the ground that it competes with private endeavor. They furnish no proof to back up this accusation. It is, indeed, untrue. Homes subsidized by public funds are tenanted by families *whose incomes are not sufficient to warrant their paying an economic rent for a dwelling which meets standard specification*. There are, of course, exceptions—during the war, public housing has been opened to high paid war workers. The misconception is rife, but wartime housing is not my theme.

Recently I had occasion to speak at three conferences of Savings and Loan Associations in widely separated parts of this country. I would venture the guess that the twelve hundred men in those three audiences were sympathetic to a slum clearance program but were convinced that the present one is in competition with their enterprises. To a man, they believed that public housing projects were accepting tenants drained from the better housing of the community and that families in the very lowest

brackets were not eligible. The tenant intake formula that I gave—the formula in use since the first Wagner act house was opened—was considered interesting. No opposition to it was voiced in any of the discussions that followed. I was amazed and bewildered to find that this formula, carefully evolved so as to keep off the toes of privately financed housing, was completely unknown to the rank and file of the men assembled and even to the heads of Savings and Loan Associations. The fault lies equally with those who have not sought information but accepted hand-out stories, and with the public housers who have ostrich-like inclinations.

Many folks in the public housing field accuse me of having "gone over to private enterprise." I do confer with those in the private housing field. I disagree with the attitude of any public houser that keeps him out of touch with all other folks, that leaves him thinking all goodness, honesty, wisdom is wrapped in his special bundle.

I find the average businessman uninformed but curious about many aspects of public housing. While some antagonists are just against anything and everything, there are others who have constructive suggestions.

The Other Side of the Picture

IN MY OPINION THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST PUBLIC HOUSING fall into several categories:

The first is that it entails an expenditure of public funds and adds to the total tax burden. That argument is countered by estimating the cost of slums to the taxpayer—the extra sanitation, fire, police, and health costs—and by the necessity of making social progress, even though it entails public expense.

The second argument claims unwarranted competition with private enterprise and points to the ability of the secondhand home to fit the need. I have already given my answer to this.

The third argument charges public construction with being more costly than private construction. Contrary to popular belief, the government itself does not build. All construction is done through private building firms selected by local housing authorities through public bidding. Publicly financed construction may be more expensive but neither group today has the data to substantiate or disprove this accusation. To compare public and private construction, identical circumstances are required. The construction must be on the same type of terrain, in the same climate, must use the same materials, the same architectural design.

The fourth argument, and it is frequently voiced, is that everyone who really wants to work can earn sufficient money to buy or rent in the normal market. I have spoken with many people who believe this. Most of them have never come to grips with the actual facts. A short time ago I sat at dinner in Boston with a builder and a member of a large financial institution. Neither man was an ogre intent on killing all social progress. One said he had several poor relations who were shiftless and would always require financial aid. He thought only shiftless people needed help. I asked if the workers in New England mill towns were shiftless or were willing to do a full week's work. He admitted that they did a full week's work when it was available, but that their annual income still was insufficient to purchase or pay rent on the adequate house which can be supplied at present by private enterprise. These men have not been alone

in their failure to understand, and they are not alone in acknowledging a change of heart once the facts are presented.

The New Line of Attack

MANY OPPONENTS OF PUBLIC HOUSING HAVE CEASED TO LAY stress on these four arguments. They have new ones. One is aimed at the roots of the present method of administering subsidy. They acknowledge that private financing cannot reach the bottom income groups. They hope to be able to produce lower cost homes when the war is over and thus to reach an income level beneath what they now serve. They also hope that the national income level will remain higher pitched than it was before the war and thus increase their market.

The line of opposition has taken on a new objective. For those with incomes below their two hopes, they recommend that subsidy be given in the form of rent relief administered through regular relief channels and paid to landlords who operate privately financed buildings.

This new line has its own obvious weakness. Thousands of tenants, victims of the unbridged chasm between housing production costs and wage scales, would be revolted at the idea of applying for rent relief. There is a great difference between renting a house or an apartment known to have a public subsidy and taking a rent relief check to hand over to the landlord. One is in the class of farm aid, which carries no stigma because the cause behind the need has been recognized as being beyond the farmer's individual responsibility. The other—in normal times—is in the class of a gratuity to those whom society considers weak and shiftless. "Graded" rents, as increasingly practiced by many housing authorities, might be offered as a constructive counter-suggestion.

Too Big and Too Uniform

THE STRENGTH OF THE NEW LINE IS THAT IT PRODS TWO fundamental weaknesses of the public housing that has been built to date—size and architecture. Housing authorities have built tremendous "projects" and—with some very distinguished and delightful exceptions—have built them so that you can tell at a glance that they are public housing. When my young son came to visit me at a Baltimore hospital last spring, he said, "I've come through all kinds of neighborhoods. I passed two public housing projects." I laughed because though there were no signs on the buildings the child had identified them from the train window and had accepted the identification as commonplace.

Large scale building brings certain economies, but I have heard that if size goes beyond a certain point it defeats this objective. I have never been able to find out the economic size desirable as a building unit or management unit. Surely this is fundamental to future procedure. There would be variables, of course, but a slide rule of building and management economy needs to be made.

There are social factors to be weighed as well as economy. To my mind it is socially undesirable to build large communities for only one rung of the income ladder. We know that millionaires do not live in slums and blighted areas, yet small businessmen, doctors, lawyers who earn substantial sums do. Every slum clearance project displaces families that are ineligible in the new project because their incomes are too high. Unfortunately, many of these families are in the no man's land of housing—

they cannot get acceptable privately financed housing at the rental they can afford, and they cannot get into public housing because their incomes are too high.

It is definitely undesirable to build large public housing projects that dominate a neighborhood and mark it at one income level. Public housing should melt into the horizon of privately financed units. That would mean that public and private enterprise would have to work together in rebuilding an area. There are several ways of effecting such a relationship. This would call for cooperation and an end to backfence bickering.

Much of the feeling against public housing comes from the smaller cities which have rebelled against architectural treatment alien to their way of living. Apartments are disliked in some places; row houses in others. A flat roof can alienate an entire community accustomed to pitched roofs. Innovations in living customs cannot be choked down people's throats even though they bring certain advances with them. The advances must be made within the pattern of the community.

Last year, I visited some of the earlier war housing in Springfield, Mass. The city had resisted public housing before the war. It had no housing authority. Row housing was associated with an unpleasant type of company mill housing. When the war need was felt, a war housing committee was organized; it negotiated a charming group of homes known as Lucy Mallory Village. A local architect had combined a knowledge of site planning and diversified architectural design into a pleasing pattern; the groups of attached houses are placed so skilfully that the people of Springfield do not think of them as row houses and are enthusiastic about these new homes. That development will be disassociated from the much abused word "project." It demonstrates the value of neighborhood planning.

Public housing has contributed much to an appreciation of the importance of site and community planning. Its contribution has been different from that of the Federal Housing Administration, which has insisted upon certain land and building standards before insuring the mortgages of privately financed homes and developments. But homes erected with FHA assistance have been built for the most part in the suburbs or on the outer rim of cities, where land has been cheaper and more accessible. Public housing, as part of a slum clearance program, has with few exceptions been built in the heart of cities on land cleared of substandard buildings. That land costs much more than it is worth. Excessive costs have often caused local housing authorities to put up with land planning standards that they know to be poor.

Building for 2000 A.D.

I WOULD SAY THAT PUBLIC HOUSING HAS INDICATED ONE WAY toward rebuilding the overcrowded sections of our cities but has erred even as it plowed a new path. It has demonstrated that many streets can be eliminated and replaced by footpaths which lead to service streets, playgrounds, and recreation areas. It has demonstrated the coordination necessary between home and school, play and recreation facilities, transportation, shopping, and health services. It has demonstrated that free space about buildings can be so organized as to provide useful play and garden areas instead of alleys, backyards, streets, and patches.

It has shown by poor example, as well as by good, that it is not wise to house too many (*Continued on page 28*)



The people of San Salvador Cuauhtenco gather to organize a Popular Library for their remote community

The People's Own Libraries

A MEXICAN EXPERIMENT

by JUAN VICENS

THE POPULAR LIBRARIES OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT OF MEXICO differ from libraries elsewhere because some of their most enthusiastic patrons cannot read. Yet in many ways these libraries resemble the county libraries of the United States on which they are patterned. Like the county libraries, they are administered from a center which has a union catalogue, making inter-library loans possible, and can adapt themselves readily to changing local conditions. There are other public libraries in Mexico, even in the Federal District, which are under the Ministry of Education. The Popular Libraries are part of the educational program of the Federal District, itself.

The Federal District, comparable to the District of Columbia except in size, includes 750 square miles of territory, and a population of 1,800,000, with Mexico City as its center. Surrounding Mexico City on all sides are numerous towns and villages, some in the flat bottom of the Valley of Mexico, and others in the mountains which encircle it. There are industrial towns, most of them producing paper and tissues. There are residential towns, where many persons working in Mexico City have their homes. Still others are rural communities, where live farmers who cultivate orchards or grow corn and maguey. Most of the people in the farming sections are of nearly pure Indian blood, and in spite of the fact that many of them live comparatively close to Mexico City, with easy communication by bus or streetcar, they still speak the native Nahuatl language.

In the past two years, fourteen libraries have been

opened in the Federal District, four more are being organized, and plans are completed for opening an additional twelve within the next few months.

Most of the libraries are rectangular, one-room buildings, with windows forming the upper part of the two long walls, and bookshelves beneath the windows. The furniture consists of three long tables, each seating eight persons, and two smaller tables for the librarian and his assistant. The library of San Salvador Cuauhtenco, however, is entirely different. San Salvador is a remote village in mountainous Milpa Alta, one of the rural *Delagaciones*, or counties, of the Federal District. To go there from the town of Milpa Alta one must either walk or ride horseback—there is no automobile road. But to the people of San Salvador Cuauhtenco came news of a library in Milpa Alta and of the service it was giving. They investigated, and decided that a library was something they, too, must have. So these simple peasant folk cleared out an old, long disused chapel, and then sent a committee to the Central Department to ask for furniture and books. The request was granted, and a modern Popular Library was established in the seventeenth century setting, staffed by a young man of the village who speaks Nahuatl.

Similar libraries will be opened shortly in San Pablo Oxtotepec and San Pedro Atocpan, near San Salvador, and petitions for others have been received within the past few months. Before making the request, each community has prepared a building, so enthusiastic are the peo-

ple over the prospect of having a place where they and their children may go to read and learn.

So far the principal service of all the Popular Libraries has been reading and reference work inside the building. Lending service has been limited for two reasons: the libraries do not yet have enough books for both lending and reference, and a satisfactory plan for circulating books and guaranteeing their safe return has not been perfected.

The number of volumes in the Popular Libraries varies from 800 to nearly 2,000. In each community the books have been carefully selected to fit the character of the town and its particular needs. A large residential community near Mexico City, where there are many high school students, has a collection very different from that of an industrial or agricultural community. Though the books do not circulate, which certainly has limited their use, a total of nearly 120,000 was read last year.

In each of the villages where there is now a library or where one is planned, a Society of Friends of the Popular Library has been formed. These organizations are made up of interested residents with a *Junta*, or executive committee, representing various local groups—*ejidos* (farm collectives), trade unions, smaller neighboring villages, teachers, and others interested in the growth of the libraries.

The societies obtain more books, or money with which to buy them, by soliciting funds from individuals and organizations. They spread library news, inviting people to use the service as frequently as possible, making known its educational advantages, the kinds of books available, and the fact that there is no charge for their use. They express to the director of the Popular Libraries the community views as to the types of books desired and the services needed. They help the director decide who should have borrowing privileges, and give borrowers a card signed by the *Junta*. They cooperate with the director and the staff members in organizing lectures, pageants, plays, and educational radio and film programs.

The societies have grown very rapidly. Particularly interesting and colorful were the public meetings in the villages in the Ajusco Sierra inhabited by Mexican Indians. There the people showed great interest in the discussions. Contrary to local tradition, the women were active participants. Many came with a child wrapped in

the *rebozo*. These village women spoke, made intelligent suggestions, and often were chosen as members of the *Junta*.

In one village an Indian woman took an outstanding part in the organization meeting, had excellent ideas, and was selected as one of the principal members of the *Junta*. Just before our departure, she, with other women, came to the bus to give us parting gifts of cheese, crackers and *pulque*, and in the course of conversation told us that she was illiterate. But that did not keep her from retaining her membership on the library's executive committee. Unhappy over her own inability to read and write, she was determined that her own children should not be handicapped in the same way. We know that her enthusiasm will be extremely valuable to the library in her village.

Once the societies were formed, the authorities of the Department of the Federal District decided it would be helpful to hold a library conference in Mexico City. In spite of the fact that this conference was held on work days and that many of the delegates came from long distances and at their own expense, there was a surprisingly large attendance. The two hundred delegates, many of them unmistakably workers or peasants, met in the People's Theater. They followed enthusiastically and closely every turn of the discussion affecting *their* libraries. They studied problems of administration, worked out reasonable solutions, and by the close of the conference they had laid out a detailed program for future activities. During the convention, twenty-one petitions were received for new libraries, and plans are now under way to add twelve to the fourteen already functioning.

The interest shown in the conference disproves the widespread but mistaken belief that Mexicans in the lower economic brackets, particularly peasants, have no desire to improve their intellectual and cultural life. That this belief is without foundation is demonstrated by the simple fact that many of these men and women came long distances at great personal sacrifice to attend the three-day meeting. The Popular Library movement proves also that when governmental authorities undertake a scheme genuinely related to the needs of the people, the people themselves help carry the program forward with enthusiasm and intelligence.



Delegates from the various Societies of Friends of the Popular Libraries attend a three-day conference in Mexico City

LETTERS AND LIFE

Personalities in World Affairs

MAXIM LITVINOFF, by Arthur Upham Pope. L. B. Fischer. 530 pp. Price \$3.50.

JAN SMUTS, by F. S. Crafford. Doubleday, Doran. 322 pp. Price \$3.50.

PROFESSOR AT LARGE, by Stephen Duggan. Macmillan. 468 pp. Price \$3.50.

Postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

LITVINOFF'S BIOGRAPHY TODAY IS HISTORY WRITING. IN THIS TWENTIETH century even the lives of the humble can hardly be understood without some awareness of the national and international events that have helped to shape them. But it is also true that historiography has become more biographical. Although the historian no longer attributes marked trends in international relations to the machinations of individuals, he has come to respect psychological factors. No account of recent world happenings can be considered complete if it does not contain some recognition of the impact of personalities.

Mr. Pope renders a service to Russian-American relations by his competent biography of a man who has consistently worked for the rapprochement of the Soviet Union and the Western democracies. Though one may suspect that this consistency is a little exaggerated in these pages, certainly it is possible to trace a continuous aim—from concern for the success of the Russian Revolution, through years of activity first in behalf of disarmament and then of security for all peace loving nations, to the now dominant policy of defeat of the Axis as the immediate task.

The author touches lightly on all disagreements that have arisen between the Soviet Union and the United States, though he yields a heavy brush in depicting the iniquities of the Neville Chamberlain government in England. In spite of this rather obvious desire to allay American suspicions the book was, of course, written before the Moscow Conference), this biography is persuasive and enjoyable. It offers no sensational revelations but gives simple and satisfactory explanations for many things that have puzzled Americans.

Litvinoff's own public addresses, quoted at length, help to make clear that progression of Soviet foreign policy which sometimes has seemed so mysterious. Here one may see at the aim of that policy has not changed, though a series of emergencies, often correctly anticipated by Litvinoff, have repeatedly forced the Soviet government to reverse its strategy. Thus the Russian attack on eastern Poland appears to have been almost inevitable when Hitler, unhindered by the other powers, sought to possess himself of the whole of that border public. The attack on Finland, in 1939, however, seemed to Litvinoff, then out of office, an unfortunate episode that could and should have been avoided. Fully to understand the several eclipses of Litvinoff himself, each of them ending in a return to public life with the full confidence of his readers, one would have to examine the nature of dictatorship.

LITVINOFF IS PRESENTED AS A STATESMAN WHO NEVER MADE a serious mistake, Mr. Crafford's Jan Smuts is a portrait with, figuratively speaking, all the warts showing. Americans should read this book for its interesting and honest representation of South African affairs. It is also biography at a very high level of disinterested reporting.

With all his admiration for the soldier and statesman, the author conveys the feeling that, even at the age of seventy-four years, Smuts remains a dangerous, even a sinister figure. The general is, of course, an outstanding advocate of world organization. But since his early manhood this has always meant, and still means, the expansion of the British Empire. Smuts' imperialism is Rhodesian and unre-

penting. It involves disregard for the aspirations of colored peoples and an economic concern of government with the interests of capital and not with those of humble breadwinners. Smuts has sacrificed the future internal peace of Africa to his ambition. If he realizes his dream and crowns his brilliant career with the presidency of a political world organization, he surely will initiate policies which, however lofty in conception, cannot but again threaten the peace of the world.

COMPARED WITH THE OTHER TWO BOOKS IN THIS GROUP, Professor Duggan's recollections may be considered as of much lesser caliber. But future historians will find significance, too, in these chapters from the life of one of the first Americans to make the improvement of international relations a professional career outside the field of diplomacy.

As an educator, Mr. Duggan has always sensed the importance of cultural differences in world affairs. Latin America and eastern Asia, in his later years, have for him been regions for the application of lessons learned earlier in Europe and, indeed, in the cosmopolitan milieu of our American community and college life. Through his patient concern with the problems of scholars from every part of the world, he has been, and remains, instrumental in reshaping the facilities which this rich nation can offer them. No man in this century has made more devoted friends for America among the scientific workers of the world.

New York

BRUNO LASKER

Miners—Their Job, Struggles and Leaders

MEN AND COAL, by McAllister Coleman. With a foreword by John Chamberlain. Farrar & Rinehart. 350 pp. Price \$3, postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

WAR AGAIN BRINGS HOME THE SIMPLE FACT THAT COAL AND iron are the basic yardsticks of our national military power. The history of both is dramatic; that of coal more filled with human strife.

"Men and Coal" is authentic history. Its pages throb with human life and struggle. McAllister Coleman accurately notes both the tragic human waste and the prodigal operating and utilization waste of a rich natural resource; and also the tardy but gradual emergence of better working relations and more scientific methods of mining, conservation and use. But coal economy still remains to be coordinated with national economy. Rival fuels are not yet looked at with scientific and coordinating eyes but as if a baleful and belligerent glare might help to dominate the competitive field.

The miner's skilled craftsmanship, his love of his hazardous job with its many casualties, his struggles for better living conditions, better safety methods, the bloody suppression of his strikes are vividly and understandingly told.

Necessarily much space is given to the United Mine Workers Union and its long fight with the operators, its crushing defeats, and dramatic victories. The miners' leaders loom large. They should. They have not opposed but urged scientific developments and the miner's right to share in the results. John L. Lewis's leadership, his early conflicts with operators, and his more recent conflict with the government are all told, not with exaggeration but with perhaps too little emphasis on certain facts. Lewis emerges a large figure on the national horizon. But implicit in Mr. Coleman's facts are certain unexpressed conclusions which at this particular moment in history should be stated.

Lewis obtained his 1923 Jacksonville Scale (\$7.50 per day base pay) by pressure, not by negotiation. Mr. Hoover came to his aid. Both hailed the contract as the stabilization of

the industry. Both ignored the simple economic fact that there were too many mines, too many miners, too much production capacity. Operators soon began to repudiate the contract. Lewis surrendered. Districts were left to negotiate their own contracts. This was a major retreat. His pressured contract had failed. Wages dropped to a third of the Jacksonville Scale by 1933. The union was in desperate straits.

Came the Roosevelt Administration and Section 7-A of NIRA guaranteeing collective bargaining. Congress wrote labor rights into law. Lewis saw his opportunity. In a swift organization campaign he rebuilt his membership. Then followed a new contract, the first stable United Mine Workers contract of general north-south application, negotiated under the security of an act of Congress and public policy. The Supreme Court invalidated this law. Congress enacted the same rights in NLRB. Lewis again in due time negotiated a new contract of national scope—a stable contract. It also stuck. The Roosevelt Administration had given labor the opportunities of law and public policy.

These facts reveal a labor leader of extraordinary ability, but without understanding of the strength and security inherent in democratic methods. Fascinated by autocratic power he has made disastrous mistakes: his refusal to take issue with the Hoover-Coolidge regime when his Jacksonville contract collapsed; his desertion of his followers to join his enemies in support of Willkie in 1940; his strike against his "no strike" pledge; his failure to place responsibility for food price inflation on Congress, when questioned on the subject by a Senate committee, by pointing out that they had failed to give the President adequate power or adequate means to curb food prices while giving full power to stabilize wages, which had been effectively used.

New York

MERLE D. VINCENT

War as a Science

MAKERS OF MODERN STRATEGY — MILITARY THOUGHT FROM MACHIAVELLI TO HITLER, edited by Edward Mead Earle with the collaboration of Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert. Princeton University Press. 553 pp. Price \$3.75, postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

"IT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS BOOK," STATES ITS EDITOR, DR. Earle of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, "to explain the manner in which the strategy of modern war has developed, in the conviction that a knowledge of the best military thought will enable Anglo-Saxon readers to comprehend the causes of war and the fundamental principles which govern the conduct of war. We believe that eternal vigilance in such matters is the price of liberty."

The twenty contributors to this volume (half of them refugee scholars from France and Germany) have done an admirable job. It seems to me that this book will survive as one of the few war books which will deserve to be read in later years by student and general reader alike. War as a science and an art, war as an act of politics, is no longer the domain of the professional soldier alone. The understanding of the making of strategy concerns all of us.

It is impossible, in a short review, to do justice to the scholarship which characterizes this volume. The table of contents gives some idea of its scope. The first section is devoted to the origins of modern war from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. It includes studies on Machiavelli; Vauban, who planned Louis XIV's fortification systems; Frederick the Great; Guibert, and Bülow. The following section, on the great interpreters of Napoleon, discusses the strategy of Jomini and Clausewitz. The third section reviews the strategists from the nineteenth century to the first World War. Here the outstanding contributions seem to me to be the ones on the economic foundations of military power, on Engels and Marx, and on Moltke and Schlieffen. The next chapter treats the strategy from the first World War to the second: Churchill, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Ludendorff; an appraisal of Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin; Maginot; Liddell

Hart, and Haushofer. The final section, "Sea and Air War," traces the military thought of Mahan and his European followers, the naval strategy of Japan, and the skyways of Douhet, Mitchell, and Seversky.

The reader will miss many great "makers of strategy." Caesar is mentioned only occasionally. Napoleon is represented by his interpreters. And while the brilliant epilogue goes into the Nazi concept of war, it fails to appraise Hitler's military strategy, especially in his Russian campaigns. The explanation that some of the greatest soldiers are missing from the story because they were more tacticians than strategists, or because their strategy was recorded on the battlefield, not on the printed page, is not quite convincing.

As a footnote, I should like to call attention to the fact that the name of the ingenious Flemish mapmaker, Mercator, is not mentioned once. Students of military history have utterly neglected the impact of geographical concepts on the making of strategy. But a global strategy cannot be understood without an understanding of the "world view" of its maker. For over 400 years, Mercator's projections of a flat world have deeply and often unconsciously formed the thinking and the planning of those strategists who reached out for world conquest. He deserves his place in this book.

University of Pittsburgh

HANS W. WEIGERT

What Have We Done to the Children?

THEY SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH, by Otto Zoff. Day. 258 pp. Price \$3, postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

THIS IS A MOST TIMELY BOOK. ITS MESSAGE IS ALL THE MORE authoritative in that it is based on research begun long before the events which now make it so significant. Otto Zoff, a Czech scholar and writer, began his studies twenty years ago, when the Western world, which had seen the Children's Charter approved by the League of Nations, was convinced that the right of the child to food, shelter, and care would be preminent. This book is a frightful testimony to the failure of these hopes.

Mr. Zoff spares none of us. We see in his picture the children of all nations suffering, dying, fighting back, planning with incredible courage and tenacity, working in Russia, studying secretly in Poland, helping guerillas in Yugoslavia and Greece, farming in England, and we know that these children will never be satisfied to sink back into a "child world" again. He faces the fact that millions of children, for all their patriotism, are leading a life of what is neither more nor less than banditry. He asks, "What will happen to them after the war? What will they do and what can we do with them?"

The two chapters, "Young Americans and the War," and "The Lost Children of America," are a searching analysis of problems which trouble this country. He sees children disturbed and insecure mentally; he sees young girls crowding to the army camps; the Juvenile Courts filled with young delinquents. The act which is patriotic duty in the guerilla bands of Yugoslavia or France is murder on the streets of New York. But he reminds us of the simple truth that busy children are good children. The extraordinary record of Soviet Russia, which once again leads the way in utilizing the services of children, and in rehabilitating those who have been orphaned or left derelict by war, proves this.

But Mr. Zoff sounds a warning note. All over the world children are starving. They are sick, tuberculous, rickety. How can they wait for succor until the day of victory comes? These children are our children, says Mr. Zoff. There is no guilt among them, we cannot revenge ourselves on them. And yet it is the children who are paying a price so high that all the punishment we can devise for the war guilty cannot exceed it.

Not the least remarkable feature of this book is its absolute objectivity, its broad and loving outlook. The author seems to have no national bias; and so, loving not *a* child, or *the* child, but *all* children, he is able to give us pictures of in-

describable poignancy, in simple and moving language; to show us in a dozen nations the future at work. And so the book ends on a note of hope. In spite of the hideous cruelty of Nazi and fascist rulers, of the suffering of China's youth, of what children endure today from famine, disease, bombing, exile, the concentration camp—if the children can be saved alive there is still hope for the world.

New York

DOROTHY MOULTON MAYER

An Ethical Approach to World Problems

CHRISTIAN BASES OF WORLD ORDER. The Merrick Lectures for 1943. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. 255 pp. Price \$2, postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

THIS LITTLE VOLUME OF THE MERRICK LECTURES AT OHIO Wesleyan University deals in a distinguished way with theology, ethics, and contemporary world problems. The introductory lecture by Vice-President Wallace undertakes to state American democratic ideals in Christian terms. The four theological lectures by widely known scholars—Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Willis J. King, Edgar S. Brightman, and Umphrey Lee—illustrate the variety in Protestant thinking. There is no one "line," but a vigorous social, democratic ethic informs the discussion.

Under the heading, "Factors in World Order," appear the following: A scholarly lecture by Gonzalo Baez-Camargo on the race problem; an expert analysis of the basis of economic freedom by John B. Condliffe; an original discussion of land and human welfare by Bjarne Braatoy; a vigorous exposition of the politics of human welfare from the viewpoint of the new freedoms by Vera Micheles Dean; an eminent physician's analysis of the world problem of health by Dr. Charles-Edward A. Winslow; a challenging survey of the international labor situation by Carter Goodrich; and a moving appeal for a new basis of international education by Reinhold Schairer.

The necessity for full employment after the war is perhaps the most significant single emphasis. It recurs in different contexts, not as a slogan but as practical realism.

A feature of the presentation was the organization, with the lectures as a nucleus, of a conference on the same general subject under the auspices of the Methodist Board of Missions. Seminars, including in their personnel members of different communions, gave reports based on several months of study. The entire event reflected serious thought, factually grounded, and a chastened but courageous mood.

New York

F. ERNEST JOHNSON

Peter Slavek Is a Symbol

ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE, by Arthur Koestler. Macmillan. 180 pp. Price \$2, postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

THE EXILED AUTHORS HAVE CAUSED NO SMALL REVOLUTION IN fiction writing. The individual affairs of their heroes and heroines are tied up with the sufferings of the world at large. Twenty-two-year-old Peter Slavek, hero of Arthur Koestler's fifth book, is devoted to the cause of freedom. Refusing to give information to his native country's fascists, he went through all the tribulations of a political prisoner in a fascist torture camp, until he managed to escape to "Neutralia," the land without blackout. There he met a girl with whom he fell in love, and a woman physician who cured his paralyzed leg by means of psychoanalysis. When the two women left for America, Peter decided to follow and to embark upon a writing career. But just before the liner took off, he changed his mind and rushed back to enlist with one of the anti-fascist powers (no names of countries or political parties are given in the book), once again to fight against the enemies of freedom.

Peter is very ably portrayed, and yet he is a symbol rather than an individual. For he represents the great fraternity of revolutionary intellectuals who are spread across all countries and nations, those who serve a cause and stick to it in spite of all, instead of escaping from the past like the non-

political refugees. This category has often been slandered, and Mr. Koestler well defends those *déracinés* who refuse to regard their hunger for justice as a neurosis, who fight for the common people even though they really do not belong among them.

Peter, the "neurotic," did not betray his collaborators even though the fascists broke his nose, knocked out his teeth, and extinguished burning cigars on his body. He is not devoid of sentiment, but he has learned to "rationalize his emotions, to make his passions crystallize into geometrical patterns." Small wonder that the fascists consider him, the individualist with a collective conscience, a dangerous foe of their superstate where the individuals are to become "mere cells in an organism of a higher order—a million-legged, million-armed cyclopean colossus."

The book is vigorously written, in a style at times reminiscent of the Communist Manifesto of 1848, at others of the Bible. All the techniques of the narrative art, from chronicle-like recording to sophisticated flashbacks, are skilfully used to keep the reader in a state of suspense. Certain parts of the book ought to rank among the finest specimens of contemporary prose: the description of a cattle-car full of Jews who, on their way to death, shout the song, "What shall we do when Messiah arrives?"; the pages dealing with the physical tortures of a prisoner in a fascist land; or the legend Peter wrote, called "The Last Judgment." The theoretical discussion between Peter and the fascist agent in "Neutralia" who tries to win him over, is bound to thrill the discerning reader.

It is not difficult to identify the hero of this slim, yet substantial book with its remarkable author. For Mr. Koestler himself, who once was captured and sentenced to death by Spanish fascists and who had a narrow escape, continues, like Peter, to fight against the enemy.

New York

ALFRED WERNER

The Puzzle That Is Yugoslavia

MY NATIVE LAND, by Louis Adamic. Harper. 507 pp. Price \$3.75, postpaid by Survey Associates, Inc.

LOUIS ADAMIC HAS WRITTEN A BRILLIANT PAMPHLET IN BOOK length to defend his Slovenes against Rebecca West's pro-Serb interpretation of the Yugoslav tragedy in her "Black Lamb and Grey Falcon." The defense is carried to unbelievable extremes. The Serbs are accused of playing the Axis game; the British are accused of sinister and apparently anti-British conspiracy in the Balkans (although no documents are cited, and the individual "agents" remain anonymous), and in Mr. Adamic's scale of values it is obviously a great vice to be under the influence of British agents, while it is a great virtue to follow the advice of their Soviet colleagues. A good deal of this author's interpretation of American policy is on a par with the Stalinist attacks on the State Department and on Cordell Hull "before the Moscow pacts"—and it might be added that the opaque relations between the Tito and Mikhailovitch factions remain obscure after reading his passionate attacks on the British Mikhailovitch "legend," especially after the newspapers have told us of the British officers who were taken prisoner when Tito's Partisans lost a battle.

However, Mr. Adamic is not a research scholar and current Yugoslav affairs are not to be documented in the conventional academic manner. It is also true that the composition of the Yugoslav government in exile holds out very poor promise for a new deal in Yugoslavia, and that its supporters at home and abroad do not seem to have a firm grasp of the dynamic forces in that country, or at large in Europe as a whole.

In spite of disagreements with individual statements or even with whole sections of the book, I have found "My Native Land" fascinating reading because it somehow conveys a sense of truthfulness and validity in its basic thesis. There is a good deal of conjectural history. There are state-

ments about the inevitable weaknesses of small nations that disregard the experience of Switzerland, The Netherlands, and the Scandinavian peoples, not to speak of Czechoslovakia. There is plenty of evidence of pronounced anti-Serb, anti-British, and anti-clerical bias. The fundamental thesis, however, has strong historic logic behind it: Yugoslavia can only be viable in the future, in the light of its tragic past and in view of the success of Axis propaganda in intensifying its divisions, if it undergoes during the war the unifying experience of a revolutionary war against the enemy within and without.

Under the circumstances—and because of the need for Soviet aid as well as the hope that Bulgaria and Macedonia might be included—the dynastic attachments and the class associations of the government in exile are obviously a major obstacle. It is possible to view their development from a cynical Soviet power politics angle—there is a good deal in the record to document such an interpretation—but it is one

of the virtues of Mr. Adamic's approach that he makes it quite plausible that these things were inherent in the internal Balkan picture, and that the Soviet interest is not a causative but rather a strong parallel influence.

The book is full of colorful detail, based on Mr. Adamic's knowledge of the general background as well as of such channels of communication as have remained open during the war. It has a more earthy taste of closeness to the present problems of the southern Slavs than Rebecca West's beautiful book. And it confirms the general impression she managed to convey, of almost incredible vitality in the face of heroic suffering.

"My Native Land" will be a terrible experience for those who think of postwar blueprints in terms of neat little abstractions like "quota force principles," but if it brings such thought a step closer to historic reality it will have served its purpose.

Brooklyn College

HARRY D. GIDEONSE

A TRUCE UPON YOUR HOUSING!

(Continued from page 22)

families to the acre. Using expensive slum land—as the law directs them to do—housing authorities often have built projects that house too many families to the acre. The reason is understandable, but the judgment is debatable. It might be wiser to anticipate trends, especially since the buildings are being built to last a minimum of sixty years.

The sixty-year amortization feature is itself questionable. I do not look for a miracle "dream" home to float down from heaven on a magic drafting board after the war, but I do expect construction and architectural progress. (I certainly do not anticipate a period of stagnation.) These buildings put up to last for sixty years may well be outdated in thirty. I am certain that the size of the rooms will be frowned on long before 1975. The year 2000 is likely to find all noses turned up at the sight of a 1940 public housing project.

Noses may turn up too at the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's Parkchester and its proposed Stuyvesant Town (both in New York City), because they are built on the same high density, tall building, pattern as many of our public projects. On the other hand, the Metropolitan's project in Arlington, Va., Park Fairfax, will probably weather the test of time because it conforms to the most advanced thinking of the moment—fine site planning, low density, adequate community facilities, and so on.

What's Behind the Grievances

THOSE WHO ARE AGAINST PUBLIC HOUSING NOURISH CERTAIN other grievances. The first is that public housing does not pay taxes. True, it pays a stipend in lieu of taxes. The real difficulty lies in the fact that there has been no uniform national policy on tax payments. Each community made its own dicker and the mayor who fussed longest and loudest got the largest amount. The Federal Public Housing Authority should meet with representatives of the localities in which there are housing authorities and determine upon a fair tax policy, one which would not hamper operations yet would satisfy the localities. That policy should not differ in Buffalo, Cincinnati, and Las Vegas. In the future, all public housing projects should pay a definite amount towards city expenses.

A further complaint against public housing is that it is building up a new entrenched interest—that the employees in more than 600 local housing authorities and in the regional and Washington offices of the Federal Public Housing Authority are striving to perpetuate the program in order to keep their jobs. That is slightly ridiculous. Apply that indictment to the members of the forestry service or to the park service and you will find it untenable.

However, the accusation is based on a certain something that calls for consideration. In some housing authorities, the personnel has conceived the notion that the tenants are incidental to the project. Their tenant relations are poor: their methods of establishing eligibility and of checking on incomes are embarrassing. Fortunately this is not universally true, but such instances serve to dismay those of us who believe in a public housing program. Those who administer local housing authorities must guard against the "You do as we tell you" attitude; most tenants are reasonable when things are made clear to them.

Many of the management techniques established by public housing have been studied and emulated by private management. But sometimes there is a slip between the management manual and the execution. It is true that much depends upon personality; that tenant-management relations are not always superlative in privately owned dwellings. But housing authorities need to be doubly careful because theirs is a public trust.

The third complaint is that public housing is trying to kill off all private enterprise. Public housing authorities are accused of getting ready to gobble up the earth when the war is over. The truth is that neither the public housing cause nor the interests of private housing can be furthered without a united front. It is to the interest of private industry that public housing authorities act as experimental demonstration stations. They are not competitors.

The fact is, the local level of housing administration requires streamlining. So many divisions of housing are confusing to the public, to the building, real estate and financial professions, and to the objectives they all seek. There are too many jurisdictional disputes. There is teamwork among the agencies on the national level. The four branches of the National Housing Agency—the Federal Housing Administration, the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration, the Federal Public Housing Authority, and the Homes Use Service—are working in unison. It is time for coordination on the local level.

Is the local housing authority the logical nucleus around which such an organization can center? It is, if it does not isolate itself, and if it serves as a source of information, counsel, and advice to the business, financial, and social interests of the community. It is not, if it has failed to achieve the respect of the community.

It is time to put our housing house in order in every locality so that we can proceed to get ready for the great job which should start when the war is won.

RED CROSS UNDER THE SOUTHERN CROSS

(Continued from page 12)

At the next landing, a Red Cross truck picked us up and I had the front seat with the driver, a woman's advantage not to be sniffed at for a two-hour trip on dusty roads. Before starting off, I had spied some soldiers leveling ground in front of a barracks, and they had put up a sign *WPA Project 69!* The last plane I had been in was called *Hitler's Hearse*, and another *Miss F.E.M.*, which the boys said stood for *Fixit Every Morning*. All the planes have names—most of them funny—and it adds a certain jauntiness to the spirits.

So did food begged from the sergeant of a mess hall—just a slice of bread, I told him. He produced three canned meat sandwiches, jam, canned grapefruit juice—all good. I called my confreres to come and get it—before the truck set us on our way in Admiral Halsey's domain of sea, land, and air.

Noumea

FOR MOST OF US, NEW CALEDONIA HAD BEEN JUST AN "ISLAND in the South Pacific." It has come to mean to me one of the loveliest spots on earth—one to which veterans of the South Seas will be bringing their families when the war is over. It would be perfect for a winter vacation—two days or so from San Francisco—when the war is over and we fly in comfort again.

As it turned out, we were to build our service club under the flame trees of the town square in the little city of Noumea. The town itself is charming—built on hills overlooking a deep blue harbor and the houses settling in with some of the artistry of the French settlers. It was hard to face the fact that there was no existing building we could acquire. True, from the Free French governor down, it was agreed that we were to take over a small moving picture house with a dance floor attached. At the last moment, however, the owner brought up a small proviso not mentioned hitherto—that of course we would supply another building for the present tenants! This was at the end of a week of steady negotiations and after canvassing almost every other building in the place.

Little as we had wished to tackle construction, there was nothing else to do. As the next move, Renee Guthman and Isabel Lee were left in charge to carry on by themselves with a little tent for an office under the trees on the square. Their good French was to enlist the help of the townswomen, as their competence and charm did the cooperation of every branch of our armed services. On our second visit, a big bulldozer was turning up ground. When Stan Sommer and I went back to Australia we were armed with a list of essentials which could not be procured locally—a dreary list of pipes and nozzles and elbows, as well as showers, toilets and basins. These, as well as many other things, were gathered up with no small difficulty on the mainland and put on a boat—only to be sunk on the way over.

The building grew apace and then had to halt, waiting for the installations that did not come. However, it became almost a town project. General Harmon and the army pitched in at every stage, and three months later I found it packed to the doors and serving 7,000 servicemen a day.

Rest Homes

REST HOMES IN THIS WAR ARE ESTABLISHED TO ANSWER THE need of men who have not been wounded but have been under excessive strain. Airmen and jungle fighters in the South Seas often need release and recuperation, both nervously and physically. In establishing these leave areas (their official name) we had to look for locations which had the elements of fun as well as health—a formula which will take on increased importance as the Battle for the Pacific goes forward.

We have an officers' rest home near Noumea which had been the private country place of one of the French inhabitants, a woman clearly with an artistic bent. If you survive the racking roads, you come on a charming villa-like place, high on a cliff. An enormous white round table made from cement stands under a tree. The courtyard looks straight down an eighty-foot drop and from it you can shoot into the sea and bag your own fish for dinner. The cook runs down to bring them up as they come, stunned, to the surface. Then he quickly cleans them and pops them in the pan.

A large motto on the wall as you enter expressed Madame's national feeling towards cookery. It says in French: "Shoot him who does not give you good food," and, realistically, a gun is attached to the wall for the purpose. The threat is not as great a menace as it might be elsewhere where we struggle less satisfactorily with the culinary problem. For we also took over the farm to assure fresh vegetables and milk even though the cows were rather thin and tired looking. Let me give you verbatim an early report from Coletta Ryan, the ARC director (now area superior), who had run a hotel in Washington, and knew what it meant to be a good provider. "Here," she wrote, "I shall begin to tell you all":—

1. The entire main house is screened in completely.
2. No. 2 Annex—new porch all round completely screened.
3. Clearing of ground at back for badminton and volley ball court.
4. Tennis court under royal palms near beach (simply swell).
5. New chicken coop completely enclosed (more chicks and more eggs).
6. New paddock for two more milking cows.
7. Borrowed a female pig from caretaker—*Ooh La La*—new pigs—seven.
8. Grounds thoroughly cleaned—looking as if care were really taken of place.
9. Kitchen—set up completely—new stove, etc.
10. Removed Tonkinese shacks top of hill, burned down, now awaiting word to build another annex.
11. Front of house of white coral (looks so nice).
12. Ramou now building grass shack in woods for hunters (taking lunch, etc.).
13. REEFER [huge refrigerator] installed. Planted vegetable seeds.

Along with the above go greens and tropical fruits, so it really is gastronomically a very exciting venture. It turned into one, also, humanly speaking, on Coletta Ryan's third night. A thin half-starved looking French foreman headed the strange assortment of Tonkinese and Chinese who made up the farm help. His wife was expecting a baby. So Miss Ryan was not altogether surprised to have her rush into her room about two in the morning. But she was surprised to see her carrying her youngest child (a little boy of two) and screaming that he had been poisoned. The child's face was green. The Red Cross director promptly held him upside down and shook him; hoping the law of gravitation would act on the poison—which it did.

Putting him down on her bed, she hurried out to learn the cause of still more screams outside. There she found the father attempting to cut off the head of a Chinese farmhand he insisted had poisoned his little boy. Coletta Ryan tried persuasion but as things had gone beyond an intellectual appeal, she proceeded to "give him one in the jaw." The poor man fell down either from force or surprise (she says force) and burst into loud sobbing. At this point the Oriental tactfully withdrew and the wife once more took the stage, announcing that the baby was about to arrive.

Some time in the early part of the excitement a pharmacist's mate had been summoned. He arrived in a naval truck and offered to take the poisoned child and his father to the hospital. The wife maintained that if her husband went, she

RED CROSS UNDER THE SOUTHERN CROSS

(Continued from page 29)

would go too. There was considerable reluctance on the part of the sailor to have a maternity case as a passenger. They would have to traverse fifteen miles of road, some of it almost impassable. The expectant mother planted herself squarely in front of the truck, and as it was impossible to move without her, the entire group set off to populate the earth.

Rest & Milk

IN A LEAVE AREA IN A SMALL COAST TOWN ON THE MAINLAND, WE achieved bed space for a thousand officers and men, seventy-five flying in each day for ten-day leaves. A hotel, its annexes and eight guest houses, were made over to meet the desire for beds with sheets and for three meals served with all the fixings. We also took over a large garage which was turned into a game room, and a door was broken through to a snack bar where a man might go after breakfast to eat, return after lunch and eat off and on until dinner. An average gain in weight of seven pounds in the course of a leave testified to the advantages of the system.

"What I mean is, can I have all the milk I want—and I mean *all*?" said a thin young American soldier when he reached another leave area after six months in the battle zone. "All he wanted" in his case meant sixteen glasses a day, which in a week was translated into twenty pounds gain in weight—along, of course, with good food, a good bed, and good fun.

This rest home faces a sandy beach that would make Atlantic City or Coronado look to their laurels. There are long days in the ocean and boat picnics down the bay. Two hundred men can be put up here, but it looks like an overgrown family when you chance in of an evening. Rugs may be turned up in a porch room for an informal dance with some of the local girls; a card game goes on in a corner. Milk, "coke," and an equivalent of Eskimo pie, issue from the recesses of the one-time bar of what was once a small seaside hotel. The favorite talk always leads back home, yet you cannot help but learn about war in its most vivid terms, for these men have so recently come from where the fighting was hardest. Yet I have seen a group of their kind absorbed an entire morning in playing with a couple of puppies.

It has been a great blessing to American servicemen that Australia is a dairying country, for in most places milk and butter are plentiful and milk seems to be the thing our men crave most. I do not mean to have you infer that is all they crave, but the story has gone the rounds of a continent that an American soldier stopped a milk cart in Sydney and bought a quart. This he proceeded to drink, while the milkman waited, smacking his lips as he handed back the empty bottle. The really strenuous milk drinking may be due to a recognized lack of calcium in the soil. Or it may be due to excellent health training in the U. S. A., in these last twenty years. I can't but think the latter. However, if one may generalize about two wars, I think there is less hard drinking among our soldiers in Australia than I saw in France.

Our Hosts

IN A WAY, THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF INDIVIDUAL REST HOMES in the South and Southwest Pacific. For along with the generous service they give our clubs, Australian and New Zealand families constantly entertain our men on leave. Sometimes it seemed there could scarcely be a family left who had not adopted an American, and the servicemen come back to visit their adopted families at every opportunity.

I, too, had an adopted home—that of Margery Street who took me in to convalesce after my bout in a hospital. While I was her guest she had much on her mind an army sergeant by name of "Spike." For many months past, Spike had come and gone as a member of her nephew's family, carrying the

key to the house in his pocket to use at will. Now he was at the front and had written that his broken wrist watch "was seriously impairing the war effort." My friend was turning Sydney upside down to find one that just suited the young American's specifications.

On one of my last weeks, two Red Cross hospitality centers had just placed 1,400 men in homes for three-day leaves. These were marines just out of Guadalcanal fighting, eager for something like home after their months in the jungle. I remember how warmly I shared in their satisfaction as we put T-bone steaks in front of them in our service club.

Nor can I forget the tall young soldier who was just starting out from a service club to make such a visit to his adopted family, when malaria struck him again. He tried hard to control his sudden shaking as he turned to go. But in ten minutes he was in our dispensary and the ambulance had to take him away to spend his prized holiday in a hospital.

PEOPLE ASKED ME MANY TIMES WHY AUSTRALIANS AND AMERICANS get on so well together. To my mind, one of the reasons is that we both, in the not too distant past, have settled continents. The easy friendliness of pioneers is still in our blood and theirs—and that of the New Zealanders.

We can all of us hope this kinship will play its part in the years ahead, not only in our dealings with each other but with the native peoples of the Pacific. Mutual confidence which takes hold in wartime should make it easier to help plan a new world together instead of a war.

There naturally are difficulties inherent in settling en masse in another's country. Surface disputes are bound to crop up. But our Red Cross steaks and all the butter on them and the French-fried potatoes are provided by our hosts to the shorter supply of civilians. Some Australian girls are fickle; some American servicemen flirtatious. Our troops are well paid, are well pressed, and we do like to tell all and sundry how to make coffee. But I am sure our mutual liking goes way below the surface.

Under it all lies that natural response to a new country waiting for a fresh generation of pioneers. One can't but feel the opportunities inherent in these lands and in the people. There is an amazing chance for social and economic pioneering. With the living tradition of our melting pot, we might like to see their racial stocks crossed with Italian, Jewish, Polish, Russian, Scandinavian and all the other elements that make our North American civilization so vital and stirring. But certain it is that their vested interests are not so vested as ours. The class distinctions not so distinct. Social responsibility is greater per capita. And climate and soil are on man's side.

HOW DO THE AGED "GET ALONG"?

(Continued from page 17)

different banks. Interest of \$21 a year on these savings was their only supplement to their insurance payments of \$41 a month. Hence their income was drastically reduced from Mr. Woodbridge's earnings of \$118 a month as a mechanic for the bus company, before he was laid off at seventy-four years of age. They had gotten through the previous year without going into debt only by withdrawing \$60 from their savings. "If we live too long," Mrs. Woodbridge commented, "we know we could get help from our three married children."

But many of those interviewed had far less security than the Woodbridges, for their uncertain income, beyond their benefits, was derived only from occasional odd jobs, unemployment compensation, help from relatives, or public assistance.

In St. Louis, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the three southern cities, from 15 to 18 percent received help from relatives outside their homes or from relief agencies. Because of

California's more liberal old age assistance program, slightly over a third of the men in Los Angeles reported such help. But many of this group had no savings and few owned their own homes.

Many of those whose incomes were inadequate to their needs, were helped by relatives in the same household. Approximately 16 percent of the aged people interviewed in Los Angeles, and 30 percent of those in the other cities, were assisted by relatives with whom they lived. The proportion may in fact be considerably greater, for many aged persons or couples with higher incomes lived more comfortably in the larger family units than they could have lived alone on their own resources.

The St. Louis picture might be taken as fairly typical. A summary shows that approximately one fifth of the aged couples lived in poverty in the survey year, most of them alone, a few with relatives. Of one fifth of the couples at the opposite extreme, about one third lived by themselves on incomes of \$100 or more a month, and slightly over two thirds in larger family units where the combined income was \$250 or more a month. Between these two groups—the 20 percent who lived in poverty and the 20 percent in relative comfort—were found the majority of these aged couples. Slightly fewer than half of this "middle group" lived by themselves on incomes of \$50 to \$99 a month, and slightly over half lived with relatives where the family incomes ranged from \$100 to \$249 a month.

What Is Their Future?

IF THESE SAME RECIPIENTS OF OLD AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE were revisited a year hence, it would be possible to determine whether the Athan's hope is to be realized, the hope of another job, the opportunity to work again. This hope becomes more desperate as meager savings and resources melt away. Of the 2,963 beneficiary families visited, approximately 270 used up some portion of their assets during the survey year. To use Mrs. Woodbridge's poignant phrase, many face the prospect of "living too long" and outlasting their resources.

If it is possible to depict the typical retired urban worker, the testimony of these thousands would suggest a composite something like this: He was forced out of work by his employer or by ill health or by both, in his sixty-fifth year or not long after. When he found himself out of work, he had a wife to support; the more fortunate still had one or more of their children living with them. He owned his own home but had periodic payments on the mortgage to make. He had modest savings or investments yielding not more than \$25 a month. He refused to accept the prospect that he could not find another job and get back on his feet again, hence he postponed adjusting his life to a sharply reduced income. While he put off this adaptation, he used up savings that might be sorely needed in the future.

Against this backdrop of how old people "get along" must be appraised the two efforts now made in this country to provide security for aged workers. The first, the federal-state system of old age assistance, provides relief to those without resources, on the basis of need. The second, the federal old age and survivors insurance program, provides monthly income based on the worker's previous wages from which he contributed to the insurance fund. Both efforts contribute materially to old age security. Both assistance and insurance are essential to a solution of the problem of the man or woman too old to work for wages in an industrialized society. But the results of this survey underscore what administrators and critics of American old age insurance have repeatedly pointed out—the inadequacy of the present scheme. In almost half the 3,600 cases covered in this inquiry, the insurance benefits were too small, when added to the meager resources of the insured, to secure to them after their working years "safe lodging, a long rest, and peace at the last."



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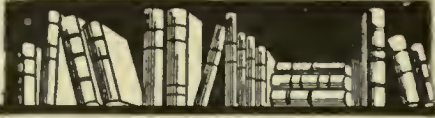
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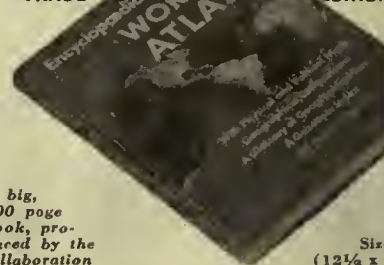
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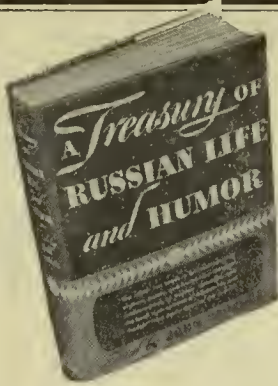
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OLD AMERICAN SLOGANS ARE ECHOING TODAY half way round the world. Slavic versions of Walt Whitman's hail: "O PIONEERS!" And Horace Greeley's marching orders for youth in our frontier days, now turned about-face:—"GO EAST, YOUNG MAN, GO EAST!"

PART I (PAGE 42) MAKES CLEAR OUR APPROACH to this adventure in understanding. Every contributor writes from an American angle. Every writer, save the first, has been to Russia. The exception makes this issue even more representative of the generality of his countrymen as Vice President of the USA. Next an Ohioan asks us to meet his Russian friends. Comes a cavalcade of interpreters whose American eyes for a quarter century have followed the course of Soviet events. Then come hands held out in a great crisis, through war relief and lend-lease.

PART II (PAGE 62) TELLS HOW THE TREMENDOUS westward drive of the Red Armies from the Volga to the Pripet marshes is matched by an epic trek of eastward settlement . . . How back of the Urals a Soviet Middle East smacks of our own Middle West . . . How we all but touch hands where Alaska reaches out into the Pacific . . . How postwar air routes will make us neighbors across the North Pole.

Put another way, beginning with European borderlands from the Baltic to the Black Sea, we range above and beyond Lake Baikal to an Asiatic Wild East—"spittin' image" of our old Wild West.

PART III (PAGE 90) SCANS NEW HORIZONS IN Russian life and labor—in arts, folklore, race relations; among youth and women, workers and scientists; in health and things of the spirit.

LAST, IN PART IV (PAGE 117) FINAL CONTRIBUTORS draw the strands of American-Russian relations together. They take up traits, education, trade; stumbling blocks and stepping stones; and those talks at Moscow and Teheran of fronts and ships and—sealing wax tough enough to keep the Four Freedoms of the Atlantic Charter intact.

THIS NINTH NUMBER ROUNDS OUT FIVE YEARS of our "Calling America" series of *Survey Graphic* specials. Two were reprinted as books. Three ran into second editions. Two reached printings close to 100,000 copies; the series as a whole—to half a million. They have been spearheads in the wartime work of Survey Associates as a cooperative educational society operating along borders of research and journalism.

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN FRONTIERS was initiated by our president, Richard B. Scandrett Jr. (page 62). With Albert Rhys Williams (page 42), his colleague as special editor, and Florence Loeb Kellogg as art editor, board and staff have had the spirited reinforcement of counselors and contributors. In such a number the map makers have taken telling part in our team play: General Drafting Co., Richard Edes Harrison, Pictograph Corporation, Russell J. Walrath. Our thanks to the Metropolitan Museum of Art for a sheaf of photographs.—

PAUL KELLOGG



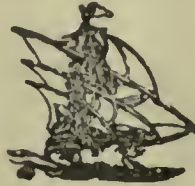
Courtesy Embassy of the USSR

THE SOVIET ICEBREAKER "J. STALIN" IN THE GREENLAND SEA

SURVEY GRAPHIC

MAGAZINE OF SOCIAL INTERPRETATION

AMERICAN
FRONTIERS
RUSSIAN



Ninth in our
"CALLING AMERICA"
Series of Special
Numbers

Two Peoples—One Friendship

A Foreword by HENRY A. WALLACE
Vice President, United States of America

OF ALL NATIONS, RUSSIA HAS THE MOST POWERFUL COMBINATION of a rapidly increasing population, great natural resources, and immediate expansion in technological skills. Siberia and China will furnish the greatest frontier of tomorrow. It is quite possible that the next generation will see as much American trade moving across the Pacific to Asia as has formerly moved across the Atlantic to Europe.

The Americans and Russians are both frontier peoples. Both are continental peoples, with imagination and faith in the future. We have conquered our frontier but we are close enough to it to appreciate the spirit in which the Russians are developing Siberia.

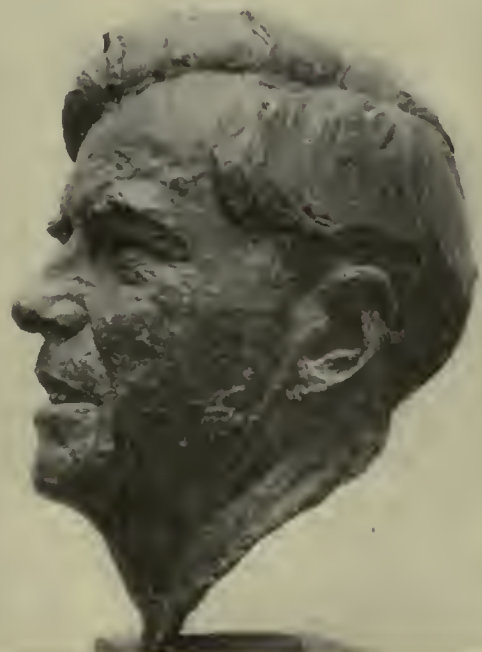
When Molotov was in Washington in the spring of 1942 I spoke to him about the combined highway and airway which I hope some day will link Chicago and Moscow via Canada, Alaska and Siberia. Molotov, after observing that no one nation could do this job by itself, said that he and I would live to see the day of its accomplishment. It would mean much to the peace of the future if there could be some tangible link of this sort between the pioneer spirit of our own West and the frontier spirit of the Russian East.

ASIA IS ON THE MOVE. ASIA DISTRUSTS EUROPE BECAUSE OF its "superiority complex." We must give Asia reason to trust us. We must demonstrate to Russia and China, in particular, that we have faith in the future of the Common Man in those two countries. We can be helpful to both China and Russia and in being helpful can be helpful to ourselves and to our children. In planning our relationships today with Russia and China, we must think of the world situation as it will be forty years hence. The Russian population will be 250,000,000, and Russia and Asia together will represent more than half the population of the whole world.

We must never allow ourselves to be put in a position which is antagonistic to Russia and Asia. For this reason,

it is just as important to the people of the United States to interest ourselves in them as in Latin America. Of course we shall cooperate with England and Western Europe. That is taken for granted, but the most important growing points of the world for the next century will be Asia, Russia, and Latin America. We would be false to ourselves if we did not recognize this and act accordingly, so that we may have peace for our children and not a succession of bloody wars.

I have every reason to believe that Russia is the natural friend of the Americas in the years immediately ahead.



HENRY A. WALLACE

Courtesy Educational Alliance, New York
by Jo Davidson

Meet the Russian People

From Revolutionists a quarter century ago — to Pioneers on a continental scale.
How like us they are in their sins and shortcomings, their virtues and their valor.

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

IN THIS WAR, RUSSIA HAS GIVEN AMERICANS many surprises: The ceaseless flow of cannon, tanks and planes to the front; the quality of their performance; the skill and strategy of her young generals. The greatest surprise is the stamina and fighting spirit of her people—in the words of Secretary Hull, "the epic quality of their patriotic fervor."

The people are the real "secret weapon" of Russia. In them is the key to everything else. No one understood this better than Lenin, adjuring his comrades to remember that: "Among the masses we are but a drop in the ocean and we can govern only if we adequately express their ideas and feelings." By every means he sought to find out what these were. Once in the Kremlin, I was waiting to see him along with several high placed diplomats and officials. From inside his office came the muffled rumble of conversation, while we waited a half hour cooling our heels. This was very unusual as Lenin was punctual in his appointments. What important personage could be keeping him so long? At last the door opened, and out of it emerged—not the high dignitary we had imagined—but a bearded peasant in shaggy sheepskin coat and bast sandals.

"Excuse me, gentlemen, for detaining you," said Lenin, and when I entered his office he exclaimed, "That was a real *muzhik* from Tambov. I wanted to get his ideas on conscription, electrification, the payment of the Tsar's debts. And what good ideas! *Molodets*. Clever fellows our *muzhiks*!"

Like Lincoln's "Plain People"

LENIN'S FAITH IN THE WISDOM AND POWER of the common people has been shared by all the great Russian leaders. Thus Tolstoy bade the intelligentsia sit at the feet of the peasants and learn from them. And Stalin declares, "Leaders come and go, governments rise and fall; only the people endure, only the people are eternal."

"If you really want to understand Russia," Kalinin told me twenty-five years ago, "go to the villages—the dark and deaf villages." The word used by the long-time president of the Soviet Union was *glookhoy*, meaning faraway places into

which the sounds and ferment of the world had not yet penetrated. Beginning in the spring of 1917, for over two decades I journeyed in and out of those villages all the way from the bleak coast of Archangel, down the Volga, and into the mountains of the Caucasus. As an American, one was always sure of a heartfelt welcome even in the farthest reaches of the land. In 1939, I was to find still strong among the people the memory of the food, clothes and medicines we sent them in the great famine of 1921. Just as Americans twenty-five or fifty years hence will be shown their appreciation in countless ways of the aid we are giving them today.

Likewise, one shares in the prestige and admiration won by our engineers in Russia for their highly efficient services and democratic ways. Instead of sitting in a swivel chair and telling the Russian workers what to do, they slipped on greasy overalls, went down into mine pit or firebox and helped them to do it. As a result, the Russians have come to look upon almost any American or Canadian as a mechanical wizard—an understudy of Ford or Edison. That was a bit embarrassing when on my arrival in a village they would bring forth a decrepit pump or broken down tractor confidently expecting me to fix it.

My first impression of the Russians—and one that has deepened over the years—is how like Americans they are in certain aspects of character and temperament, in their sense of humor, even in their sins and shortcomings. And it seems to me—as like conditions produce like people—they will become increasingly more so as time goes on.

Evidence in point of this *likeness* is that when Americans and Russians come together almost always they have a *liking* for each other.

Humanism—and a Christening

TO AMERICANS, THE MOST INGRATIATING quality of the Russians is their great-heartedness, their impulsive good nature, their humanism. No one more caustically depicted the crimes and cruelties of the Russians than Gorky, but to him, as to a host of others who know them best, from Tolstoy to Sir Bernard Pares, their

great redeeming quality is this humanism. It is manifest in their abounding hospitality.—In their feeling of pity and compassion—the peasant word for criminals is simply "the unfortunate ones," *nechastniki*.—In the spirit of understanding and forgiveness that runs through all Russian literature.—In the eagerness with which Red Army men shared with the first German prisoners their last food and tobacco.

Avid for life, the Russians desire it likewise for others, for all men. In this spirit they began their revolution, inscribing on the first wooden monuments to those who fell in its defense:

AGAINST RICHES, KNOWLEDGE AND
POWER FOR THE FEW, YOU FOUGHT A
GOOD FIGHT, AND WITH GLORY YOU DIED
IN ORDER THAT POWER, RICHES, AND
KNOWLEDGE SHOULD BECOME UNIVERSAL.

Thus their revolution was to bring salvation not to themselves alone, but to the whole world. That's why the Comintern (Third International), as one of its instruments, evoked so deep a response in the people. In their first outburst of enthusiasm they even christened their children *Comintern* and *Cominternina*, or after its spiritual fathers, Marx, Lenin, Engels.

Twenty years ago, I was a godfather at one of these ceremonies in the village of Dikanka. Into a crowded hall, festooned with red banners, the parents proudly carried their little girl baby. The local soviet president congratulated them that their child was growing up in the new era of light and brotherhood, now dawning throughout the world. Symbol of this was a cake of soap presented to the parents with the admonition to bathe the baby every week. Next a huge volume of Karl Marx that "with her young teeth she should early learn to gnaw the hard granite of social science." Finally to the strains of *The Internationale*, the squirming, loudly protesting infant was thrust into my arms for her christening. The name she was to bear was *Profinternina*, which means Trade Union International.

In the years following came the historic conflict in which Leon Trotsky, the fiery advocate of carrying communism to the world by international revolution, was de-

feated by Stalin, the advocate of concentrating on the building of socialism in Russia. Soon after came a letter from Dikanka telling me how little Trade-Union-International was now a big and flourishing girl. But with my approval, her name was now to be changed to the old fashioned Russian one of *Nadezhda* (Hope).

In this is a parable of the changes in Russia, reflected this past year in the belated dissolution of the Comintern. If the upsurge of nationalism means that the world outlook of the Russians is now replaced by a narrow, rampant patriotism there would be small cause for rejoicing. Fortunately the feeling of solidarity, for the unity of all mankind, is deeply implanted in the Russians.

World Communism may be in the discard, but not the idea of a world community.

That is why the project for some international organization, some association of nations for an enduring peace, finds staunch support in all the Russian peoples. To it they can contribute not merely some mystic feeling of brotherhood—that in itself is not to be scoffed at. They can bring to this project for all mankind the results of valuable experience in many fields. They have become skilled in the technique of administering vast areas. They have abolished unemployment and put into effect an extensive system of social security. They have satisfied the interests and aspirations of the most diverse peoples and races while holding them together in political and economic union.

Welding Force of Industrialization

SINCE 1917, THE FACE OF THE COUNTRY has been transformed by a grid of giant industries. Half a million tractors were loosed on the land, a hundred new towns and cities rose in virgin forests and on the steppes. But the people who live in these new cities, drive the new tractors and new tanks, operate the machines and the Bren guns—are for the most part the sons and daughters of peasants. That is the cardinal fact to keep in mind about the 193,000,000 people of the USSR. Stemming directly from the soil or a scant generation removed from it, they are a hardy, robust, virile, strong nerved stock. I have seen a woodsman, light of heart, take off for a fifty mile trek into the wilderness with only a big loaf of black bread slung on his back. I have seen a woman in the fields give birth to a child and an hour later go on with the harvesting.

As the people moved into the cities and factories, their original heritage of physical stamina and vigor has been conserved, perhaps increased, by mass participation in

gymnastics and sports; by laws protecting them from the ravages of war-torn industrialism, and by the practical elimination of such scourges as cholera, typhus and smallpox.

Otherwise they would have been unable to endure the ordeals of this war, and before that the furious tempo of the Five-Year Plans. "Into a decade," says the *London Economist*, "the Russians telescoped the industrial progress which in most other countries has taken generations."

They were to pay for this in almost incredible hardships and in suffering. "To make iron, we went on iron rations." "To put belts on machines, we tightened our own belts."

In wartime, average Americans are enjoying a life of luxury compared with what the Russians had in peacetime. Of course it is nonsense to say that there had been no rise in their standard of living. But that was in no wise commensurate to the sacrifices and exertions they put into



ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

—Special editor of this number who has spent half of the last twenty-five years close to Russian soil, bringing poise and insight to his interpretation of Soviet evolution.

Back in 1918, an early pamphlet of his, "The Questions and Answers," ran into two million copies and was translated into twelve languages.

Ohio born, graduate of Marietta College and Hartford Theological Seminary, fellow at Cambridge (England), and Marburg (Germany), the titles of Mr. Williams' books register his major findings: "In the Claws of the German Eagle" (1918); "Lenin: The Man and His Work" (1919); "Through the Russian Revolution" (1922); "The Russian Land" (1927); "The Soviets" (1937); "The Russians: the Land, the People and Why They Fight" (1943).

the steel mills, smelters, blast furnaces and power plants, which have risen all over the Russian land. Clearly, the zeal with which they built them is not to be explained in material terms alone, nor are the fighting spirit and fury with which they defend them.

Where then are the clues to be found? Here are four:

I.

THEIR GIANT PLANTS GIVE THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE THE QUICKENING CONSCIOUSNESS OF HIGH ACHIEVEMENT.

Rich as were her resources, Old Russia had almost the lowest yield per acre; imported most of its machines from abroad. Hence a certain self-depreciation before foreigners in Tsarist days—especially toward Americans, masters and creators of machines.

"The only machine we ever invented," the Old Russians would say deprecatingly, "is the samovar." So persistent was this bemoaning of their backwardness, that an American remarked, "If only these Russians would quit being so sorry for themselves!"

They certainly are no longer. Humility has given way to a great national pride. And not without reason for they know now they can build with the best, everything from precision instruments to mammoth planes and caterpillar tanks. The story of the long up hill climb is dramatized in charts and graphs which assail the eye from every side. Starting from a scant thousand in 1913, the red line on the graph for machine tools thus rose to 48,000 by 1940. That on the graph for electric output shot up from 2,000,000,000 kilowatts to over 50,000,000,000.

The Russian passion for such diagrams, which is so perplexing to the foreigner, is wholly natural. Watching the red lines climbing to high peaks from the low production level of the past, their pride and joy climb with them. The lines represent the triumph of the national will over tremendous obstacles. Soviet Russia had to start from scratch, proceeding by trial and error in a war wracked, impoverished land. No trained personnel; no credits from abroad; the ridicule of skeptics who dismissed their first Five-Year Plan as a "statisticians' fantasy" merely a "blueprint of the millennium."

But the Russians went ahead in face of suffering, translating the fantasy and the blueprint into reality.

It was a gruelling struggle, but people cherish not less but more what they put their whole being into. Pointing to a big plant rising above the river near the village of Saburova (in which I long sojourned) an old peasant exclaimed, "How we dug and sweat and froze for that old devil! But we built it and it is ours." To the sense of achievement was added the sense of possession.

For ownership of all these mills and factories is vested in the municipality, the cooperative or the state.

II.

THEIR FARFLUNG ENTERPRISES GIVE THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE MYRIAD OPPORTUNITIES FOR SELF-EXPRESSION AND ADVANCEMENT.

In opening up the Eurasian continent countless positions were created in agriculture, industry, science, the arts and professions. Often these were filled by workers trained and educated under the old regime, for, contrary to Wendell Willkie and general opinion, the upper and middle classes did not all perish in the Revolution or run away from it. In the Red Army of twenty-five years ago, were some 30,000 officers from the Tsar's army.

And there were thousands like Pavlov and Gorky, who first cooperated half-heartedly and then whole-heartedly with the new Soviet regime.

Had their numbers been ten times greater, they could not have filled all the jobs and positions opened by the huge and constantly expanding economy. Into them stepped men direct from farms and forges to the factories. At first it was a half-trained personnel rushed through short, makeshift emergency courses. Today it is a force, competent and well-trained in a great grid of *technicums*, institutes and the new labor reserve schools set up since the war. These are much like American schools and each of their seven million students is sure a job—ten jobs—will be waiting for him upon graduation.

From them in steady procession the sons and daughters of the peasants—sometimes the peasants themselves—are moving up into places of responsibility and power.

Go to any village and one hears complaints aplenty about low wages, high prices, the lack of things. Then ask these complainants about their children and see their eyes light up as they eagerly tell you: "Pavel is commander of an air squadron," "Nikolai is director of a factory in Samarkand," "Vladimir is a chemist," "Mashenka is studying to be a doctor in Moscow." Hearing the same tale repeated in any village one chances on from the Arctic to the Caucasus, calls to mind Carlyle's remark concerning:

"The staircase of history resounding to the noise of the wooden shoe of the peasant ascending."

Out of the villages have come most of the young generals of the Red Army; from the plow or the work bench most of the commissars and executives, the engineers, technicians, architects, journalists, physicians. True, their incomes are usually far less than those in corresponding positions with us. But they have other compensations.

Among their incentives to exert themselves to the utmost is the knowledge that the profit from their labors does not go into private pockets but into the public pool for the benefit of all. Others are the awards and decorations bestowed for signal and faithful service—from the orders of Lenin or of Victory, to *Hero of Socialist Labor*. There is, also, assurance that no barriers

of caste or race will keep them from the highest posts, with manifold opportunities to fit themselves therefor. All these incentives apply not only to the highly placed and the intelligentsia but to the rank and file at their more prosaic tasks in office, farm and factory.

III.

INDUSTRIALIZATION HAS NOT ONLY CHANGED THE FACE OF THE RUSSIAN LAND BUT THE ATTITUDE AND OUTLOOK OF THE PEOPLE.

Gone forever is the old *muzhik*, cap in hand, bowing low before the landlord. In his place is rising a new type standing erect and, as the Russians say, looking you "not in the eyebrows but straight in the eye." They are more alert and aggressive, self-reliant, confident in their powers.

One factor in the making of these new Soviet citizens is the sense of release from old disabilities and restraints. This is reflected in a letter I received from Vassily, a former Mordvinian landless laborer:

"In the old days when I asked the *kulak* for a day's work, I would kneel down and often get only a kick. If he lent one pood of grain, I had to pay back two. We were the backbone and didn't dare open our mouths to the whitebone. Now we can talk back to anyone and go anywhere."

Another factor is the schools in which some 50,000,000 once illiterate Vassilys have learned to read and write. Another, the 70,000 local soviets, cooperatives and unions in which yearly millions of Vassilys are learning how to rule themselves by ruling.

Other political, cultural, and social institutions play their parts in molding and re-educating the people, but through it all the most fundamental factor is industrialization and its concomitants—the collective farms and tractors, science, the new techniques. These largely have broken the hold of the past on the people, releasing them from feeling the futility of effort and that paralyzing fatalism with which the peasants especially were sorely afflicted.

IV.

IN THE NEW INDUSTRIES AND TECHNIQUES THE RUSSIANS SEE THE FOUNDATION OF A FUTURE OF PLENTY AND FREEDOM.

In the midst of a two hour report filled with endless statistics about blast furnaces, coal, oil, and metals, Molotov, when president of the Council of People's Commissars, paused to explain what it was all about: "That on this foundation we may build an abode for humanity—a spacious abode filled with light and sunshine." Only occasionally do Soviet leaders indulge in such visions of the future. Unlike the orators of the French Revolution, they are not given to panegyrics about the dawn of liberty, equality, fraternity. And like leaders, like people.

Nevertheless, the idea of a good society is a very animating force in their lives—so much so that foreigners are a bit nonplussed when Russians constantly conjugate

the verb "to be" in its future tense. The family in a dingy, crowded room will tell about their spacious apartment when the town gets its share of new housing. The member of a poor, struggling collective farm will draw a glowing forecast of fat herds and bumper crops that will cover the fields.

Prosperity ever lies just around the corner of the next Five-Year Plan. Tell almost any Soviet citizen that for all its achievements Russia is still, in this field or that, behind the countries of the West—and if you can get him to admit it, the reply will be, "Give us another ten or twenty years...."

Little evidence of the good society of plenty and freedom today in our war torn world—or in Russia! But in its ultimate coming Russians firmly believe. It is this conviction that kept them going through dark days of bitter disappointments, setbacks, defeats, betrayals. And it sustains them today as they face widespread desolation in their land. "Out of the rubble and ashes of our cities," says the Soviet front-line writer Ehrenburg, "we shall build fairer ones and fill them with fuller, richer life...."

A Case in Point

ARRIVING LATE ONE NIGHT, TWENTY YEARS ago, in a remote Archangel village, I sought refuge from the drizzling rain and mosquitoes in a peasant's home. My host lifted his ten-year-old daughter out of the one bed in the house. I noticed she was scratching her face as he motioned me to her place. Soon after dawn I woke to find her nearby, still scratching. I asked the little girl what the trouble was.

"Smallpox," she answered in matter of fact Russian. "That's why I was sleeping in the bed. Black smallpox!"

No one ever got out onto the floor faster than I. It seemed that smallpox was epidemic in the village; fifteen had already died of it; the nearest doctor was fifty *vershs* away. There was no point in being outraged at my big host who in abounding hospitality had given me his only bed. Neither he nor the other villagers could understand my agitation. They were deeply interested in me as a man from America, but not at all as a man who had just slept in a smallpox bed. Most of them had been doing that for a month. They shook their heads skeptically when I sought to expound the germ theory, advancing against it their own way of thinking. To each man his predestined lot, and no escaping it. It's Fate that metes out good or evil, life, death, and smallpox.

"What is to be, will be," expounded an old *muzhik*. "It gets you or it passes you by. You die or you don't!"

Incontrovertible but distressing doctrine. In it the peasants were confirmed by a church teaching resignation and submission to one's lot. More tragic than the pestilences

and famines that decimated the villages, than their ignorance, miseries, poverty and back-breaking labor, was this passive acceptance of these ills—the feeling that they could do little or nothing to remedy them. “As things are, so they needs must be.”

Today the people of the USSR know they need not be. Over the malaria-breeding marshes sweep the sanitary planes, destroying with clouds of chemicals the larvae of mosquitoes and locusts. Across the fields the big harvesters reap in a day more than the whole family—toiling with sickles from before dawn till after dark—could garner in a month. Along the rivers rise the big power dams, impounding the waters that once flooded the fields.

No longer peasants at the mercy of blind inscrutable forces, the Soviet people know they can control the elements and make them do their bidding. What they have already done is an earnest of much greater things they will do. Stalin's charge that “There are no citadels that cannot be taken,” voices their high faith and confidence in themselves and in their future.

LIKENESS AND LIKING

IS THERE ANYTHING FAMILIAR ABOUT these Soviet traits and beliefs? Confidence in one's country, its achievements, its future. The feeling that here is a Land of Opportunity. A self-reliant people, energetic, courageous, ready to sacrifice for their children. Are not these the hallmarks of Americans?

Out of closer contacts in this war, we are discovering that in spite of external differences, Russians are in many ways like ourselves. In history, geography, industry—and consequently in the characteristics of the people—there are striking parallels and resemblances between America and Russia.

The Cult of Bigness

BOTH COUNTRIES ARE LARGE IN AREA, population and resources, which in turn imparts a certain largeness of mind and outlook. Both people talk big, plan big, do big things. To North America the new Russia instinctively turned for guidance in large scale farming, building construction and the techniques of mass production.

At the outset the Russians acted on the principle that the biggest must perforce be the best. If astronomers asked funds for a 100-inch telescope lens, why not a 300-inch one? If farms of a thousand acres were good, why not fifty or a hundred thousand? So they threw together vast acreages, with radio stations and airplanes to serve them.

Finding, in time, no virtue in sheer size the giant farms were cut into smaller units. They found, too, that for certain lines of production small shops were more efficient than huge factories. Like Americans they came to turn against *megalopolis* — the piling up of people in big cities.



Sovfoto

Hauling American lend-lease supplies for Soviet military use by the Iranian railway, the American sergeant, left, and the two Russians are friends both at work and in moments of relaxation. The German-made locomotive behind them now serves the Allies.

Even so, there is no getting away from the superlative in Soviet Russia. As the biggest country in the world it has the biggest army, the largest budget, the longest rail and river routes. In Moscow are foundations for the tallest building on earth; on the Volga, for the most powerful electric plant. Constant dealing with colossal projects and well nigh astronomical figures gives scope and reach to the imagination. It begets in Russians, as in Americans, a receptiveness to big ideas no less than enterpriseness, a readiness to welcome bigger ones.

BOTH PEOPLES ARE MULTINATIONAL. THE Soviet Union is a vast mosaic of races and peoples ranging from hunting tribes like the Chukchi to the Georgians, Christianized in the third century. In complete reversal of Tsarist policy of forcible Russification, the Soviets assured to each people its own language, arts and culture. As an outward symbol the name of the country became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, composed now of 16 constituent states of which the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic is just one.

Since all have emerged from the same process of education and industrialization with very similar characteristics, the qualities ascribed to “the Russian people” in this article apply largely to all the others. Certainly they are all animated by devotion to the common cause. In defense of Moscow and Stalingrad the soldiers from far away Kirghizia and Uzbekistan fought as furiously as the Russians themselves.

To the other prerogatives of the sixteen constituent republics was added this February the right of each to raise its own army and direct its foreign affairs. This move had been interpreted variously as

a reward for loyalty; as a step in the evolution toward decentralization and more democracy; as a device to obtain greater representation at the peace table; as an assurance to any neighboring country that in joining the Soviet Union it may preserve a large measure of autonomy. In any case it testifies to Moscow's confidence in the units and solidarity of its many republics.

Yankee Inventors Under the Skin

BOTH PEOPLES ARE MACHINE-MINDED. AS “Wooden Russia” passed into the age of steel, electricity and plastics, the people thronged from steppes and villages into the 30,000 new mills and factories. At the same time 7,000 machine-tractor stations—huge shops filled with cranes, triphammers, power lathes—moved out into the villages. The training of the personnel to operate these machines took a frightful toll of spoilage and breakage to the distress of the Americans serving as guides and instructors. The Soviets chose to treat these as “growing pains” in technical education of the masses!

In drawing up the final plans for the great Dnieper dam, Stalin asked the chief engineer, Colonel Hugh L. Cooper, if he was quite satisfied with them. “Frankly,” said Cooper, “I would like more American engineers and technicians on the job.”

“Frankly,” rejoined Stalin, “we don't.” “Why not?” asked Cooper. “With more I could do a quicker, cheaper job.”

“Agreed,” responded Stalin. “With our own raw inexperienced workers the dam may cost us fifty or a hundred million more. But poor as we are, we are ready to pay the price. For our purpose, Colonel Cooper, isn't just to build a dam but to make it serve as a school for the training of our

(Continued on page 130)



Photos from Sovfoto

Whole families parade in festive mood in a pre-war celebration on an anniversary of the Revolution

THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE



Earnest crowds examine the new machines at a permanent exhibit in Moscow of lathes and instruments



Since all occasions call for flowers, this collective farmer is sent off to the army with a bouquet

THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE



Peacetime visitors take pride in public works which are modernizing remote sections of the USSR

Cavalcade of Interpreters

Natural history of our books on Soviet Russia and some of the American men and women who step out from their pages.

LEWIS GANNETT

TSARIST OR SOVIET—TO MOST AMERICANS, Russia has been a remote land, sometimes of breathless utopian romance, sometimes of dread; and the contradictions in the conventional pictures have always baffled efforts at coherence.

Tsarist Russia was pictured as a land of bearded giants, and of gaunt, hungry intelligentsia; impossible packs of wolves chased frightened peasants across the frozen tundra, while bands of mounted Cossacks rode the steppes, knouting the quailing populace as they galloped. It was the misery land of pogroms and of Arctic prison camps exposed by George Kennan; and also a land where happy Ivans and Katinkas kicked their heels in the air while gypsies played the balalaika, and everyone ate caviar and guzzled vodka.

The Age of Magnificent Distortions

BUT IF TSARIST RUSSIA WAS A PUZZLE, Soviet Russia's reflections in the American mind at times have been even more fantastic. It is a little difficult, in these days of gratitude and respect for the Red Army, to remember what was said, written and believed about it in 1917 and for a quarter century later; in 1921, four years after it had won its first battles, the man who had been the United States Ambassador to Russia during and just after the Soviet Revolution, David R. Francis, had the megalomaniac wrongheadedness to write that "the situation might have been saved [in 1919] had President Wilson permitted me to return to Petrograd, accompanied by 50,000 troops!"

There were distinguished statesmen and commentators who remained as blind and dumb through two decades. Soviet Russia has by the same people been proclaimed a crumbling ruin, about to collapse, yet at the same time a potent menace to all the orderly governments of the earth. Some reporters saw in it a promised land, a bright new world, others reported a gray hell of stumbling, starving helots. It wiped out private property yet, by other accounts, it established a system of incentive pay that "enslaved" the workers; it was reported to have "nationalized," and also to have emancipated, women. Its collective farm program was hailed as an epoch-making renaissance of the downtrodden peasant and denounced as deliberate murder of millions of kulaks. Casual readers were puzzled to hear that Russia starved, yet built the biggest factories and dams on earth; that it was a sink of incompetence, yet sent its aviators camping scientifically on the polar ice floes. It took almost three years of

World War II to convince America that, whatever else Soviet Russia might be, it was efficient and effective.

Who put the weirder pictures into the American mind? It is hard to say. Some of the whoppers were the wish-fulfillments of exiles who had been on the other side of the revolutionary battles and, living in exile, let their hopes and fears take the place of actual knowledge. In part the monstrosities were products of wartime prejudices, in part of a system of censorship which, denying confirmation of the obvious, made the fantastic seem more credible. (There is a warning for us today, in this new era of well intentioned, and constantly misguided, censorship.) In August 1920, two young radicals of *The New Republic* staff collated the misinformation which had appeared about Soviet Russia in the columns of the relatively objective *New York Times*: Lenin had been assassinated time and again, he and Trotsky had locked each other up, Moscow had been in flames, Petrograd had fallen; ninety-one times this newspaper had reported the end of the Soviets as imminent. (One of those young radicals was Walter Lippmann; the other, Charles Merz, is now editor of *The Times*.)

These Saw the World Shake

YET MOST OF THE REPORTERS WHO ACTUALLY saw Soviet Russia with their own eyes, even in the very first days, wrote of flesh-and-blood human beings and of a living, dynamic land; and they are the writers whose books can be reread today. Nobody even remembers the name of Ambassador Francis, much less reads his silly book in these 1940's; but John Reed's simple grave beneath the Kremlin wall has been visited by thousands of American tourists, and his "Ten Days That Shook the World," first authentic picture of the Bolsheviks' arrival

—Since 1930, Mr. Gannett has been the engaging and penetrating daily book critic of the *New York Herald Tribune*, but his friendship for John Reed and Albert Rhys Williams goes back to before the Bolshevik Revolution. As one of the young correspondents at the Paris Peace Conference, where for a time he represented *The Survey*, he was excited by the reports brought back from Russia by Lincoln Steffens and William C. Bullitt. He visited Russia and reported on it for *The Nation* in 1921 and crossed it from the Mongol border to the Latvian in 1926.

in power, has become a kind of classic, available in various reprint editions, and its title is today an international catchword.

The ten days of the Bolshevik Revolution did not at first shake an incredulous outside world, but they shook those who watched them, including John Reed. "In the struggle my sympathies were not neutral," he wrote in the preface to his book, which was published on March 19, 1919, almost a year and a half after the Ten Days themselves. "But," he added, "I have tried to see events with the eye of a conscientious reporter, interested in setting down the truth." Today his story still flames, but it is obviously history; John Reed, the colorful, fun-loving, pageant-making, Harvard-educated son of a United States marshal from Oregon, had watched what he called "the shapeless will of the proletariat" impose itself upon confused and unwilling leaders. He had seen the Red Army in embryo, "a huddled group of boys in workmen's clothes, carrying guns with bayonets, talking nervously together," and he had seen them win their first battles. He set it all down, first in articles for *The Liberator*, successor to *The Masses*, which our government had suppressed, then in his famous book.

The slick-paper magazines for which John Reed had once written so successfully did not want "pro-Bolshevik" material; *Collier's* set one of Reed's articles in type, then returned it unpublished. Reed himself was put on trial as a co-editor of *The Masses*; the jury disagreed; he was indicted again, after his return from Russia, for calling the Allied intervention in Siberia an "adventure of brigands." He began calling himself a communist; old friends said of him that a good poet had been spoiled by politics, which wasn't quite true: all politics, and especially revolution, was poetry to Jack Reed. He returned to Russia, and died there, disillusioned, some of his friends would have it, by the course of the Revolution. If so, he never set it down on paper.

What he probably felt at the end was a little like what Lincoln Steffens told his friends when, in Paris Peace Conference days, he returned from the mission to Russia on which President Wilson had sent him with William C. Bullitt and Captain Walter Pettit. "What was it like?" his friends would ask. Steffens would peer about portentously and whisper, "I've been into the future, and" — again he would make sure he was not overheard—"by God, it works!" And then he would add, mournfully, "But I'm too old for it; I'll have to go home and live in the present."

STEFFENS ENJOYED MYSTERY; HIS 1919 companion, William C. Bullitt, who was to return to Moscow fifteen years later as the first United States Ambassador to the Soviet Republic, enjoyed a fight. Scion of an old, rich Philadelphia family, he had been press secretary of the American delegation at the Peace Conference, and eventually resigned in fiery protest against its secrecies and compromises. Returning to America, he fought a losing battle for the truth about Russia as he saw it, before a Senate committee which preferred to believe, as Ambassador Francis did, that Lenin and Trotsky were hired German agents and the Revolution a godless flash in a dirty pan.

Alongside Bullitt in those days fought Colonel Raymond Robins, old-time friend of President Theodore Roosevelt, who, as head of the American Red Cross mission to Russia, had watched the Bolsheviks take power and hold power; he had talked with Lenin and Trotsky, recognized their ability and integrity, and returned to the United States with a trunkful of documents that went contrary to the current legends. Like William Boyce Thompson, the big businessman who had preceded Robins as head of the Red Cross mission, he was almost read out of the Republican Party for reporting what he had seen. But the book—"Russian-American Relations, March 1917-March 1920"—which a committee of the League of Free Nations Association assembled largely from his materials, gave sober minds new insights.

This was the forerunner of the long series of research reports of its successor, the present day Foreign Policy Association.

Albert Rhys Williams, a graduate in theology who had become a newspaperman with a taste for adventure, had also been in Moscow in 1917; indeed he accompanied John Reed, Reed's wife, Louise Bryant (who later became the second Mrs. Bullitt), and Bessie Beatty, a young newspaperwoman who in 1917 had not yet begun to dream of a future career in radio, in walking the bloody streets of revolutionary Petrograd. It was Williams who asked Jack Reed as Reed mounted the train for Kharkov, "But what are you going to do there?" "Put joy into the people," Reed answered; he was going to carry news of the Revolution in Petrograd and Moscow. Williams, returning to the United States, spoke everywhere, trying to overcome the prejudice of people who made up their minds about Lenin without seeing him. But Williams was a slower writer; his "Through the Russian Revolution" did not appear until 1922, by which time it had to compete with a dozen other interpretations by later comers. In that as in his later books, Williams stoutly insisted that the Revolution was a mighty historical tide, transcending any individual, even Lenin, and that it was as futile to bid it halt as for Canute to command the sea. It was more than a decade before his view was to gain acceptance.

Meanwhile more and more visitors were penetrating behind the cordon of silence that seemed to enclose the Russian Revolu-

tion. There was a group of distinguished Englishmen, mostly liberals, who were a little shocked by some of what they saw, but impressed with the stability and drive of the regime—men like George Lansbury, the deeply religious editor of the Labour Party's London *Herald*; the skeptical Bertrand Russell and H. G. Wells and, earlier, Philips Price of the *Manchester Guardian*, and Arthur Ransome.

Among the early American visitors was Anna Louise Strong, a Nebraska-born, Chicago-trained social worker, who had had



International Publishers

JOHN REED

The American buried beneath the Kremlin wall. His "Ten Days That Shook the World" (1919) was an authentic picture of the Bolshevik Revolution

bitter experiences as director of social welfare exhibits in many American cities and had turned with eager passion to the labor movement in Seattle and seen it crushed in lies. She seemed to see the doors to the future opening in Soviet Russia, and became one of its most consistently friendly interpreters. "I Change Worlds," she called her autobiography when she wrote it in 1935; her title indicating an ever-glowing faith.

In those early days, news from Russia seemed to settle into one of two categories. The daily newspapers, gathering their news largely from embittered exiles, denounced rather than reported; more friendly interpreters found their audience likely to be limited to the readers of the "little" magazines; and sometimes their reaction to widespread prejudice and lies led them to lose their own critical balance. When active campaigns for armed intervention against Russia were still under way—and active intervention did not end until the spring of 1921—responsible reporters feared misinterpretation and misuse of even the mildest criticism.

It was a period of wild hates, and also of wildly high hopes.

From Denunciation to Reporting

BUT THE AMERICAN PRESS AT LENGTH began sending more or less permanent and responsible correspondents to Moscow, instead of the headline sensationalists (their very names now forgotten) who had earlier gone seeking flashy "exposures." Young William Henry Chamberlin went, full of romantic ideals, for the *Christian Science Monitor*; serious minded Louis Fischer went over for the *New York Evening Post* and *The Nation*, and for close to two decades his articles gave the most authoritative interpretations of the convolutions of Soviet policy to appear in the American press. Walter Duranty, brilliant, debonair Englishman who found himself increasingly uncomfortable chained to a desk as second man in *The New York Times* Paris bureau, was semi-exiled first to the Baltic, where he saw the gruesomeness of counter-revolution at firsthand, and then to Russia, where he speedily made an international reputation as one of the greatest and most original of the foreign correspondents between the two World Wars.

Duranty, like Jack Reed, became a legendary character while still alive (Duranty is still very much alive); and he contributed to the legend in 1935 in his characteristically titled book, "I Write as I Please," which is written in prose as strong as Hemingway's; and in a somewhat mysteriously semi-autobiographical novel, "Search for a Key," published early in 1943.

Nobody ever was quite sure just where Duranty "stood." Unlike most of the early writers about the Soviet land, he never felt any moral compulsion to declare himself for or against. He knew that he was reporting one of the greatest stories of all history; he was delighted to be on the spot, fascinated by the color of his characters, and utterly amoral in his approach. He had been a writer of short stories, and he wrote contemporary history as short stories, sometimes as great short stories. It has been the world's loss that he, with all his background and sense of color, has not been in Russia to report this war. He published a "quickie," accurately expressing faith in the Red Army, soon after the German invasion, but when a reviewer expressed the hope that he would soon return to his old post, he replied from Hollywood that he knew dreary Kuibyshev, and preferred West Los Angeles.

Another of the great reporters who covered Russia for almost two decades, though never, until this war, for a daily newspaper, was Maurice Hindus. He was born in a mud-sunk, old-style Russian village, and came to a New York State farm in his teens. Memories of boyhood miseries gave perspective to all his later writing. He never tried to interview Stalin or send a questionnaire to a commissar; Hindus went home to his native village, walked through the countryside, and talked to old-timers about changing times. "Broken Earth" (1926) recorded his first return; and his subsequent books, from "Red Bread" (1931) to "Mother Russia" (1943), interpreted the five-year plans and the collectivization of



Simon & Schuster

WALTER DURANTY

His brilliant articles for *The New York Times* from Russia in the Twenties gave him international fame

the farms with the same warm, intimate sense of little people's lives. He speaks Russian as a native, as a peasant, and he writes in terms that an American farmer readily understands. And he has, in his more emotional way, something of Duranty's ability to bypass moral judgments of immediate costs and see the larger currents of history in the making.

Discovery of a Going Concern

HE WAS TYPICAL OF A CHANGE IN AMERICAN attitudes. Americans had been anything but pragmatic in their early judgments of Russia. Of other regimes they asked: Does it work? Do the trains run on time? On Russia they handed down moral verdicts, and made predictions based on prejudice, pro or con. Something of the apocalyptic fervor of the early friends of Soviet Russia began to fade as returning travelers brought views of continuing and dreadful poverty; but simultaneously something of the hysterical hate disappeared as specialists in various fields brought back reports that Soviet Russia was a going concern, alive, changing, building, experimenting—and achieving.

Alexander Gumberg, who in the budding days of the Soviet regime had been Raymond Robins' secretary, and for a time bought millions of dollars' worth of American cotton for the Soviets, in the late 1920's led a strange assortment of bankers, businessmen, and other inquisitive folk to Russia, and interested Dwight W. Morrow in the new regime. Colonel Cooper's reports of the building of the huge *Dneprostroy* dam, blown up once by the Russians and once by the Germans in the present war, interested new circles. John D. Littlepage, one of the returning engineers, wrote strictly as an engineer in "In Search of Soviet Gold," of which Demaree Bess was co-author (1938). Dr. Frankwood E. Wil-

liams, a distinguished American psychiatrist, visited Russia and returned with an amazing report that the young revolutionaries did not seem as subject to nervous breakdowns as young Americans. "Red Medicine," by John A. Kingsbury and Sir Arthur Newsholme (1933), and later, Dr. Henry Sigerist's "Socialized Medicine in the Soviet Union" (1937) interested still other circles. Vilhjalmur Stefansson's professional respect for the Soviet Arctic explorers impressed scientists who had learned to trust Stefansson's judgments. Oliver Saylor, Henry W. L. Dana, and others reported on the efflorescence of the Soviet theater, and the Soviet movies spoke eloquently for themselves. Sherwood Eddy, well known in religious circles, was a pioneer in leading study groups to Soviet Russia year after year.

Returning trade unionists wrote pro and con, and usually awkwardly, of their own experiences; but the most convincing report from a worker came late, when John Scott in 1942 wrote "Beyond the Urals." John Scott (son of Scott Nearing, the former professor of sociology who for a time was a convinced communist) went to the General Electric plant in Schenectady to learn welding instead of to college, and worked for five years in the big Magnitogorsk steel plant in the Urals. He saw the immense factory rise from what had seemed hopeless mud and incompetence; he knew its human cost, but he also knew, and reported on, its ultimate efficiency.

The veteran English sociologists, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, known in conventional English circles as Lord and Lady Passfield, visited Russia in 1935 and the next year sealed their favorable judgment in the two massive volumes of "Soviet Communism, a New Civilization?" Hewlett Johnson, dean of Canterbury, reporting on "Soviet Power" in 1940, was even more enthusiastic but perhaps less impressive.



The Survey, too, was an early interpreter of Lenin's Russia in a special number in 1923, for which Savel Zimand was both explorer and editor



Doubleday, Doran

MAURICE HINDUS

Educated in the USA, this Russian-born author has made frequent visits to the USSR to report changing times

By that time the Russian trials were puzzling many who had long watched the Soviet experiment favorably. Even veteran sympathizers like Louis Fischer and Maurice Hindus for a time were silent. Many who had watched Russia with eager, curious eyes decided that Moscow was a long way off.

Books on Russia almost ceased to sell—until the misunderstood pact with Germany released a new tide of denunciation unmatched since 1917-19.

A Period of Doubt—and After

SOME EARLY ENTHUSIASTS HAD FOUND THE later stages of the Revolution more than they could stomach. Eugene Lyons, who had served the Soviet news bureau in New York, went to Russia for the United Press in the early 1930's; his first book, "Moscow Carrousel," published in 1935, was ambiguous in its attitude; but in 1939, in "Assignment in Utopia," he expressed bitter disillusionment and became one of the most distinguished pessimists about Russia's future.

William Henry Chamberlin's early enthusiasm also cooled; to him the collective farm policy of the early 1930's spelled murder by famine for millions, and he became for a time as impassioned an opponent as he had been an advocate. The distinguished educator, John Dewey, who in 1929 had called Russia a "new world in the making" and seen the significance of the Revolution as "a release of human powers on such an unprecedented scale that it is of incalculable significance not only for that country but for the world," was so disturbed by the persecution of Trotsky and the spectacle of the "purge" trials that he headed a commission which went to Mexico in 1937 to hear Trotsky's testimony and publicize it to the world. Max Eastman

who, as editor of *The Masses* and *The Liberator*, had enthusiastically published John Reed's first Russian articles, and in the 1920's had happily visited Moscow and married the sister of a commissar, denounced regimentation of artists and writers in his book "Artists in Uniform" in 1934. He fierily translated and championed Trotsky when Trotsky was exiled and, even after the Battle of Stalingrad, wrote in 1934 a violent denunciation of "Stalinists" and the Soviet system for *The Reader's Digest*.

There were also communist "comrades" who turned against the party apparatus, feeling that the pure flame of revolution had been betrayed: among them Benjamin Gitlow, once communist candidate for governor of New York; Fred Beal, communist hero of the textile strike in Gastonia, N. C., who found the real Russia very different from his dream. But their stories, like that of "Jan Valtin," belong rather to the history of the now defunct Third International than to the record of interpretations of Russia. So, too, perhaps, do the many books and articles by the faithful comrades who from the beginning unflinchingly hailed everything in Russia as super-right.

None of the voluminous literature reporting, interpreting, denouncing, or defending the great Soviet trials of the pre-war years shed much light on those still baffling phenomena. As literature, and perhaps as psychology, Arthur Koestler's novel, "Darkness at Noon," was most distinguished. Koestler, a former Hungarian communist now in the British army, made the strange confessions plausible without making them credible; his book reflected in a masterly manner the conflict of loyalties in men who have been schooled by ideology and by events to believe that the revolutionary end is more than worth the sacrifices, physical and moral, required along the way.

No interpretation of the trials—indeed, no book on Russia, unless perhaps it be Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World"—has had a wider circulation than former Ambassador Joseph E. Davies's "Mission to Moscow," which, after its run as a best-seller in 1941-42, found in 1943 a new interpretation in a much discussed Hollywood film. It appeared at the psychological moment, when Russia was resisting the German invasion in a manner that amazed most experts and almost all laymen. Stalin's temporary alliance with Germany had distressed Americans, and both interest and faith in Russia had sagged to a new low; hectic judgments of the trials had led many to believe that Russia must be disorganized and disintegrating. That an American businessman-diplomat found so much to respect in the Soviet regime seemed startling. The book was in fact little more than an intelligent tourist's report, and the film telescoped and distorted events in a manner to distress historians. Yet its primary effect was the same as that of the headlines reporting the war in Russia: it convinced readers that this land of the Soviets was real and human and powerful, a valuable ally today and a market as well

as a valuable ally tomorrow. Like the Russian section in Wendell Willkie's "One World" which followed in the spring of 1943, it prepared the way for Secretary Hull's mission to Moscow in November of that year.

The Revelation of the Red Army

THE RUSSIAN WAR ITSELF HAS BEEN MORE impressive than any of the reports of it. The bald figures of men killed, the immense mileage shown on the newspaper maps, the magnificent fortitude of the long retreat, the unrelenting struggle that culminated in one of the most decisive Allied victories of the war, at Stalingrad, and the sanguinary successes of the subsequent offensives, have been the daily meat of newspaper headlines, and have far outshone any of the efforts of writers to "report" them. American reporters have seen relatively little of the Russian front, and none of the great reporting of the war has as yet come from that sector; most of the translated reports from the Soviet press were pitched on too heroic a scale for American taste. If that be typical, the normal American reaction has been, the Russians should long ago have been at the gates of Berlin. Perhaps now that such a consummation begins to seem

ultimately not unlikely, the Russian reports will find a readier audience here.

Thus far the most impressive printed document from the Russian front—apart from the movies, always one of Soviet Russia's most expressive channels of communication—is Boris Voyetekhov's history of the "Last Days of Sevastopol." Possibly the best novel of this Russian war, so far, was written by an asthmatic Oklahoman, living in Arizona, who has never been out of the United States, Paul Hughes's "Retreat from Rostov"! It has its absurdities, but it also has its fortes: it senses the human drama of the guerrilla war.

Out of the epic facts of the Russian war, however, has grown, or at least is growing, a new sense in America of the human qualities developed by the Russian Revolution. It is not a pretty fact, but it is a fact, that no reports of Soviet factories, kindergartens, schools, collective farms, or any of the Soviet's "social" advances have aroused a tithe of the sympathy in America which has been stirred by the indisputable achievements of Russia's Red Army,

Books will be written about it for years to come; but no critic would dare predict if or when it will find its Tolstoy to write a new "War and Peace."



Courtesy American Russian Cultural Association
"Tass Windows" in Leningrad. These war posters, executed by outstanding cartoonists, artists and writers, are distributed throughout the USSR by Tass, Soviet news agency

Our War Relief Gets Through

A swing through Soviet Russia to check up on the receiving end of an American adventure in spreading goods and good will.

EDWARD C. CARTER

"THE GERMANS ARE COMING!" THIS WAS the sleepless cry of a child I met in Moscow. Uttered in the dead of night, these words rang out again and again, until the boy became acclimated to his new surroundings in the *Phaina Babyshkins*, located at 7 Parroya Street, in the suburbs of Moscow.

At this home for the sons of Red Army officers, I met a hundred tots of five, six and seven—children whose mothers had been bombed out of their homes, taken captive by the Germans to Nazi labor camps, or killed fighting with the guerrillas.

The children came from the recaptured regions. Some had lived with the guerrillas until old-fashioned biplanes rescued them at night. Others were literally dug out of the ruins of their houses; they were found so weak and shocked they could only point mutely to the spots where their own mothers had fallen.

THE DAY I VISITED THEM, THE CHILDREN looked healthy and happy, playing with a Russian version of the rocking horse, a huge panther. They wore red and gray sweaters knit in America and sent by Russian War Relief. Eagerly they showed me samples of their own needlework that looked very intricate and delicate for such small fingers. Then they sang gay Russian songs for me. Tiny as they were, they marched and danced as though a great Cossack ballet maestro had been on their teaching staff.

When I arrived, the children were all seated at little low tables eating their lunch of vegetables they had grown themselves. They were eager for me to taste food straight from their victory gardens and displayed proudly some squash, huge cucumbers, and a big Idaho potato. The seeds they had used were part of a shipment of some 450 tons sent by Russian War Relief to start Early Wonder peas, Detroit Red beets; Golden Acre cabbage and Indiana spinach in Russian soil.

I was introduced to the children as their "American uncle" and when those little kids rushed to throw their arms around me and kiss my cheeks, en masse, I knew that I stood there as a substitute for a hundred brave Red Army fathers at the front.

Relief for the Wounded

WITHOUT GOING TO THE FRONT I FOUND Red Army men. At the Botkin Hospital, on the outskirts of Moscow, there were 2,500 beds filled with wounded soldiers from all the major battles. Many of them were only caricatures of the living, with limbless bodies

—By an American who had at his fingertips the mobilization of aid in the United States—as president of Russian War Relief. And whose eight trips to the USSR in the last fourteen years gave him extraordinary facilities last fall for gauging the receiving end on the ground.

Massachusetts born, Harvard A.B. (1900), graduate secretary of Phillips Brooks House at Cambridge, his Pan-Pacific encounters began as secretary of the National YMCA of India; his wartime experience, as chief secretary of the YMCA in Paris, 1917-19.

Mr. Carter headed The Inquiry, an original scheme of research, back in the States in 1930-33. Since then have come assignments in the Far East as long as your arm. He has been secretary-general of the Institute of Pacific Relations since 1933, and also a director of the China Institute of America, the Committee on Japanese Studies, the American Russian Institute.

His work warrants such decorations as stand for an Officer of the Order of the British Empire, the French Legion of Honor, the Order of the Crown of Siam.

and charred, blown-away faces. And in the ward for severely wounded, the beds were so close an attendant could hardly pass. Yet each bed had its little table at the head, and every table bore a potted plant.

Some of the soldiers in this hospital were so far on the road to recovery that they could get around on crutches and, in slippers and dressing gown, play chess, listen to concerts on the radio, read and discuss the war with other wounded friends in the reception room. There were big maps of the world on the walls and in the office of the chief physician, Dr. Boris Shimeilovich, a huge one of the entire Russian front stretched to the ceiling back of his desk.

Dr. Shimeilovich called his staff together while I was there, and I was interested to see that three quarters of the doctors and surgeons were women. I had heard how they had all worked without interruption during the siege of Moscow. When two wings of the hospital were bombed, they evacuated two hundred children and tended wounded civilians as well as soldiers. For the American medical aid they received then, as now, they thanked me profusely, expressing their high opinion of our drugs and surgical instruments. So greatly needed are these supplies, I learned, that three days after a shipment arrives they are put to use

in hospitals at the front and behind the lines. I saw many evidences of blankets from the United States and familiar labeled bottles. But I saw other evidences of the impact of the war in Russia.

One mile from the Botkin Hospital is the Central Blood Transfusion Institute. It is one of twenty coordinated research laboratories for the study of blood. It is also one of 11,000 receiving centers, where Soviet citizens donate their blood to the Red Army. Here four hundred volunteers stand on line daily. When I spoke to one attractive young woman there, I found that she was making her eighth donation.

At my surprise the head of the Institute said, "A distinguished American friend of yours has surpassed this record. He has been here fifteen times." He was referring to Colonel Philip R. Faymonville, former head of the American supply mission in Moscow. More amazed than I was Major Waldron, a member of the American Army Medical Service in Russia, who happened to be with me. He was Colonel Faymonville's personal doctor as well as medical adviser on the supply mission. Though they had worked in the same office every day, he had no idea that Colonel Faymonville had slipped out fifteen times to give his portion of blood for the Red Army.

I was prompted to tell of this incident when I was asked on my return from the Soviet Union whether the Russians were aware of American aid. The Russians were—as I found out; but not all Americans, it seems, even those in Russia, were fully cognizant of the scale of our wholehearted efforts to help the Russian people.

Warehouses and Bookkeeping

MY VISIT TO RUSSIA CLIMAXED A TRIP TO China and India. I went there as president of Russian War Relief, and my purpose was to see whether the supplies were what the Russian people wanted and most needed. That had been the objective of Russian War Relief since its inception—putting supplies on Soviet ships in American harbors, and leaving distribution to the judgment of Russian relief officials. Ours had always been an act of faith, with no strings attached.

The Russians, I now learned, though they may never have heard of a congressional investigation, were keeping track of each shipment from start to finish, as if they expected a couple of dignitaries from Oklahoma or Arkansas to sweep down upon them any day. At the huge central warehouse, where our supplies arrive, the per-

sonnel knew when every bale had left its port, when it had arrived, the condition in which it was received. There were, also, exact records of the destination of every piece of goods shipped out from the warehouse, and a receipt from the center that received it. On the day I was there a big carload of stuff was being loaded for the Rostov area, and the day before, I was told, a similar carload had left for Kharkov at the request of the local citizens committee.

The warehouse is a long, two storied building, a couple of kilometers outside Moscow, on a railway siding of the main line of the Trans-Siberian Railway from Vladivostok. The place is light and airy, with piles of sweaters, and shelf after shelf of assorted women's shoes, children's shoes, and heavy boots. Coats, trousers, and blouses were stacked several feet high and the walls, lined with shelves, reminded me of some big old-fashioned store at an American crossroads.

As it happens, I got an actual demonstration of the effectiveness of our material on the day I was at the warehouse. Without any warning, five guerrillas from behind the German lines put in an appearance. The three men and two women looked, somewhat to my surprise, just like anybody else. They had made their dangerous trip for the special purpose of getting some American supplies. They were looking especially

for heavy footwear to take back with them, and luckily we had two hundred and fifty pairs of the very best heavy new American boots. We stood around talking awhile and they left with their load, as simply as if they were only going to a nearby street, instead of having to zigzag back, under cover of night, through the lines of the enemy.

Who Gets the Supplies?

THIS BIG WAREHOUSE IS THE RECEIVING center for shipments from all nongovernmental organizations in foreign countries. There was a great bulk of material from Russian War Relief which had mounted up to some eight million garments, medicines and surgical instruments, tons of vegetable seeds and food concentrates, valued at \$15,000,000. An equivalent amount had come from Mrs. Winston Churchill's Fund in London and the British Trade Unions. Four or five million dollars worth of stuff has come also from the Canadian Aid to Russian Fund and smaller amounts from Cuba, Australia, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, and Chile.

Two thirds of all the medical supplies go directly to the Red Army, one third is reserved for civilians. Of the clothing, about half goes to evacuated civilians who had to leave their homes, more or less destitute, for the inner part of Russia. The other

half goes to civilians in the recaptured territory, where the Germans took all the warm clothing and bedding they could lay their hands on.

The general policy of distribution is decided by a committee representing the director of medical services for the Red Army, the Commissariat of Health for Civilians, the Commissariat of Education for Children and Orphans, the Commissariat of Foreign Trade, the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Society, and VOKS, the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. In the reoccupied zones, informal committees of citizens—composed of a doctor, school teacher, shopkeeper, and local official—are set up the minute the Germans are forced back, and these committees send their lists indicating how many sweaters, how many pairs of shoes, how many pounds of seed, and so on, are called for in that area.

In the town of Novosibirsk, far out in the center of Siberia, there is an optical factory that used to be in Moscow. It was moved with all its machinery and its seven thousand workers who set up shop in an old army barracks and school building. Without delay, they went right on turning out bombsights and periscopes and other precision instruments.

Once they got started in Novosibirsk, they recruited eight thousand more workers,

Russian War Relief at Its Source

SOME BY-PRODUCTS FOR HOME CONSUMPTION

By BEULAH WELDON BURHOE

Men of good will in cities and towns from one end of the United States to the other are giving the tenets of the Moscow and Teheran conferences body and spirit, here and now. What is happening in the small New England city of Stamford, Conn., is evidence of this.

"I've worked in this town for almost twenty years. I've dreamed of a time when the whole community would do a job together. Now it's been done and it took Russian War Relief to do it." Miss X was reporting on the results of a "Share Your Clothes with Russia" campaign. She went on to list the twenty organizations that had worked on the drive.

This had not been the kind of campaign where the leaders posed for the press photographers and the unknowns did the hard work. Broken fingernails and callouses were being worn those days at the country club. The day the clothing center opened, a bank president made the four blocks to the store in two minutes flat. The "girls" from the Women's Club and the busy housewives from the Slavonic League must not be kept waiting and he had the key. There was a scramble to get the place in order in time to receive the first truckloads from the schools.

"Here, give me that broom," said the breathless banker with the key. "Just because I don't sweep out the bank is no reason I can't help get this store clean."

During the three weeks of the drive, women sorted and mended all day long and at night the lights burned late as men did the heavy work of sealing and roping boxes. There was no heat in the store. One night sandwiches and a big pot of hot coffee arrived from the Japanese owner of the restaurant next door.

When the campaign closed and clothing worth \$20,000 was on its way, something stayed in that town that came there three hundred years ago, but some of us must have mislaid it—a kind of yeast of mutual understanding. As one well known committee member put it: "Before this drive I never knew this crowd. If they knew me they probably thought I was just a 'stuffed shirt.' I'm glad I've had the chance to show them I'm not."

Later, on a summer Sunday afternoon in the garden of a modest home, men and women in party clothes, slack suits and sober Sunday best listened to a little group in Russian costumes playing softly on their balalaikas. Through the kitchen window floated the promise of a roast suckling pig.

The Russian War Relief committee was having a party. Clipped English speech mingled with French, Ukrainian, Yiddish, Russian, and plain Connecticut. Around the piano, Yankee tongues tried to sing strange Slavic songs. As they broke up, a man from the "other side of the tracks" was heard to say: "That Mr. F., I used to think he was fascist. When I passed him on the street I wanted to punch his face. Now I like to shake him by the hand."

About a month ago, the usual Sunday afternoon quiet of the town's main street was broken by a Russian priest who, with his costumed choir, was chanting the Lord's Prayer in Russian. It was the formal opening of the permanent headquarters for Russian War Relief. After the mayor had spoken and cut the red, white, and blue ribbon across the doorway, several hundred people crowded into the committee's new home. Around the samovar, an official of the Russian consulate told of the needs of his people, their appreciation of help going to them from the USA.

Men and women from all walks of life shared in the little celebration—a microcosm of the fellowship that people of good will around the earth are building today for the world of tomorrow.



Sheboygan, Wis., collects boxes of clothing for Russians evacuated from the war zone



Louisville, Ky., school children contribute clothing



Photos from Russian War Relief, Inc.

Russian War Relief warehouse where supplies from Americans begin the trip to Moscow

mostly girls, sixteen to eighteen years old. The Muscovites had come away so hurriedly that each had taken only a small knapsack with a few personal belongings. When they arrived, the governor of the province told me, shipments of American clothing from Russian War Relief practically saved the day. Visiting the factory, I could easily detect on some of the young girls, bending over their precise and delicate operations, shoes that may have come from Peoria, sweaters that originated in Chicago or Portland, and other odd pieces of clothing that represented the generosity of thousands of American cities and towns.

In that same city of Novosibirsk, I visited one of the YAK factories. The YAK is a plane made of plywood, something like a Spitfire, and much better than a Zero. I do not know how many of them are produced there weekly, but it took me a number of hours to go through the plant. The workers, on alternate shifts, number between sixteen and seventeen thousand, and in talking to them and to many Red Army men, I learned of their widespread admiration for American techniques as well as for our manufactured goods, from Aircobras to Spam.

I had planned to fly from Novosibirsk to Alaska, but the icing conditions were such that I took a plane instead to Tashkent, thence to Teheran and back to Africa and America. Tashkent is another city that has felt the pressure of mass evacuation from western Russia. Three hundred and fifty thousand evacuees swell the city's original population of about 500,000. Here, too, American supplies came to the rescue of citizens hastily moved with only the clothing on their backs.

Toasts to Russian War Relief

MANY WERE THE EXPRESSIONS OF GRATITUDE I heard from the lips of ordinary Soviet citizens and high government representatives. At one of two official dinners I attended, Andrei Vyshinsky, Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs, drank several toasts to Russian War Relief. As a further token of their appreciation, the Russians brought out some of their carefully guarded supplies of food and liquor, but what you saw on the table was no indication of the daily Russian diet. It was simply a symbol of Russian hospitality and the desire to honor the American people who were helping them.

At another dinner I made the acquaintance of Karo Alabyan, the Armenian architect who had just won a competition for the plans to rebuild Stalingrad. Having visited that battered community on my way to Moscow, I could appreciate the job that lay before him. The city, I found, was a monument to the dead and the living. Scripturally speaking, not one stone was left standing on another. Trainloads of fresh cut timber were already arriving, and one blast furnace had started operation. The people, however, were returning faster than the government wished, and many could not find the streets on which once they lived let alone their houses.

Alabyan was very eager that we send him some blueprints and plans of new American wartime cities which would give him some pointers when he got down to details. His was one of many requests I received. There was even an urgent appeal for hair-clippers and old-fashioned razors—or, as the Russians call them amusingly, “unsafety razors”.

When I was in Moscow, Secretary of State Hull and Foreign Secretary Eden were on their way to the epic Moscow meeting. I watched some of the planes arrive bringing the technical advisers of the British and American delegations, and I saw the cordial spirit that the Russian people showed toward their guests. On the streets, friendly and curious Russians approached the British and Americans, eager to touch their uniforms, to inquire about their decorations, and to ask what they could do for them. There is no question that there was a new mood everywhere, one of buoyancy and expectancy. Again, I felt the far-reaching effect of private aid from the American, English and Canadian people.

Such aid very obviously carries its own message from one people to another, and indicates, over and beyond treaties and agreements, friendliness and warmth of hearts.

The Tremendous Need

IT IS, OF COURSE, TRUE THAT THE AID Americans have freely sent is in itself large. Still, it does not clutter up the cities and railway stations of so vast a country, where 193,000,000 men, women, and children are completely mobilized for the war effort and a great amount of territory, including the richest farming and industrial sections, remains devastated by the Nazis.

My own impression, considerably reinforced through conversations with British, American, Australian and other experts in Russia, was that everything the United Nations governments could send to Russia, and all that private relief agencies, such as Russian War Relief and the American Red Cross, could possibly do, would still not meet the tremendous needs there. This opinion is shared by Ralph Hubbell, the able American Red Cross representative in Moscow.

Though one cannot measure it, the amount of good will that has already been established by American gifts is a positive fact. The guerrilla sniper will not forget the American boots that help to keep him warm; nor will the wounded soldier back at the front soon forget the sulfa drugs that restored him to action. And just as the farmer fondly recalls the seeds from America that enabled him to replant his scorched acreage, so the little boys in the children's home in Moscow will long remember the origin of their red and gray sweaters.

From such tangible aid arise intangible emotions, and they, perhaps, in the final analysis, may help to constitute the basic understanding that is growing between two great peoples.



In Russia, Edward C. Carter (third from left) examines a crate of medicines from the USA



Russian aviator with sweater knitted by an American



Mr. Carter interviews guerrillas who have come from behind the lines for needed supplies

American Production—Russian Front

Our threefold task in giving "every possible assistance"—a pledge fulfilled by the team play of American industry, labor and government.

DONALD M. NELSON

DURING MY VISIT TO RUSSIA, IN OCTOBER, 1943, the Soviet government generously afforded me an opportunity to see with my own eyes the results of the stupendous effort which the Russian people are making to bring the war to the earliest possible conclusion in absolute victory. Wherever I went in Russia, I found universal and intense interest in American war production, and deep appreciation of the part which American *matériel* has played in aiding the Soviets to stem and drive back the Nazi invaders.

Strong bonds have been created between the United States and Russia through their alliance in this war. Understanding on both sides is growing, as is shown by the Moscow pact. For this reason, the record of American war production for the Russian lend-lease account has more than a merely retrospective interest. There can be no question but that every shipment made to Russia to aid her prosecution of the war has gone to strengthen the foundations of the structure of world peace in which American-Russian relations form a cornerstone.

Our Pledge—and Its Challenge

ON JUNE 24, 1941, FORTY-EIGHT HOURS after Germany's attack on Russia began, President Roosevelt pledged the United States to give every possible assistance to the Soviet Union in its life and death struggle against the forces of Nazism.

The adoption of this program of all-out aid to the USSR presented to American industry, and to the government agencies in Washington which were designed to work with industry, one of the most difficult and important tasks of the entire Second World War.

The material needs of the USSR which we were undertaking to satisfy were great, unbelievably great. The first quick rush of German troops which followed the surprise attack cost the Russian army a considerable part of its accumulated stores of war. To replace these, vast quantities of guns, planes, tanks, communication equipment and transportation equipment, medical supplies, and a host of other items were needed, and needed quickly.

Then there was the problem of maintaining Russia's own capacity to produce. The loss of territories—White Russia, the Ukraine, the Don basin, the Crimea, the northern Caucasus, most of the northwestern industrial district, and a part of the central industrial district—suffered during the campaigns of 1941 and 1942, deprived the Union of extremely important industrial and agricultural resources. With the ad-

—By the chairman of the American War Production Board. Since the days of the armorers and gunsmiths, production has played a mounting part in the tactics of war. The mobilization of supplies throughout the United States to serve the United Nations in combat zones on five continents has taken on the stature of strategy.

Born and bred in Missouri, Mr. Nelson brought to bear on the greatest production assignment of modern times, his encounters with molecules as a chemical engineer, his synchronization of output from a thousand factories as executive vice-president and chairman of the executive committee of Sears, Roebuck & Co.

vance of German armies went large fractions of the country's production of coal, steel, chemicals, machine tools, aluminum, magnesium, zinc, grain, sugar, vegetable oil, meat, and a variety of other products.

To some extent, of course, Russia possessed means to offset these losses in the rich, newly developed regions of the East. But for utilization of these resources, machines and industrial equipment of all sorts were required. Even in cases where plants and mills were removed from occupied territories, there was need for innumerable replacement parts, for example, before production could be resumed.

Moreover, many materials did not exist in the East in sufficient quantities to enable even limited fabricating facilities to operate at capacity. Aluminum for planes; nickel, ferrosilicon, ferrochrome, and molybdenum for alloy steel; brass for ammunition; carbon and alloy steel for machine tools, trucks, planes, tanks, and guns; a wide variety of bearings and steel wires; railway materials; chemicals for explosives and medicines; copper tubes, wire and cable; special non-ferrous alloys; leather; woolens; and many other raw or semi-fabricated materials were all needed to replace supplies lost, or formerly furnished by Axis countries, if the USSR's war production potential was to be utilized to the maximum.

Proportions of the Task

THE THREE-FOLD TASK OF SUPPLYING Russian armies with finished materials of war, helping rebuild the Union's devastated industrial machine, and furnishing raw materials for fabrication of military products within the USSR placed on the United States responsibility for the production of billions of dollars worth of materials. It

also placed on us responsibility for helping move hundreds of thousands of tons into Russia monthly, a formidable job in itself. Ships had to be provided for handling Russian cargoes; Russian port facilities, severely reduced by the exigencies of war, had to be expanded and developed; and virtually new routes into Russia had to be opened. This last required assistance in the improvement of harbors, the supply of unloading and cargo handling facilities, the construction of roads and railways, and the supply of motor trucks and railway rolling stock.

Even in normal times, responsibilities such as these would have been the source of numerous difficulties. In the months following June 1941, they assumed Herculean proportions. At the very moment that the Russian crisis arose, we were faced with the immediate problem of meeting the critical war needs of the United Kingdom and other British Empire countries. At the same time we were undertaking to convert our civilian economy to a war economy, at first to meet threat of attack and later actually to resist attack. There was scarcely any material which this country produced in sufficient quantities to meet our emergency domestic needs. Industrial expansion and conversion plans called for materials and plant facilities far in excess of our total supply. Simultaneously with our assumption of the obligation to help the 193,000,000 Russians in their desperate struggle, we were in process of carrying out the greatest and most complex economic revolution of our history.

Despite the problems involved, however, the Soviet aid program has been strikingly successful. The performance record achieved by American industry in connection with it is one of the most impressive of the past two years. The program began from scratch just thirty months ago. On the eve of its inauguration, exports from this country to the USSR were negligible—less than \$3,000,000 a month. They now average more than \$300,000,000 a month.

Altogether, we have produced for the USSR enough planes, tanks, guns, field equipment, ammunition, scout cars and trucks to outfit completely a formidable modern army. We have made available enough aluminum to build some thousand fighter planes a month. We have shipped more than 750,000 tons of petroleum products, primarily aviation fuel, and almost 2,000,000 tons of food. We have furnished millions of dollars worth of naval stores, medical supplies and clothing.

We have produced on Soviet account more than 1,500,000 tons of steel, several

hundred thousand tons above the quantity which could be exported. At the same time, we have produced over 250,000 tons of chemicals, 100,000 tons of cable, 200,000 tons of brass, and tens of thousands of tons of other raw materials. Industrial and related equipment production for Russia has totaled over \$500,000,000 and currently it is going forward at a rate of between \$40,000,000 and \$50,000,000 a month.

We have made available to the USSR approximately as many machine tools as will be required to maintain our present industrial establishment for a year; and our current rate of production for Russia is in excess of the average maintained by our entire industry for all purposes during the ten-year period, 1929-1938.

We have supplied the Russians with refinery equipment capable of processing ap-

proximately 40,000 barrels of crude oil a day. We have completed one \$60,000,000 power program and have begun work on another. We have dismantled, remodeled, and moved bodily into Russia a tire plant capable of producing 1,000,000 tires a year.

Launching Soviet Aid

WE BEGAN TO PREPARE FOR—AND TO CARRY out—this program within a matter of hours of the crossing of the Russian frontier by the first German troops. On the very day of the invasion a stream of requests began to pour into Washington from Moscow. To each of these, prompt and sympathetic attention was given. Overnight, the Soviet Embassy became a center of bustling activity. Representatives of government and business alike gathered with Soviet representatives to work out ways and means of getting quick help to the USSR.

This did not mean, of course, that large quantities of supplies were made available for dispatch to Russia immediately. Soviet funds and supplies which had been frozen in this country were released, and within a short time Soviet representatives were able to place a number of important orders, and substantial shipments from this country to the USSR began. But it was not possible to give at once effective, large scale assistance of the type which everyone recognized would eventually be required. All direct military equipment (planes, tanks, guns, and so on) already available for export had long since been spoken for and committed. Further, until the Soviet government made known exact details as to its long run needs, plans for the future could not be made. Complete inauguration of the aid program had to await a full exchange of information and the working out of coordinated plans among the American, British and Soviet governments.

It soon became apparent that these coordinated plans could be developed only through direct and personal conferences. In order to obtain firsthand information on the nature and extent of supplies most urgently needed by the Soviet government, the President sent Harry L. Hopkins as his personal representative to Moscow.

After discussions there with Premier Stalin and his military advisers, Mr. Hopkins returned to London and accompanied Mr. Churchill to the Atlantic meeting between the British Prime Minister and President Roosevelt, at which the Atlantic Charter was written. At this meeting, held in August 1941, it was decided to suggest to the Soviet government a meeting of "high representatives at Moscow to discuss the needs and demands of your and our armed forces." The suggestion of the President and Prime Minister was accepted with alacrity and arrangements were made for the opening of the proposed conference at the earliest possible moment.

Members of the American and British missions joined a Russian mission at Moscow at the end of September 1941, and the work of mapping out a supply program was immediately begun.

Because of the pressure of war conditions, the members of the three commissions found the task before them by no means simple. Important information was lacking; the constantly changing military and economic status of Russia made it impossible to anticipate with assurance the future needs of the country; and there was a not too complete understanding of the economic problems and practices of Russia on the part of the British and Americans, or of Britain and America on the part of the Russians.

Nevertheless, within three days the work of the conference had been completed. On October 2, in the Kremlin, a protocol was signed between the governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union providing for a mutual aid program covering the nine months period from October 1, 1941 to June 30, 1942.

(Continued on page 59)

Tosser Uppers

Irkutsk—1859

The hospitality of the principal citizens was unbounded. . . . The arrival of the governor-general of Eastern Siberia was the signal for general gaiety. . . . He gave a reception dinner (which) . . . went on with good humor. . . . When General Mouravieff proposed a toast, "America and Russia," all eyes were turned in the direction of the two solitary Americans. . . . I then said, "In the different angry and complicated questions, involving the rights of a new power, just emerging from the depths of a new world, Young America found in Old Russia a friend and co-laborer in the cause of free trade and sailors' rights."

At a later dinner in our honor by the merchants of Kyachta, I noticed a pretty dense circle encompassing (my traveling companion). . . . In an instant he was seized by half-a-dozen stout, jolly merchants, and tossed up in the direction of the ceiling. . . . This sport is called *pod-keedovate*, or tossing-up, and is considered a mark of great respect. . . .

I stood half-aghast, looking at the figure Peyton was cutting, a man six feet high and well proportioned, going up and down like a trap-ball, his coat-tail flying sky-high, and his face red as a brick. All the time I consoled myself that one tossing for the American nation might be considered honor enough.

After a while Peyton came down and stayed down. Again we had champagne . . . when without warning I was seized. Up I went and down I came, only to go up again, until my friends were satisfied that if I was not drunk before, my head would certainly swim now.

PERRY McDONOUGH COLLINS

—From his book "A Voyage Down the Amoor," (D. Appleton & Co.) 1860. Appointed by President Pierce as commercial agent for the region, he crossed Siberia by sleigh and was the first American to go down the Amur from Lake Baikal to the Pacific.

Plate Busters

Novosibirsk—1943

I cannot hear those splendid words, American-Soviet friendship, without recalling something that happened to me in Siberia—the Middle West of Russia—in the city of Novosibirsk. It was at one of those hearty Russian gatherings which I grew to know in the few weeks of my visit.

One of the officials there—a powerful figure of a man—came over to me and shook me by the hand and told me how much he liked Americans. But it was not enough for him to tell me—he had to do something about it. He looked around and seized a big china plate that was on the table. He said, "When we Russians like somebody, we break a plate—like this."

And with that he raised his huge fist and crashed it down on the plate, smashing it to pieces.

I could not let so fine a gesture go unanswered. I figured that this was no time for official decorum. So I reached out and grabbed two plates, and I said, "When we Americans like somebody, we break two plates—like this." And I hit the two plates with my fist.

The plates broke all right, and my friend and the others present embraced me with enthusiasm. Then they saw that one of the splinters had cut my hand, and they were concerned. But I did not mind the scratch, for it gave me an opportunity to say that my blood was merely a token of our united military efforts—a little American blood on the Russian front, where they had poured out so much in our common cause.

DONALD M. NELSON

—From his address before the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, Madison Square Garden, New York, last November—soon after his return from his trip to Russia at the time of the Moscow conference.



Photos from OWI

LEND-LEASE AID. Assembly plant for light bombers in Iran. Here planes for the USSR are given a final check



Sovfoto

Lend-lease grain moves from ship to train, bound for Russia



Russian labels on lend-lease pork and lard canned in the USA



Led by the familiar jeep, this U. S. Army truck convoy carries lend-lease supplies for Russia across desert stretches in the Middle East

IN THE AMERICAN PART OF THIS MUTUAL aid program,* representatives of the United States were not able to offer the USSR all the equipment and materials requested. Some of the requirements put forward exceeded our total supply, while some were for items not produced in this country. But American representatives were able to promise that most of the requests submitted would be met, and that at least a best effort would be made to furnish such items as could not be definitely promised.

In connection with this first Moscow conference, attention should be called to the importance of the foresight and determined resolution of the participants.

Paralleling the discussions were the opening phases of the last great Nazi offensive of 1941. One group of German armies was overrunning the Ukraine; another was isolating Leningrad; still another was surging forward in a seemingly irresistible wave to the very gates of Moscow. Profound pessimism swept large sections of opinion in both this country and Britain. Among many foreign observers in Moscow deep gloom and, according to reports, even a tendency toward panic developed. Nevertheless, members of the American and British delegations maintained faith in the ultimate success of the Soviet cause, their confidence matching the iron resolve of their Russian associates. At the moment that many were doubting that *any* aid could reach the USSR in time, members of the conference were deliberately making plans for a long run program. They were working out arrangements for the supply of machine tools, a tire factory, various kinds of industrial equipment, steel and copper products, cable, communication equipment, and so on, as well as trucks, tanks, planes, and guns, which would require, at the least, months to fabricate and move into Russia.

Shortly after the Moscow protocol was signed, President Roosevelt in a letter to Premier Stalin assured the Russian people that the United States would carry out to the limit all the implications of the agreement. In November he put the program on a lend-lease basis.

This marked the real beginning of the fulfillment of the resolution of this government to give the Russian people every assistance in their struggle against Hitlerism. In a very short time millions of dollars worth of orders, covering every conceivable type of equipment and material, began to pour in. As rapidly as possible contracts were placed, schedules were worked out, and supplies started on the move to the Russian front.

As indicated, however, this was not accomplished without great difficulty. In addition to problems arising from the size and impact of the Russian program and

* It should be noted that this discussion is concerned only with the American part of the Soviet program. The United Kingdom participated fully in the program and rendered the USSR notable assistance, particularly in the way of finished munitions. More recently, Canada has undertaken direct participation as well, but no attempt is here made to give an account of United Kingdom and Canadian activities.

The Latest Figures

as given by President Roosevelt in the Thirteenth Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations, on January 6, 1944.

Lend-lease shipments to the Soviet Union through October 31, 1943, totaled \$3,550,443,000, or more than one fourth of lend-lease exports to all countries. . . . Through October we sent to the USSR nearly 7,000 planes, more than to any other lend-lease country; more than 3,500 tanks and 195,000 motor vehicles, including trucks, jeeps, motorcycles, and other vehicles. . . . To help relieve the severe food shortage in the Soviet Union . . . we have shipped 1,790,000 short tons of food and other agricultural products . . . including 343,000 tons of wheat and flour, 277,000 tons of sugar, 324,000 tons of canned meat, 441,000 tons of edible fats and oils, 136,000 tons of dried fruits and vegetables, and 38,000 tons of dried eggs.

The Soviet Union urgently requested butter for the Red Army, particularly for the use of many wounded soldiers recuperating in Russian hospitals . . . This year we have shipped 25,000 tons, or about 2.7 percent of our supply for the period . . . one seventh of an ounce per week from each civilian in this country. . . .

To help restore the reconquered Soviet agricultural areas . . . and to develop food production in Siberia, we have sent 10,000 tons of seed for the growing of some thirty staple crops. We have also sent 5,500,000 pairs of army boots and 16,600,000 yards of woolen cloth for the use of the Soviet armed forces; 251,000 tons of chemicals, 144,000 tons of explosives, 1,198,000 tons of steel, 342,000 tons of nonferrous metals, and 611,000 tons of petroleum products.

from the strenuous conditions which existed in American industry at that time, complex problems were created by differences between Russian and American specifications, necessary but frequent changes in Russian requirements, a lack in many instances of basic engineering, and the lack of models and precedents for the placing of orders, furnishing of shipping instructions, and arranging for overseas transport.

Team Play

FORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, MEANS WERE AT hand, or soon developed, to cope with these and similar problems. The Soviet government, using the Amtorg Corporation as a base, established in this country a purchasing commission made up of some of the ablest industrial specialists and engineers developed in the Soviet Union. The Office of Lend-Lease Administration quickly created machinery to take care of Russian matters. Of particular importance was the establishment of a division for Soviet supply, the enthusiastic and able members of which were to do yeoman work in maintaining liaison between Soviet representatives and other government agencies.

In developing and carrying through its Russian plans, the Lend-Lease Administration was most fortunate in having the services of Colonel Philip R. Faymonville, first as a member of the administration in Washington and later as Lend-Lease representative in Moscow. Colonel Faymonville brought to Lend-Lease not only an intimate knowledge of Russian economic conditions, gained from years of experience as U. S. Military Attaché in Moscow, but also an unwavering faith in the ability of the Soviet Union to resist successfully the German aggression.

Within the Office of Production Management, later the War Production Board, William L. Batt, a member of the President's special supply mission to Moscow

and, like Colonel Faymonville, a firm believer in the power of the Russian army to hold out, took the lead in ironing out production problems incident to the Russian program, facilitating the processing of priority applications on behalf of the USSR, and making arrangements for allocation of adequate materials to meet Russian requirements. In the more important industry divisions of the War Production Board, special Soviet sections were set up to handle and expedite Russian requests. At the same time, a Foreign Division of the War Production Board was developed to exercise over-all responsibility for scheduling and supervising production aspects of the Russian, and other foreign programs.

The procurement branches of the Treasury Department, the War Department, the Navy Department, and the Department of Agriculture made special arrangements for placing and expediting Russian contracts. Other government agencies concerned with the Russian program—the joint chiefs of staff, the Munitions Assignment Board, the Executive Office of the President, the State Department, the Office of Defense Transportation, the Office of the Petroleum Administrator for War, and others—adopted the policy of being ready at any time to aid the movement of Russian supplies. Full cooperation was given by the British supply mission, the various British-American combined boards, Canadian agencies, and the Chinese supply mission.

The Pace Set by American Industry

MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS who received Russian orders gave those orders everything they had. In hundreds of instances, manufacturers have done far more than could reasonably be expected, so that deliveries on Russian orders could be made on or ahead of schedule.

From the first, Russian items were uni-

(Continued to page 134)

THE UNION OF SOVIE



SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

O C E A N



PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION

Drawn for Survey Graphic by Pictograph Corporation



Colonel Hugh L. Cooper at the *Dneprostroy* Dam

Russia's Western Front

Where forks in the road—through borderlands from the Baltic to the Black Sea—lead on to “defense in depth” or to collective security. America's part in the choice.

RICHARD B. SCANDRETT, JR.

Dneprostroy WAS ALL BUT COMPLETED when, in July of 1929, the late Colonel Hugh L. Cooper took me over the titanic power dam at the bend of the Dnieper. The Soviet government had chosen him to supervise its construction, this American engineer who had directed our kindred project at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee. It was because we had long been trusted friends that Colonel Cooper felt he could show me a certain hidden gallery built into the structure.

“What a people,” he exclaimed, “they are spending the equivalent of \$200,000,000 in money and manpower to erect this great dam. At the same time they put in several hundred thousand rubles extra for the sole purpose of insuring its speedy ruin!”

Our talk came vividly to mind in July of 1941 when Nazi armies surged into the Ukraine. The world knows now of the dam's destruction and the need for secrecy has passed. In Asia, the Chinese had made the phrase “scorched earth” a familiar one in our headlines as they burned crops and barns in their stubborn retreat before the

—By the special editor of this number who initiated the project as president of Survey Associates. Member of the New York bar; active Republican; treasurer, Citizens for Victory; whose book, “Divided They Fall” (1941), was at once a forecast and challenge four months before Pearl Harbor.

Japanese, leaving nothing behind to aid the invading armies. In Europe, this policy was now applied to modern industrial installations as an escarpment to help break the waves of a Nazi blitz such as had swept through regardless to the Channel coast. Certainly Colonel Cooper, when he shrugged his broad shoulders on that peaceful summer's day fifteen years ago, could not have anticipated that his demolition gallery would become the symbol in concrete of a military strategy which was to save not only Soviet Russia but our world.

Meanwhile, the dam itself had come to epitomize the new Russia—marshaling water power, generating electricity, rapidly industrializing a vast region, creating new cities almost overnight. Two human

streams had converged: one stemming from the economic philosophy evolved in the mind of Karl Marx; the other fed by springs of scientific discovery from Benjamin Franklin to Michael Faraday, Thomas Edison, and the engineers responsible for the tremendous industrial developments of the twentieth century. It was Lenin himself who essentially identified dialectics and dynamos as the prime movers of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The Threat to Soviet Russia

THREE HUNDRED MILES TO THE WEST, across the Ukrainian plains from where we stood that day at *Dneprostroy*, lay Russia's European border, stretching up across the continent from the Black Sea to the Baltic and beyond. Both Odessa at the southern end and Leningrad to the north were within easy artillery range from foreign soil. In World War I, the Kaiser's armies had burgeoned across a western border much farther removed from Russia's heart than that of 1929. Since then, the old Tsarist frontiers had been set back first by the Germans at Brest-Litovsk in 1917, next by the Allies at Versailles in 1919, and then by the resurgent Poles at Riga in 1921.

Wide sweeping plains and fertile fields lying between the Dnieper and this foreshortened frontier hold no natural barriers to an invasion—such as the mountains which have recently buttressed the Nazis in resisting our counter thrust up the Italian peninsula. Soviet military leaders have long been aware of the strategic vulnerability of the Ukraine. That was more than borne out in the on-rush of the Nazi armies when, in 1942, they reached the gates of Stalingrad, and in the even more rapid back rush of the Soviet armies over the same terrain in 1943.

Three times within the experience of living men—in 1915, in 1920, and in 1941—Russia has been attacked from the west. Small wonder that fear of an invader from that direction has been ever present in the minds of the Russian people. It was no excess of caution then which had prompted them to prepare and put through the "defense in depth" and the "scorched earth" which did not stop short of blasting the Dnieper Dam.

Here was that element of self-defense which Moscow made much of in its unequal campaign against Finland in the winter of 1939-40, apprehending that Nazi Germany planned to make use of its small neighbor to the north as a springboard against Leningrad. We encountered that same element of defense, both as a current and long run justification when, in the dramatic about-face under the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939, Russia pushed back its entire frontier—from the Baltic to the Black Sea—while the Germans overran the lion's share of Poland. The result was the short lived Russian-German border as constituted after the annexation of Bessarabia in 1940—only to be sunk without trace in the summer of 1941 when, in turn, the Nazi invasion ranged deep into Russian soil.

Here, too, with each successive stroke of the Soviet counter offensive of 1943—from the Volga, to the Dnieper, and points west—we have a key to understanding the importance which the Russians attach to the future status of these western borderlands. A key, also, to why—skeptical about

the prospect for durable peace—Soviet leaders have been blunt in their insistence that once they have knocked out the Nazis on what we call the Eastern Front, the lines shall run again—and for keeps—substantially where they stood before the Nazi invasion of Russia in 1941.

I. BORDERLANDS TO THE WEST

OTHER ELEMENTS THAN SELF DEFENSE enter into Soviet claims to these frontiers: History, for one—a basis for determination which hangs on how far back you go to find the controlling interests. These elements will be clearer if the areas concerned are separated into four categories:

1. Bessarabia.
2. Polish territory prior to the German-Russian invasions of 1939.
3. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania—the so-called Baltic States.
4. Finnish territory prior to the Soviet invasion of 1939.

Bessarabia

THERE IS AN EASILY MAINTAINABLE ANALOGY between the Russian attitude toward Bessarabia and the traditional French position toward Alsace. It can be argued more than plausibly that Bessarabia and the Ukraine are one, ethnologically.

The territory and peoples of this former part of Tsarist Russia were taken over by Rumania in 1919 while the Allies were busy with other matters at Versailles. Rumanian sovereignty was recognized later by Britain, France, and Italy as part of the general rescrambling of boundaries in the Balkans in which the Kremlin had no part—this, notwithstanding the fact that Rumania had entered World War I late and had made an earlier and separate peace with the Reich.

Soviet Russia was not a party to these arrangements and has consistently refused recognition of Rumanian sovereignty over Bessarabia. She regained temporary control of this territory in 1940 without prior concurrence by Hitler.

Poland

WHEN, IN 1919, A NEW POLAND WAS released by the treaty of Versailles, it was hailed as one of the great master strokes of healing and retribution issuing from World War I. For almost a century and a half, Poland had had no sovereignty as an independent nation. Her domain had been parcelled out to themselves in 1772 by Russia, Germany, and Austria.

Hitherto, through centuries of vicissitudes, her territory had frequently expanded and contracted. Ethnological considerations largely governed the new boundaries set in 1919 at Versailles. These had failed to include vast estates of Polish landlords, still in the hands of the Soviet proletariat who, as peasants under the Tsar, had been little more than serfs. Within a year after the birth of the Polish republic, it entered into an agreement with anti-Soviet factions

in the Ukraine in the hope of at once retrieving these lands and creating a buffer state against Russia—to include Odessa and the Donets basin. Poland had a powerful friend in France, and Polish armies in the spring of 1920 invaded Soviet Russia, occupied Kiev and proceeded south.

Soviet forces were engrossed at the time in suppressing counter revolutions headed by Denikin and Kolchak. By June these internal difficulties had lifted enough for the Russians to counterattack, and drive on Warsaw. When the Poles appealed to Lloyd George for help, the British Prime Minister directed them to withdraw 125 miles to their "legitimate frontier."

Running from Grodno, through Bialystok, Brest-Litovsk and Przemysl to the Carpathians, this "frontier" became known as the *Curzon Line* after the British foreign secretary, who later addressed a note to Moscow warning that the Allies would come to Poland's aid if the Soviet forces crossed it.

On the other hand, our State Department made it clear that we looked with disfavor on Poland's desire to annex large areas that were ethnically Russian. The Poles sued for an armistice; Soviet Russia offered them a frontier more favorable than the *Curzon Line*, and Lloyd George, who pronounced the offer generous, urged acceptance. (It is, of course, this so-called *Curzon Line* which Moscow indicated, in January 1944, that it would require as its boundary with Poland.)

Meanwhile, the French had become alarmed at the situation, and an interallied commission, which was headed by the French General Weygand, had been sent to Poland. The French encouraged the Poles to counterattack and, at the same time, recognized the counter revolution of General Wrangel in the Crimea. War weary, the Soviet Union had neither the will nor resources to resist further on the Polish front. Weygand's strategy was brilliantly successful and Poland absorbed vast Russian areas through a treaty signed in Riga on March 18, 1921.

These reached far east of the *Curzon Line* and added approximately a half more to what had been allotted Poland at Versailles. Known as the *Kresy*, they gave Poland an additional population of approximately 10,000,000, predominantly White Russians and Ukrainians. The feeling then current in the United States could not be called friendly toward the USSR. Nevertheless, our State Department expressed disapproval of the Riga Treaty and declined to recognize its validity.

The manner in which Poland acquired the *Kresy* from Soviet Russia is too often

overlooked. It is germane to any attempt to apply the Atlantic Charter here.

In the new partition of Poland between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany, the Russians did not get back the identical territory wrested from them twenty years before. The population was not dissimilar however, comprising 7,000,000 Ukrainians, 3,000,000 White Russians, something under two million Poles, and one million Jews.

The Baltic States

ESTONIA, LATVIA, AND LITHUANIA HAD been under Tsarist rule for more than a century when, in 1917, they acquired their independence with Russia in Revolution.

They lost it to the USSR in June 1940 at the time of the Nazi conquest of France. Estonia and Latvia were regarded as within the Soviet "sphere of influence." Not so, Lithuania, and Hitler was more reluctant.

The position taken by the USSR is originally that of military necessity. The move would shorten by many leagues the land border that it had to protect, do away with potential bridgeheads to invasion, and by the same token afford ports on the open sea. At this last point its attitude was not unlike that which later prompted the United States to acquire naval bases on British territory in the Caribbean—without, however, any annexations on our part.

Moscow itself took steps to sanction hers. The three Baltic states were merged into the Soviet Union through the instrumentality of plebiscites—but as each of them was held during Russian military occupation, the voting has not been accepted as final in the Western world.

The status of these states in the postwar world raises altogether different problems from those involved in the reabsorption of Bessarabia or the partition of Poland. Historically, whether held subject by Germans, Swedes or Russians, their schools and languages had been suppressed, their traditions and customs kicked about. More especially, their native population had been for centuries under the yoke of German landholders whose oppression continued after the countries became Tsarist provinces and who were dubbed the Tsar's Mamelukes.

Regardless of the age-old hostility of the Baltic people toward these landlords, their power was further perpetuated when at Versailles the Allies asked the German army to remain as a protection against Bolshevism. The capacity shown by the USSR in its treatment of racial and cultural minorities may offer a better future to the peasant population than the precarious political freedom of the last twenty-two years. It is not impossible that these peasant states would voluntarily reaffirm the plebiscites of 1940. Nothing was done there after by Soviet Russia to liquidate their small landowners and merchants.

They were still overrun by the Nazis in early February when the Supreme Soviet extended autonomy in military defense and foreign policy to republics of the Soviet Union. This new policy may indicate an ex-

panding self-dependence for the peoples of these borderlands if by choice or compulsion they are again brought within the orbit of the USSR.

Nonetheless, these states have tasted independence; and the Baltic is a great bay of the Atlantic (and its Charter). Ethnologically, there is no basis for their incorporation in the USSR. The Lithuanians, Letts, and Esths are not Russians. Lithuania could look back to a time when her southern frontiers extended to the Black Sea. Neither Latvia nor Estonia had such traditions as nations; but they had the concurrence of the Bolsheviks in taking advantage of the Tsar's overthrow in 1917 to shake themselves free. They, no less than Lithuania and Finland, gained political independence on their own initiative—just as we did in 1776. Without hesitation, Soviet Russia renounced any rights of sovereignty over all four states two years before the reestablishment of Poland at Versailles.

Finland

FINLAND HAD HUGGED ITS DREAM OF liberty for six hundred years under the Swedes and for one hundred years under the Russians. Without sovereignty, the epic of her *Kalevala* had nevertheless survived; and her customs and culture defied suppression more successfully than was true south of the Gulf of Finland. Quick to take advantage of the fall of the Tsar and the Bolshevik Revolution to proclaim their own independence in December 1917, the Finns have come to be regarded as an outpost of Western civilization.

The definitive chronicle of the complicated relations since then between Soviet Russia and the Finnish Republic has not yet been written. Indeed these involve cross currents that antedate the Finnish Proclamation of Independence of December, 1917, which itself was a compromise united on by a diet controlled by the Social Democrats and a Senate controlled by the bourgeoisie. By March of 1918 came German intervention and the overthrow of the new government through the joint assistance of the pro-German Pehr Evind Svinhufvud and the former Tsarist officer, Carl Gustaf Emil von Mannerheim, who is of Swedish origin and could not then speak the Finnish language. The Kaiser's brother-in-law, Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse, was to occupy the Finnish throne. Only the military collapse of Germany nine months later saved Finland from becoming a German principality.

After the ascendancy of Hitler in the Reich, both Svinhufvud, who had served

II. SOVIET RUSSIA

EVEN SUCH A TELESCOPED CANVAS OF THE borderlands between Soviet Russia and Central Europe brings out how inexact it is to lump all these areas together—and how other elements than Russian self-defense are at stake. It would be equally near-sighted to lump the Russian case, off-hand, with that of the Axis powers. In



THE OLD POLISH KINGDOM
1772

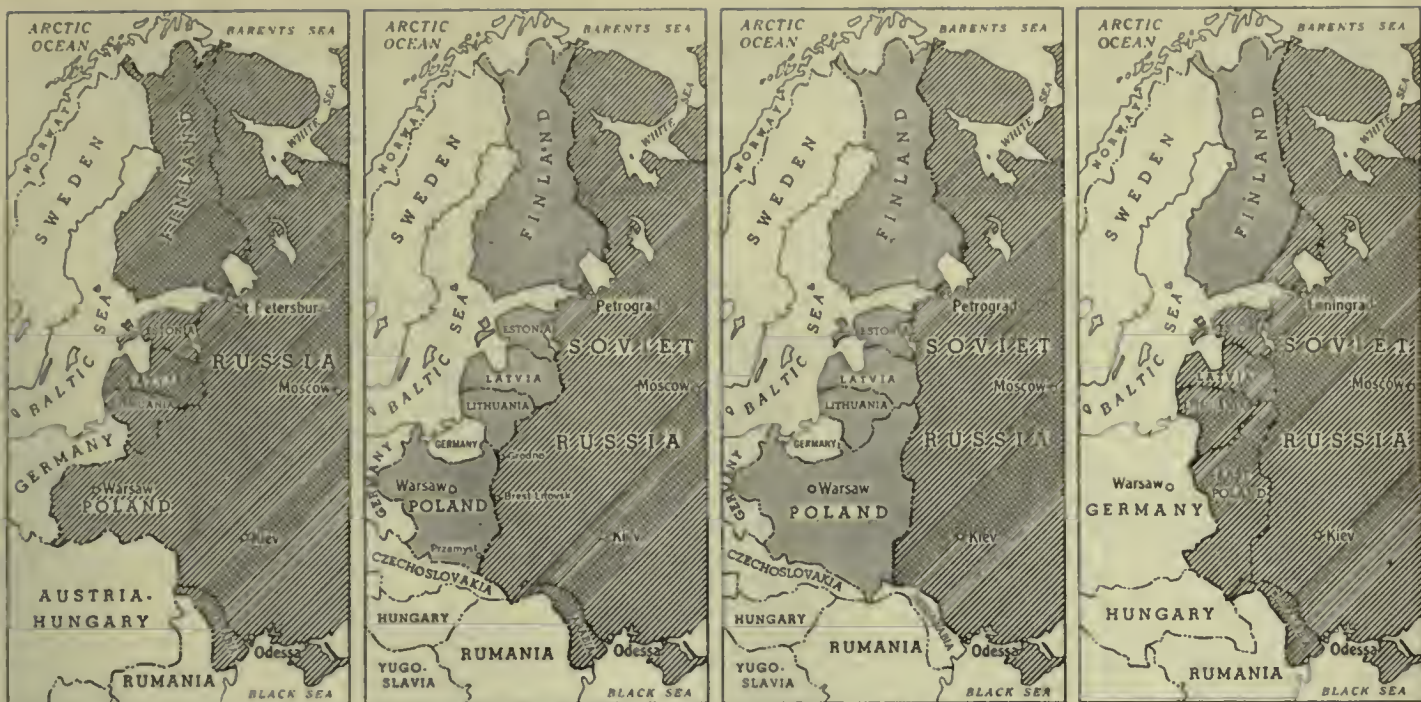
Before it was dismembered by Austria, Germany, and Russia

as president from 1931 to 1937, and General Mannerheim continued to be influential figures in Finland. Their activities entered into the tensions with her powerful neighbor to the East that led up to the Russo-Finnish war in December of 1939. This is not to give an alibi to the Russian invasion of Finland at that time; but to afford a backdrop to the documented Russian contention, two years later, that several fully equipped German divisions were in Finland in the spring of 1941, several months before the Nazi invasion of Russia.

Since then, Finns and Nazis have collaborated on the northern front; but recurrently there have been rumors that a Finnish-Soviet peace is brewing. Elements of self-defense are again embedded in the Russian claims to those parts of the Karelian peninsula up from Leningrad, and to the naval bases on the Finnish islands, which Russia took over in 1940 after the first Russo-Finnish war. There have been few intimations, on the other hand, that the USSR has designs of annexing Finland along with the Baltic States. Rather, once the Nazis are worsted, there are grounds for anticipating treaty making along the lines recently entered into between Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia.

their schemes of conquest, they, too, have stressed defense and the needs of the "have-nots," along with the virility and desirability of their own social orders as against the decadence of democracy. The Axis tied such claims together with the bloody string of might making right.

We are dealing with the most crucial



Drawn for Survey Graphic by General Drafting Company

RUSSIA'S CHANGING WESTERN BORDERS

1914

Prior to World War I and the Revolutions

1920

New borderlands—had Poland kept to the Curzon Line

1921

Frontier gained by victorious Poles in the treaty of Riga

1941

Soviet-Nazi boundaries prior to the invasion of Russia

north and south border on earth—spanning the continent which has been central to what we have called civilization. At this frontier, in our time, the road to mankind's future comes to the forks. One fork leads to a fortress in depth, reaching from the Baltic to the Black Sea, behind which Soviet Russia might defend herself against all comers. The other fork leads to a frontier as unfortified as that which crosses the American continent between Canada and the United States, flanked on both sides by common understanding and mutual security. Nor can the New World escape its share of responsibility as to which fork the peoples of the Old World take at the war's end.

Two of the great aggressor nations which have risen to power since Versailles have their bases west of this border. When they go down in defeat, what can we expect from this new Slavic power which springs from the East? Here, again, there is space on my canvas for only swift strokes of a people's history. . . .

Civil War—to Isolation

THE SHORTLIVED KERENSKY REGIME FELL in 1917 primarily because it had not heeded the cry for "peace and bread." Lenin had not only sensed the Russian people's desire to be rid of the war in which they had suffered heinously, but how this might be used in canalizing the aims of the Revolution. The Bolsheviks, however, had soon to reckon with dissident forces at home and along their borders. Moreover the Allied Powers gave encouragement and active assistance to Denikin, Kolchak, and Wrangel in efforts to overthrow the Soviet Union, and this was the source of an

abiding Soviet mistrust of the capitalist world. The apprehension continued long after the dangers from civil war had eased; and, although the Kremlin grudgingly diverted both Soviet manpower and productive capacity to preparedness for war, it recognized thereafter the necessity for building up a system of military defense.

These suspicions were reciprocated by Russia's former Allies, who felt they had been let down when Soviet Russia quit the war; and they were even more reciprocated by capitalistic and democratic nations generally, once the Third International set out to promote communism in foreign parts. That heightened the isolation in which Russia found herself, as illustrated by her postwar treatment in Britain at the time of the Zinoviev letter and by the long continued refusal of the United States as well as Britain to have diplomatic relations with the USSR. This fork in the road led to self-sufficiency at home.

The other fork in the road—in a direction looking toward cooperation with other nations—might still be there. But was the collaboration highway open to the USSR? That was all the more dubious because of the *cordon sanitaire* which the Allies had fashioned at Versailles along Russia's new western border. This border, made up of areas we have been examining, was charged, as we have seen, with new yearnings for independence; but encrusted, also, with old vested interests, from land to church, resistant to the whole Russian program.

Soviet isolationism was enhanced, meanwhile, by domestic developments—by Marxian dialectics and exuberant confidence in the dictatorship of the proletariat, by an

absorbing interest in discovering themselves, in conquering illiteracy, and in striking out on their own future, five years at a stride.

From time to time in the years that followed, there were serious border incidents directed against Russia which would have precipitated a declaration of war from any nation not firmly resolved against it. For example, those involving Japan and the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1929, which splashed headlines across the front pages in every capital. I was in Moscow at the time; and when I questioned Soviet officials, their instant reply was, "We cannot afford to spend our resources in fighting." But how to prevent it?

Collective Security—to Appeasement

IN 1934, SOVIET RUSSIA BECAME A MEMBER of the League of Nations and, notwithstanding repeated diplomatic snubs, Maxim Litvinov was consistently to the fore in advocating collective efforts to assure peace.

Influenced by his Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Stalin focused a shrewd but sympathetic eye on the signpost marking the collaboration highway. He was aware that the Soviet battle for survival had never involved any necessity for territorial aggrandizement. The internal problems of industrialization and collectivization were well past the blueprint stage and were developing successfully. The Trotsky issue had subsided below the danger point. Despite the purges in the mid-Thirties, the Russian people achieved a unity six years later which was to astound their allies no less than their enemies. The chief obstacle to their fuller enjoyment of the material

fruits of increased production was the necessity for diverting so large a portion of their productive energy to building and maintaining a military establishment.

Accordingly there was no voice, in or out of the League of Nations, raised more insistently than Litvinov's for measures looking toward general disarmament.

Following the official resumption of diplomatic relations between the United States and Russia in 1933, there were justifiable expectations of a practical evolution toward a permanent world peace. The most influential of the nonpredatory nations—France, Britain, Russia, and the United States—seemed to be drawing closer together.

Hitler's rise to power changed this situation. Germany's principal neighbors to the east and west viewed it with acute apprehension. Hitler's intentions toward Russia had been blatantly disclosed long since in *Mein Kampf*. Now, with Hitler's approval, von Ribbentrop courted England and reviled the Soviets. Meanwhile, the repudiation of Anthony Eden by Britain over Mussolini's depredations in Africa; the vacillation of French as well as British policy in the Spanish crisis; followed by the culminating appeasement of Hitler at Munich, effectively blocked the collaboration road. In Russia, this resulted in the replacement of Litvinov by Molotov, and the Kremlin reverted to the policy of suspicious isolation of the Twenties—with these major differences:

Appeasement—to War

WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HITLER'S leadership in the Reich, the USSR had set herself seriously to the grim task of preparing to meet an attack on her western frontiers. Moreover, Soviet Russia was to out-appease Britain and France before she got through. The Chamberlain government, for example, cherished to the end the expectation of being able to preserve "peace in our time." Stalin's policy toward Hitler may be said to have differed from that of Chamberlain (or of Daladier) principally in limiting its hope to postponement—rather than to ultimate avoidance of the clash. British military power grew less in comparison with that of Germany, so long as Chamberlain's appeasement entailed a continuance of a peacetime economy. The Kremlin's control of industry, through which it could effectively direct the country's resources into equipment for war, gave Stalin a chance to use for preparedness the time he bought by appeasement.

By the spring of 1939, the Nazis had repudiated Munich and marched into Czechoslovakia. All the indications were that Soviet Russia would be forced to defend her western frontier against Germany. Whether she could count on help from England and France was shrouded in their protracted negotiations at Moscow which did not get anywhere. Then came the unexpected joint guarantee given to Poland by France and Britain without a simultaneous commitment from Russia.

This, as I see it, can be explained only on the basis of an inadequate appraisal of Russian military potentials. The effect was to make the Kremlin a free agent to compete with Downing Street and the Quai d'Orsay in appeasing Hitler. Subsequent events indicated that Stalin expected Chamberlain and Daladier to persist in their own policy of appeasement. What he did not anticipate was that the force of public opinion in Britain would not permit another Munich. The declaration of war against Germany by the Allies in September, 1939, struck Moscow as a thunderbolt.

There were other thunderbolts: First the Nazi-Soviet pact the previous month; later the inevitable German-Russian break, and

the Nazi invasion of Russia in 1941.

In the interval, with Russia short-circuited, Hitler had smashed France as a counterweight. Moscow has since clamored for a second front to take her place. It is not my purpose to assess the Kremlin's course, either as power politics or as an extension of its policy of appeasement—to gain time. History has been writing that sort of critique for two years in Russian blood and tears and ruins, and then in her amazing military rebound; in the instant recognition by Churchill and Roosevelt of a new and courageous ally; in lend-lease; in the conferences between East and West which augur a new unity in war and peace. These become our present concern.

III. WHERE THE TWO ROADS LEAD

WE CAN WELL BELIEVE THAT FROM THE DAY the Nazis marched into Poland on September 1, 1939, to the day they marched onto Russia's own soil on June 22, 1941, the Soviet Union endeavored to take advantage of Hitler's preoccupation with his immediate adversaries to extend her western defenses. Her acquisitions along the western border can be construed as an effort to convert the *cordon sanitaire*, which had been set up against Russia at Versailles, into a *cordon sanitaire* for her own protection.

But two can play at that game, as Hitler showed when his divisions rolled forward and erased these Soviet gains. This was demonstrated afresh, from another angle, when in 1942 there were indications of a revival in London and in Washington of proposals to set up another *cordon sanitaire* in Europe against Russia along the old lines. These ominous murmurings of a group of "old order states," and "vested interests," were recognized as a serious threat to United Nations unity. They had their counterpart in a similar backward looking cult in Russia, which wanted to set up in turn a buffer against western imperialism and capitalism.

The declaration at Moscow by the United Nations—by Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States in November, 1943—"That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their common enemies, will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security" was in itself heartening assurance that these mutual suspicions had been recognized and so could be outflanked.

Stalin and Clemenceau

WHAT WE MUST NOT FORGET IS THAT THE consistent policy of the USSR, prior to the Nazi invasion, was to stand alone, distrust alliances, and rely entirely on her own strength. Riga, Hango, and Kishenev were regarded as necessary for that purpose. The Finnish War, and the non-aggression pact with Yugoslavia in April 1941, were both clearly related to it. Back of these, there was the traditional hankering (inherited from Tsarist Russia) for the Bosphorus as well as the desire for ice free ports in the Baltic.

Patently, here we are dealing with a foreign policy characteristic of all nations that try to live in a balance-of-power world. If Russia cannot obtain other kinds of national safety, we are likely to have from the USSR, at the conclusion of World War II, a reincarnation of Clemenceau's policy for France after World War I.

There are, in truth, striking similarities between the two: the same search for security against war, the same insistence on reliable assurances from her Allies as precedent to decisions on disarmament. From the Soviet standpoint, the abandonment by Stalin of what Russia regards as territorial requirements for adequate defense of her western borders would constitute the equivalent of substantial disarmament.

In 1919, France stood at the fork of much the same road that faces Russia and the rest of the world today. "The Tiger" wanted security, either a guarantee backed by both England and the United States or safety in a balance-of-power Europe. If the collective security road which the League of Nations only half assured was closed, Germany, to his mind, must be rendered impotent and kept so.

The allies of France did not permit her to travel either of these roads. Instead, they proceeded along what Clemenceau believed to be a blind alley and he correctly prophesied this could only pave the way to the doom of France. Clemenceau knew that his country would not be able to stand alone without adequate British support in a balance-of-power Europe.

Common Interests

THE PHYSICAL CHANGES IN WARFARE, which have so drastically altered the emphasis from land to naval and then to air defense, have increased the difficulties of maintaining peace through such traditional balance-of-power politics. (They also hold out the hope that collective security has at long last an effective leverage in the air arm.) Prior to the conference of the foreign secretaries in Moscow, discussion of boundaries revolved about security in the event of future wars. The inevitability of the "next war" was accepted by many as

(Continued on page 138)



Not a Single Step Back! Drawing by the Soviet artist Scherbakov

Metropolitan Museum of Art

Unyielding Shoulder of the Volga

Where Hitler's army broke its body and spirit. The end of his line—Stalingrad—registered the inner strength of the Soviets and Russia's prestige of blood.

EDGAR SNOW

WHAT MAKES THE RUSSIAN SOLDIER FIGHT that way? Some say it is his Russian patriotism, his sacred duty to the Motherland. Others tell you it is communism—his devotion to the ideal of international socialism. Another answer is that the war has brought about a revival of Russian nationalism; that it is the government's modification of communism and its emphasis on the past glory of Russian arms, on the tradition of Kutuzov and Suvorov, that make the soldier fight.

There is some truth in all those explanations, but first of all the Russian fights magnificently because he is defending his home against an unprovoked invasion, against an enemy who has devastated his soil, defiled it, drenched it in blood. I have talked to scores of Russian soldiers from Stalingrad to Rzhev, and I know the wrath that animates them to wipe out the evil

which separates them from their hearts' desire — their homes, their parents, their wives and children, or their sweethearts—from their careers and useful work, from kindness and laughter among good comrades. The very simplicity of their cause is its strength. It explains the selfless heroism which is commonplace at the front, as well as the uncomplaining patience and fortitude with which women and young people have driven themselves at terrific pace to accomplish their work of support at the rear.

I remember a youth on a collective farm who had been discharged from the front after losing an arm. After he had told me of his experiences, I asked him what Russia wanted to do with Germany after the war.

"This is what I think," he said. "We had no quarrel with Germany, did we? Why

did the Nazis attack us? They saw us leading a good life; they envied us, and wanted our land and our factories. For bandits like these we have an answer." He held up his good arm; doubled his one fist. "We will destroy them—utterly destroy them. That's what every Russian soldier wants to tell the Germans!"

Russia's Inner Strength

BUT SOMEONE HAD TO ORGANIZE THIS wrath, direct it, arm it, lead it. And that someone in the case of Russia was the communist. Without him, without the Communist Party and the achievements of the Five-Year Plans, all Russia's patriotism might not have been enough. The Red Army and its victories were made possible by the Soviet system, the leadership of the Communist Party, and the wisdom of its chief mentors.

It was the Communist Party which devised the strategy and tactics of the Red Army and gave it the leadership which brought victory. With one exception all the marshals of Russia and, virtually without exception all the generals, are members of the Communist Party. What distinguishes the Red Army, and the men in it, from all other armies of the world is the dominating position of this single political party — a party of proletarians whose parents were nearly all illiterate workers or peasants, whose great-grandfathers actually were serfs owned like domestic animals. And in consequence of the success of that party's leadership there is no doubt that its government, the Soviet regime, stands today as stable as any system of rule on earth.

This prestige has not been won without enormous blood sacrifice in the ranks of the party. In the most critical battles, at the most difficult positions, communists and Komsomols (Young Communists), assumed the highest responsibility. Thus, at the battle of Stalingrad, I learned that in many companies of the Guardist divisions, which stopped the worst Nazi onslaughts, as many as one third of the rank and file were communists or Komsomols. Of the more than 200,000 Russians killed at Stalingrad a very large percentage had, therefore, determined to die not only for Russia but for the glory of the Bolshevik ideology.

It is not my intention to make a brief for communism or the Communist Party of Russia, but I want to emphasize the above point because there is a tendency here in America to separate the Russian people from their leadership—when looking for reasons why the Red Army has fought so brilliantly and tirelessly. All the time I was in Russia, exactly the opposite thing impressed me — that nothing happened without being identified with that party and its leader: that it was impossible to say, "Here ends the influence of communism, and here begins patriotism or Russian nationalism." They were identical.

The Fate of Mankind

IT WAS MY FORTUNE TO ARRIVE IN RUSSIA when the battle of Stalingrad was still in an early stage. I found that every Russian already felt that holding that city on the Volga meant survival or extinction for his country. For every communist it meant, also, survival or extinction for his faith. Russia is one country where no one sought to lay the blame or responsibility for defense on someone else. The Russian Bolsheviks knew that if the Red Army were destroyed then no power on earth could restore the Soviet system.

Before I went to Russia I was in Africa, and saw how little had been needed to give the Germans victory there. One staff officer, who should have known, told me that if the Germans could put ten divisions into North Africa the whole Allied position would be lost. But those ten divisions continued to be held in Russia—till it was too late for Hitler to do anything about it.

I was in India when Burma fell, and I can tell you that if Japan had struck swiftly

then, and with energy, we might well have lost the industrial heart of India. But Japan also was watching Stalingrad. If the event had given the Nazis the victory there, there is little doubt that the Japanese would be lording it over much of the Indian Empire today.

Later I went to Persia and met the same fear in men's minds. We ourselves did not have, and our Allies the British did not have, any force in that part of the world which could have stopped a German advance southward—if the Germans had won in the Caucasus. Had Hitler taken Baku and then gone on into the Near East and the Middle East, the whole course of the war would have been profoundly altered. We would everywhere be on the defensive today rather than participating in victorious offensives — which all began when and where the Nazi army broke its body and its spirit against the unyielding shoulder of the Volga River.



Edgar Snow in liberated Rzhev

—The author of "Far Eastern Front" (1934); "Red Star Over China" (1937); "The Battle for Asia" (1941)—is now completing a luminous book, "People on Our Side," of which this article gives foretaste.

Assistant editor of the *China Weekly Review*, Shanghai (1929-30); lecturer at Yenching University, Peiping (1934-5); he contributed signally to Chinese wartime economy as co-author of the plan for Industrial Cooperatives.

Mr. Snow was the first newspaperman to enter Soviet China during the civil war. As chief Far Eastern correspondent for the *London Daily Herald*, he covered the Sino-Japanese War till 1941, when he returned to America. He has since then visited most of the theaters of war as an accredited correspondent for *The Saturday Evening Post*.

Altogether he has spent half as many years in the Orient as in his native Missouri, where he studied at the state university and had his first reportorial experience on the *Kansas City Star*.

These facts are obvious to us and perfectly clear to the Russians. They know the truth, right down to the simplest farm women in some far-off collective in Siberia. And just because the Russian soldiers at Stalingrad knew those facts too, they measured life small against the cause at stake. They had a slogan which was literal fact. "For us," the slogan said, "there is no land beyond the Volga."

Their Feet in the River

I WAS IN THE STALINGRAD AREA WITH THE Red Army for a while but I could not enter the city till two days after the German surrender. The Russians are prodigal with their own skins but not with those of foreign war correspondents. All I suffered at Stalingrad was the 40-below zero weather—and Russian hospitality. When I finally got into the obliterated city I understood why I had not been permitted to enter earlier.

The Russians had been fighting almost with their feet in the river. Before it began to freeze, and afterward, the Volga remained their very exposed line of supply. Here, where it makes its great bend toward the Caspian Sea, the Volga is a couple of miles wide, so the ammunition-runners had to face continuous shelling for miles. One of the most difficult problems was to keep that stream of supply constantly moving—for if it stopped, it meant defeat.

At Stalingrad I met General Gurtiev—he was later killed—at the very bluff where his stalwart Siberians hung on against hundreds of German tanks attempting a breakthrough. "We never had more than two days' reserve supplies at any time," he told me.

On top of the bluff, near the blindage where I staved, I met a Russian woman and her child who had lived all through the battle in a wooden hut beside a railway embankment. Through some humor of fate this little hut was untouched — the only structure for miles around that was still intact. She told us she had waited too long to cross the Volga—until it was actually safer to stay in the battleline than to try to get over. "The Germans never stopped shelling the river," she said, "the steel fell over it just like rain all day and night."

How the Russians kept their food and munitions flowing in spite of that storm is an epic in itself. The men told me they often got a hot meal even in the front line trenches. Service troops carried the stuff over at night and a lot of it went by hand—and by women's hands at that. But in spite of the continuous barrage, General Gurtiev said, 90 percent of the supplies reached their destination. The Nazis actually broke through and got bridgeheads at several points but somehow never managed to complete the encirclements.

Red October Factory

IT WAS AT THE RED OCTOBER FACTORY that you best saw how this soil had been fought over, inch by inch, as if one contestant had understood that the limit of trading space for time had been reached, and the other had sensed that if the con-

quered space were lost now, then nothing could restore the precious time consumed in winning it and all past victories would be rendered Pyrrhic. Of the once great metal works, its acres of buildings, sidings, warehouses and docks, its thousands of homes and schools, parks and gardens, its fine machines, absolutely nothing remained but scrap and rubbish. It was a total loss.

Here and there pieces of buildings still stood, but you could not tell what they had been—an arm of steel jutting pointlessly into the sky, a half-gone wall; nothing else. In between these torn bones of industry, the lost labor of millions of hours of honest toil, were snow-covered foxholes, irregular trenches, huge craters, where half exposed corpses showed bits of saffron-colored flesh, or you saw dull red patches frozen on green rags. Guns and ammunition and sidearms lay about, some attached to booby traps. Sappers had not yet cleared the area.

At last we came to the end of the factory grounds and stood upon a knoll that rose fifteen feet above the remains of a modern building which marked the limit of the Germans' advance. Hardly more than a hundred yards beyond, the bluff fell away sharply to the river's edge. Hundreds of miles, all the way from Berlin, Fritz had come to this point, Hitler's "utmost sail-mark"—thus far and no farther. Why?

Was it possible that you could actually see, as clearly as the line of a receding tide upon a shelf of rock, the place where man would in after years say, "Here the evil spent itself"?

All the insides of the big building were missing, but the walls and the columns and the pillars stood. You could see how the defenders had found cover, and how anyone trying to take the place must have been caught in a murderous crossfire. In front of it, the terrain was cut up with deep bomb holes which ruled out the use of tanks. The Russians' left flank was protected by a deep ravine running to the water's edge. On their right flank the little hill had guarded the building.

The Men Who Turned Hitler Back

THE SIBERIANS WHO DEFENDED THE RED October Factory area were the honored Eighth Guardist "division" under General Gurtiev, rushed here just before the Nazi onslaught of October 14. Against it the enemy had thrown giant tanks, armadas of dive bombers, and artillery ranging from long range heavy guns and howitzers to six-barreled mortars firing thermite shells. At night the Germans turned the place into day with flares and fires; burning buildings and smokescreens camouflaged the day. Preceding that day of the twenty-three attacks, led by tanks and automatic-riflemen, they had saturated these three kilometers for eighty hours with shells and bombs. At the height of the battle 13,000 machine guns were firing. (On an average 6,000 tons of metal were dropped on every kilometer of the Stalingrad front.)

Somehow the Siberians held against it all and did not go mad.

Even after seeing the position I could not

understand how a huge crushing machine could have been stopped a few tens of yards short of its goal. I asked the soldiers — those still on the river front, sorting booty—how it was that the Germans, having come that far, could not take the land which might have given them strategic victory.

"They couldn't get it," the men said, "because we could not retreat."

Perhaps in final analysis it was that simple. Or as General Chuikov put it, the Germans could advance only over Russian dead. In the end there were more Russians, in that small space, than the Germans with all their means could kill.

But of course they had had to be men, each one of them a heroic life. So individual valor, in men properly trained and equipped, confident in an intelligent leadership, determined to die rather than yield; belief in a sacred cause or, perhaps in the case of these Siberians, the rugged plainsman's regional pride, or *esprit de corps* (what our marines had later at Tarawa and Makin); or you might say simply discipline, the incalculable group will which, attaching to a fine tradition, makes the normal instinct to survive a remote and un-touchable thought: all those intangibles that go to make up what is called "morale" — whatever it is, these Siberians had it. Once again they proved that it is still that strange living quality, that high pitch of selflessness and not machines, which turns the fate of men in battle.

Later on I was dining in a dugout with General Chuikov, whose 62nd Army held that critical hundred yards for days while the Russian counter-offensive, which began a year ago, was being prepared. General Chuikov already knew then—what we know indisputably today—that Hitler had reached his limit, the farthest shore of his advance.

"The Germans hit us with all they had," he told me. "They will never again be able to attack with such strength. Stalingrad is the turning point of the war."

It was at the same dinner that I met a red-cheeked Ukrainian girl who had been all through the battle as part of the service troops. I had done nothing to deserve the honor but she brought me a glass of water, newly thawed from a piece of Volga ice. I never drank anything that tasted better and I told her so.

She looked at me and grinned with fierce pride. "It *ought* to be good," she said. "It's mixed with Russian blood!"

Russia's Solemn Prestige

THERE IS RUSSIAN BLOOD MIXED WITH THE water of every other river in the battle zones—very, very much of it. How many lives the war has cost these people to date none of us knows exactly. I think the estimate of six to eight million killed and incapacitated soldiers is conservative. The civilian casualties may be twice that.

I know what correspondents found at places like Rzhev and Mozhaisk, at Kharkov and Rostov, at Smolensk and elsewhere. Take Rzhev, which before the war

was a prosperous town of 65,000. About a third of the people escaped when the Germans came. When we went back after the Red Army, last spring, there were only about 200 people in the town. Tens of thousands had starved and the place was almost as ruined as Stalingrad.

At Kharkov, once a city of nearly a million, we found less than half the population had survived. Smolensk, another great city now leveled to the ground, lost over half its inhabitants. Novorossiisk was completely depopulated. More than a third of Leningrad's million and a half people had died before the spring of 1943—mostly of starvation. Further instalments of the same story continue to reach us as the curtain rises from other areas now being liberated.

Many of us tend to forget such facts when we talk of Russia and the boundaries we should "give" her and the place we ought to "give" her in the peace that is coming. But the Russians cannot forget—not when nearly every family has lost one of its members. Americans have made their full contribution to victory, and that contribution and all the power and responsibility placed in our hands, inevitably impose on us a role of world leadership. But neither the Americans nor the British will have to make the human sacrifices in this war that Russians have made. When the balance is struck, Russian losses will exceed those of all the United Nations combined.

Russia's solemn prestige of blood is a fact bound to weigh very eloquently in history. In itself it bespeaks enough for Russia's faith in the things for which we have fought in common. It also bespeaks the unity of the Russian people, the wisdom and genius of their leadership, and the stability and practicability of the Soviet socialist system of government in Russia.

The Light Breaks

AS FAR AS INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IS concerned, Russia has done more than her share by securing its very foundations through her magnificent victories. These have piled up at such a rate since the great summer offensive began last July, the Hitler world has shrunk so drastically, the Nazi Army in Russia has been so battered and mauled, that the end of the war has moved closer by many months.

In view of this record of the Red Army, it is perhaps not only just—it may even be considered prudent—for those powers wishing to enjoy continued peace and cooperation with the Soviet Union to take on quite a lot of the tasks of working out ways and means of making that possible.

For some of us, who have for twelve years, or ever since the Japanese seized Manchuria, maintained that American-Soviet cooperation was a necessary precondition of world security, what happened at the Moscow conference, and later at Teheran, seems like sunshine breaking through, not after forty days of flood but after 4,000 days of rain and storm. If we can believe all the implications of the Moscow entente, we are nearer the bright light of reason than man has ever been able to stand before.



INTO SLAVERY



THE MOTHER

The Civilian's Portion

Four Drawings by
SHMARINOV



REFUGEES



LIBERATED

From "The Soviet Artist in the War" exhibition, Metropolitan Museum of Art in cooperation with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

The Soviet Middle East

Where Soviet Russia recaptured its industrial strength for war—
much as our young Middlewest once turned the scales in the '60s.
How American engineers helped history repeat itself.

ANDREW J. STEIGER

HALF WAY ROUND THE 40TH PARALLEL from our own Middle West, Russia has opened up her Middle East on the other side of the globe. Here, beyond the Urals (which means Asia), the Soviets fell back for a new arsenal to replace the invaded Ukraine (which is in Europe). The great rush of settlers has come a century after ours—not by covered wagon but by truck and train along with machinery in retreat.

Russia's Middle East is as vast as the whole United States. Its wide open spaces—west to east—may be said to reach from the Volga to central western China and the Yenisei. Unlike our rivers, that great stream runs—south to north—to the Arctic Ocean.

The southernmost reaches of this territory lie as close to the 40th parallel as Chicago, or New York or San Francisco; its northernmost as far up the map as Hudson Bay. It has soil as frozen as any in Alaska but also deserts hot as any in Arizona; windswept plains like those where our buffalo once grazed; mountains and sunny uplands like California's.

Within less than three years, twelve to fifteen million hard-working people have moved in. They have joined earlier settlers there as well as its native inhabitants, along this eastward moving industrial frontier. The roaring mills of Russia's Middle East have had wartime welcome alike for the equivalents of our sod-busters of yesterday and our Thunderbolt pilots of today.

Defense against invasion, both from west and east, was a keynote in the master plan for Soviet industrialization. Drawn up with the aid of the 200-year-old Russian Academy of Sciences, the program provided for shifting the industrial base east of the Volga. When the *Wehrmacht* invaded in 1941, the Russians were prepared not only to yield territory in the west but to evacuate the industrial vitals of the Ukraine. The Kazakh branch of the Academy of Sciences, with headquarters in Alma-Ata—which is actually nearer to Chungking than to Moscow—reported a dozen expeditions in the field, plotting new mineral deposits. Some of the foremost scientists of the Academy in Moscow reassessed resources in the Urals and beyond.

The Nazi invasion had been under way less than six weeks when Hermann Habicht, an American businessman turned correspondent, left Moscow in August on the Trans-Siberian express and reported trainload after trainload of plant, equipment, and people moving eastward. Journeying on to Vladivostok on the Pacific, he encountered women and children now being evacuated westward from the areas east of Lake

—By the author of "Soviet Asia" (1942), night news editor, CBS short wave listening station—who brings an extraordinary kit of tools to this assignment.

For, Pittsburgh born, he was first a machinist's apprentice, then a tracer at Westinghouse, a night student at Carnegie "Tech," a draftsman at the Pittsburgh Coal Washer Co., and later spent a summer as a drill press operator at the Hudson auto plant in Detroit.

After serving in an Engineer Corps with the AEF in France, he studied at the University of Chicago and took A.B. and M.A. degrees at Columbia specializing in social psychology.

Later, on a tour of Soviet Russia, this brought him a post at the Psycho-Technical Institute in Sverdlovsk (1932-33). He revisited the Urals in 1936 and 1940. Meanwhile, he had been secretary of *The New York Times* office in Moscow where he was thrown with Ivan Papanin, the explorer, translating his "Life on an Ice Floe"; and with I. Dzerzhinski, the composer—translating into English the libretto for the opera based on Sholokov's "Quiet Flows the Don."

Baikal in anticipation of a simultaneous invasion by the Japanese.

Two months later, when Robert Magidoff, NBC correspondent, joined the diplomats shuttled from invested Moscow to the wartime capital at Kuibyshev on the Volga, he found traffic so congested, not only with westbound troop trains but with evacuated plants and their crews moving east, that the 36-hour trip took six days.

Russia's Middle East had thus become the safety zone between threatened frontiers on two continents.

Trek of the Big Tools

LET ME BEGIN, THEN, BY PUTTING THIS peak-load of Russian migration not in terms of Slavic Daniel Boones and David Crockett's but of itinerant rolling mills. Brought up as I was in the American steel district at the headwaters of the Ohio, I was naturally stirred when in 1932 I stood at the big bend of the Dnieper and my guide pointed to a vacant construction lot.

"That," he said, "will be Zaporozhstal."

The Zaporozhe steel works were to share in the hydroelectric energy which would come of impounding rainfall from over a good part of the Ukraine. As the plant took shape, it included a tool shop together with electric furnaces for making ferroalloys and aluminum by a French process.

But it was to be dominated by a mighty 4-High Hot and Cold Strip mill bought from the United Engineering and Foundry Co., of Pittsburgh—almost a replica of the latest design in continuous sheet rolling that was supplied to the Ford Motor Co., at home. Under the terms of the contract, a party of Russian engineers were brought over here to learn American operating methods. Their instructor was the American engineer Wade Jenkins, who later went to Zaporozhe to supervise the installation and remained there until the first units were put in operation in 1938.

In little more than two years, the Nazi blitz swept past Kiev, the dam was demolished by the retreating Russians, and the power cut off that fed not only the adjacent plants, but also the Krivoi Rog iron mines and the Donets coal basin. Ultimately the invasion wiped out what was presumed to be 50 percent of the Russian war potential.

A rolling mill which had been shipped originally from the Allegheny and Monongahela to the Dnieper, is certainly movable property—except perhaps for the hundred-ton stands which had required special railway cars, and could be rendered useless by the removal of the key rolls.

It is not half way round the earth but 1,300 miles as the crow flies, from the Dnieper dam site to the Urals, and beyond them a huge new hydroelectric station has been going up on the Irtysh River where, 350 years ago, Yermak—the Cossack conqueror of Siberia—was drowned. Some of the same workmen who built *Dneprostroy* have a hand in it. And meanwhile, the Serov plant, also in the Urals, has become noted for making precisely the same kind of steel products that once bore the stamp of "Zaporozhstal."

If in this new day of epaulets and military crosses, Soviet Russia should put a bird on its banners along with the Hammer and the Sickle, it certainly should be the Phoenix.

In this great trek of men and machines, the Chelyabinsk region alone became the site of 200 evacuated plants which were installed some in swiftly erected structures, some in warehouses, school buildings, theaters, stores—even in one case in the stables vacated by a cavalry regiment speeded to Moscow when the fate of the Soviet capital hung in the balance. From these truly transplanted plants has come a steady stream of supplies for the Red Army.

Meanwhile, through lend-lease, new machinery as well as finished goods have been on the march from America, also by routes



Drawn for Survey Graphic by Russell J. Walrath

MAJOR INDUSTRIAL AREAS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

- Urals (Sverdlovsk circle): Iron, steel, heavy machine tools, non-ferrous metals, power, oil, coal
- Siberia (Novosibirsk circle): Coal, coke, iron, steel, chemicals, power, machinery, timber
- Central Asia (Tashkent circle): Textiles, agricultural machinery, coal, power, steel, oil

Aircraft, tanks, arms, ammunition are produced throughout the mideastern area at "N" plants, not located on any available maps

that ultimately converge on Russia's Middle East. During the war, "even complete factories, such as an electric plant and an automobile tire factory" have been shipped from the USA to the USSR, according to E. C. Ropes of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of our Department of Commerce at Washington. After the war, as now, we shall be living in an era when machines migrate rather than the men who make them. And when Middle West and

Middle East will no longer be a century apart. When the Red Army reentered Zaporozhe last fall, a frontline dispatch reported that "a visit to the rolling mill and aluminum works shows that the German claim to have resumed operations there was empty boasting. The plant lies ruined, machine parts are rusting and grass covers the mill grounds. The people who had remained behind refused to labor for the German

enemy. The Nazis gained one distinction only. They put up signboards with the words: *Hermann Goering Werke*.

Industrial Heartland

NAZI GEOPOLITICIANS SINGLED OUT THIS Middle East as Eurasia's heartland and declared that he who controls it is master of the world. Fortunately for us, the Soviets found use for it as an arsenal in frustrating Hitler's dream of being that man. The only



Sovfoto

Old Novosibirsk (Novo-Nikolayevsk). Now "the Chicago of Siberia," with a big city skyline, and "the lamp of Ilyich" burning in the remotest hut

area to be compared with it in geographic insulation is the central valley of North America. But with Kansas City and its Soviet counterpart only sixty flying hours from the earth's remotest spots, the enchantment—and safety—which distance is likely to lend in the air age is highly speculative. Rather, what we may be surer of is that Middle West and Middle East will alike have coigns of vantage in a world at peace. And both have been blessed with tremendous natural resources, first tapped in modern times.

The abundant wealth of the Russian area was revealed by discoveries of copper, gold, silver, lead, and zinc ores in the eighteenth century. This led to the rise of a flourishing artisan smelting industry, the products of which are symbolized today in museum exhibits of brass cannon and Russian samovars. Some Ural iron works are as old as the Bear Mountain furnaces near West Point, which were the source of muskets for the Continentals in the American Revolution. The Russian "blue iron" produced on charcoal fires ranked with Sweden's as the finest in the world. Its permanent bluish shine was the joy of engine-wipers on the seven seas.

Middle Eastern coal deposits now estimated in trillions of tons, awaited the rise of blast furnaces. Before 1917 the Trans-Siberian railway had absorbed what little was mined in the Kuznets basin. Siberian manganese deposits and fireclay, nickel ores in the southern Urals, oil at Emba and in Uzbekistan, copper at Balkhash, potash salts in Kazakhstan, iron at Magnitogorsk, nonferrous metals at Norilsk within the Arctic circle—all these lay buried, waiting for prospector, miner, and engineer.

In the Siberian winters, sleighs raced from hungry wolves in forests that stretch in a belt a thousand miles wide across the whole of northern Eurasia. Today, plywood from Russian spruce is being utilized like

Canada's best to make the fastest aircraft.

The development of an industrial bastion, here, has been a signal feature in all of the Soviet Five-Year Plans. New railways were driven to vital industrial deposits and urban centers sprang up along them as they had along the older Trans-Siberian and Central Asian railways. By 1940 there were a score of cities in the Soviet Middle East with populations that ranged above 100,000. Alma-Ata, Krasnoyarsk, Magnitogorsk, and Stalinsk were twice that in size, and three cities—Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, and Tashkent—each ranged around 500,000. (That is comparable to Buffalo or Cincinnati.) For the most part, as modern industrial centers, these communities have had their rise in the last fifteen years.

For American Eyes

REMEMBER THAT FROM THE PIONEERING point of view, *going east* to the people who live in them is like *going west* with us. In your mind's eye, lay a transparent map of Russia's Middle East at the right of an ordinary map (same scale) of our own Middle West. Then turn it back, like the next page of a book. You will be surprised at what you see. For, if you tilt it a bit, you will find that these key cities, now in reverse from east to west, fall directly over what from the standpoint of social economy might well be called their American counterparts.

Thus, Sverdlovsk, with its heavy industries, would overlap the steel city of Pittsburgh. Novosibirsk, in the heart of rich Siberian wheatlands, would be near the western border of Kansas. Tashkent, in the heart of Central Asia's cottonlands, would overlap the Gulf of Mexico, just south of our own cotton belt. Krasnoyarsk, with its pulp mills and mining machinery, would be near Salt Lake City.

The coal, oil, and iron of the Urals would rest on our Appalachians, and herds of Kazakhstan livestock would graze over our

own southwestern grasslands. Passing east through the industrial center of it all would be like traveling from Pittsburgh west through St. Louis and beyond.

Sverdlovsk

THESE NAMES WILL RECUR IN WHAT FOLLOWS, and perhaps I can give you a sense of what they mean to me. For in the early 30's my research work in industrial accidents at the Sverdlovsk Psycho-Technical Institute gave occasion for visits to most of the major projects under way in the region.

Sverdlovsk itself, with its half million people by 1940, was then just emerging as a center of heavy industry. Side by side with vast construction projects, like a machine-building works designed to produce heavy mill equipment, were landmarks of the old provincial town of Ekaterinburg (population 70,000 in 1920). I have in mind, for example, a diamond mill, driven by a water wheel, and making ornaments of jasper, topaz, and aquamarine.

Impounded by the mill dam near the center of the old town was an extensive lagoon, a common feature of the Ural landscape. Here, sturdily built log cabins stood their ground against modern apartment dwellings. But all around were evidences of feverish building activity—a medical center in an extensive quadrangle of many buildings; a rambling engineering training college with freshly-boarded walls smelling still of the saw mill; an airdrome newly laid out in the wild grassland of the town's environs.

The new city of Sverdlovsk was just emerging above the tree tops of the surrounding forests. But when I visited an electrolytic copper refinery twenty miles out of town, I found it had been designed by an American engineer, Archer E. Wheeler, in a skyscraper overlooking Battery Park. The Urals are a long way from Canada, but it was here that I came to know Walter Arnold Rukeyser, another American engineer who was advising the Russians on new asbestos mining and processing plants after the latest Quebec models. (He has told of it in "Working for the Soviets.")

Over 175 foreign mining experts were then in various parts of Russia. Dean of them all was John D. Littlepage, gold engineer from Alaska. Commissioned to install American mining methods in the expanding Soviet gold industry, he first worked at the Kochgar mines in the Urals and later—from 1928 to 1938—he traveled as mining inspector over 100,000 miles throughout Asiatic Russia. "What held me," he wrote in his noteworthy book, "In Search of Soviet Gold," "was the great open spaces of the Russian East. . . . The Russians have something there which is more important than any political system . . . almost a continent in itself . . . still almost as empty as the American West was a few generations back and with the same possibilities for the future of the younger generation in Russia."

It was this trailblazer's vision that prompted many Americans to go to Russia in the 1930's to explore new frontiers. They

were in for many surprises. A signpost along the railway near Chelyabinsk marks the boundary line between Europe and Asia. Through the car window, you could see an enormous tractor plant designed in Detroit. Going by rail also, through the open prairies of the southern Urals in the spring of 1933, I could see far off to the east the smoke of campfires made by nomad herdsmen of Kazakhstan. Swinging in a wide curve around a small mountain, we suddenly came on to a valley full of smoking industry. This was the Magnitogorsk steel mill being built beside this mountain full of iron ore and aid in its design had come from Arthur G. McKee and Co. of Cleveland. It was here that I met John Scott, who has told the full story of this mill in his book, "Behind the Urals."

Novosibirsk

FAR OUT IN SIBERIA ANOTHER NEW STEEL mill was coming into operation in the Kuznets basin at Stalinsk (population, 3,000 in 1917; 220,000 in 1939). Nearby is Novosibirsk, sometimes called the "Chicago of Siberia"—and, by 1940, half a million strong in proving the comparison has validity. Interestingly enough, technical assistance had come to it from the offices of the Freyn Engineering Company in Chicago, Ill. Moreover, American mining experience was contributed by "Big Bill" Haywood, one-time leader of the metal miners in the American Far West.

In 1936, I found Novosibirsk developing a skyline of impressive buildings. Huge new structures lined the river Ob, crossed by two railway bridges. The open country is never far removed from the new cities of Russia's Middle East and on the outskirts here you could see old-fashioned Siberian cabins. Yet here, as at Magnitogorsk, electric lighting had been carried to the remotest hut. The bulbs were called the "Lamp of Ilyich" or Lenin's light. The streets were lined with newly planted shade trees and were being paved, but sidewalks were still scarce and you had to watch your step or lose your rubbers in mud much as Chicagoans in 1850 might have waded through.

From Novosibirsk, trains run south along China's western frontier over the Turkestan-Siberian railway into Central Asia. An American, Bill Shatoff, had a hand in building it. An important stop on this line is Semipalatinsk, or literally "the Seven Tents," a city with a modern meat packing plant noted, like Kansas City, for its cattle runs, the livestock coming in from the Kazakhstan grasslands and from western China.

Alma-Ata and Tashkent

TWO DAYS TRAVEL ALONG THE "TURK-SIB" brought me to Alma-Ata. Founded by Cossack frontiersmen, this city of 250,000 nestles like Denver in towering rocky mountains. Along its steep streets run gutters of mountain water that irrigate rows of tall shade trees. With abundant sunshine and pure mountain air, the place has

become a Hollywood of Soviet filmdom. When I visited it in 1936, young Kazakh actors were making the first film ever produced by native talent. Moreover, H. G. Wells' "Invisible Man" was being shown locally, and for it the Russian soundtrack had been fashioned by an American motion picture engineer, Lars Moën.

From Alma-Ata, the Central Asian Railway runs westward through fertile uplands and semi-desert plains to Tashkent and on to the Caspian seaport of Krasnovodsk. Tashkent I have never visited myself. Half

a million strong, it has become one of the fastest growing industrial centers of the East. It is the capital of Uzbekistan where, as in our southern states, cotton is king. Huge textile mills have been erected there.

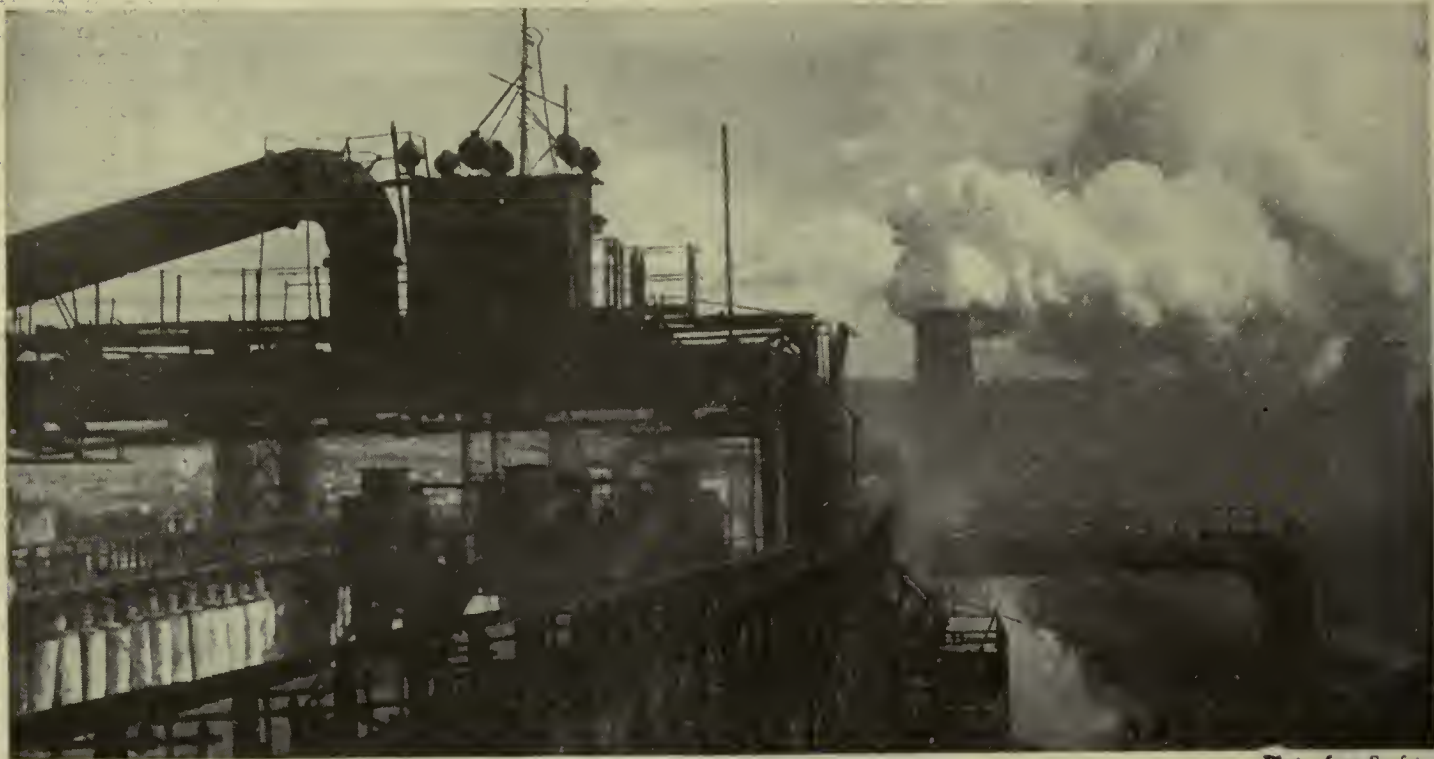
Prior to the Nazi occupation, half the total Soviet output of coal, as well as iron and steel, came from the Ukraine. While machines can be moved, iron and coal mines like power dams are rooted in the earth, and, as we have seen, the Soviets had to resort largely to new mines and

(Continued on page 78)



Sovfoto

A Russian artist's sketch of shop in the modern plant making farm machinery at Tashkent, fast growing capital of Uzbekistan, where "cotton is king"



Photos from Sovfoto

Eastward Trek of Men and Machines

Top: The Stalin Iron and Steel Plant at Magnitogorsk in the Urals industrial area. *Right:* Assembly shop in a Sverdlovsk machine building plant in the same industrial area. *Bottom:* The electric furnace from the Zaporozhe steel works on the Dnieper, now in operation after evacuation to the Kuznets basin in the western Siberia industrial area. Here new rolling mills were recently installed.





The embankment in Sverdlovsk (wartime population 750,000). This old provincial town is now a center of heavy industry in the Urals



Above: Workers' homes at Chelyabinsk, site of 200 evacuated plants. Below: The young city of Stalinsk, in the Kuznets coal basin



mills to the east. As American and other foreign engineers had for the most part long since gone, they had to rely largely on their own engineering talent. They were aided by plants like the Ural Machine Building Works, opened in Sverdlovsk in 1933, and called the "fatherland of mills." One report I read asserted that an unidentified works of this sort had in one year produced enough machine tools to equip eight plants of like dimensions.

Wartime Expansion

TO MEET WARTIME NEEDS, THE NEW MID-eastern mills have been greatly expanded. Last November, *Pravda* reported that output in the Urals had been "trebled" in 1942 and was well on its way to being "doubled" again in 1943. Another announcement told that in 1942 alone, six new iron and steel plants and seven new iron and manganese mines were opened east of the Urals. What this meant was that iron miners from Krivoi Rog had been brought to the Bakal mines, where output is reported to have been augmented eight times over. Manganese mined in the Urals has been sufficient to replace the loss of the Nikopol deposits. During 1942, the Ural output of aluminum exceeded that of the entire country before the war. The output of special steels has been increased eight times over at Magnitogorsk which began to produce armorplate after the war began. The Urals have become the chief center for essential ferro-alloys.

Expansion of middle eastern blast furnaces, however, has as yet recaptured only about one fifth of the potential lost when the Nazis occupied the Ukraine, for that

had produced more than 60 percent of Soviet pig iron. Provisional estimates, however, do not include the 1,700 cubic yard capacity Furnace No. 6 blown in at Magnitogorsk in January, 1944, nor the iron and steel works being built in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan or those operating beyond Lake Baikal farther east.

Any estimates of steel capacity, moreover, will have to take into account the smelting of scrap metal retrieved from wrecked tanks and guns of which there is a bumper crop as the Red Army advances. The "largest electric steel smelting plant in the USSR" was set going during 1942 in the Chelyabinsk region. During the first six months of 1943, three more electric steel smelters were opened there and plans for the second half year called for the construction of four new blast furnaces, two coke oven batteries, nine open hearth furnaces, four electric furnaces, two tube rolling mills, and an automobile factory, the first in the region. Open hearth capacity has been greatly expanded also at Omsk, Zlatoust, and elsewhere.

Strong emphasis is now placed on restoring the iron and steel industry of the reoccupied areas in the Donbas and the Ukraine. Immense demand for blast furnace and rolling mill equipment is reported there. At Stalingrad, one blast furnace is already in operation.

The accompanying chart illustrates the enhanced role of Russia's middle eastern industrial bastion and gives a comparison with our basic industrial output of pig iron.

The reports are that power plant capacity in the Urals was upped 250 percent

during 1942 alone. Moreover, new stations like the Irtysh project in Siberia will soon make themselves felt as well as the huge Farkhad hydroelectric station on the Syr-Darya river in Uzbekistan.

Meantime, come plans to turn ancient dam sites to account. Long ago, mills were built beside impounded lagoons along the numerous small rivers of the Urals, much as early American industry first sprang up along the streams of New England and Virginia. Many of these water wheels are now in disrepair, but one Soviet commission estimated that by erecting small electric stations at the existing dams in the Nizhni Tagil region, up to four million kilowatts of cheap electric power could be produced. Down by the old mill stream may thus come to have a new meaning in Western Asia as in our Eastern States.

A spin of the compass! The communications system has likewise been expanded in the Soviet Middle East. In May 1943, the Commissar for Communications declared that during the previous eighteen months more copper wire had been strung than in the preceding five years. Here, American lend-lease shipments have been a genuine factor—as in the case of rails, block signals, jeeps, and trucks.

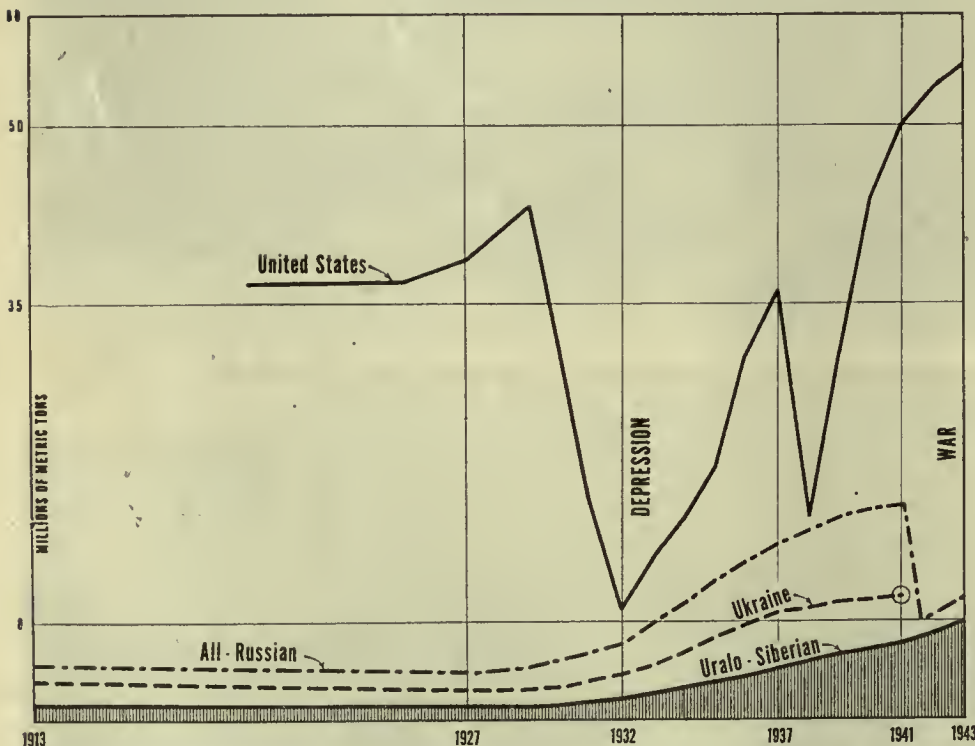
Growing Pains

ALONGSIDE REPORTS ABOUT SUCH GENERAL expansion one can also read of industrial equipment unutilized for want of power or effective personnel. Recent travelers over the Trans-Siberian tell of seeing many engines and freight cars hauled on to sidings in disrepair. Although the Kuzbas coal mines have expanded output to double the pre-war level, it was estimated in June 1943 that the existing mines were being operated at less than half capacity. About 40 percent of the working force at Magnitogorsk are new people, predominantly women and youth who entered industry after the war began. During the war, the apprentice schools of the USSR have trained some 1,500,000 new workers.

Americans who have been in Russia have diverse opinions regarding the efficiency of Russian industry. After visiting a war plant on the Volga, Wendell Willkie declared: "If I had not known I was in Russia, I should have thought I was in Detroit or Hartford. I have been greatly struck by the high degree of skill and organization and I speak as an American used to high standards of efficiency."

The situation confronted a dozen years earlier in textiles was told to me by Chester S. Allen, now vice-president of Lockwood Green Engineers, Inc., with offices in New York City. In 1929, at the request of Textile-Import Ltd., of New York, he went to Moscow to see what technical aid could be given to the Russian textile industry. Called in for consultation, the American expert said that before offering suggestions he wished to visit the poorest, the average, and the best mills under Soviet management.

He was taken first to the Morosoff mills,
(Continued on page 138)



PIG IRON TONNAGE—USSR AND USA

With output reckoned from the same base, the United States and All-Russian lines afford the prime comparison. The shaded Ural-Siberian area shows how its increasing output offered reserve strength when the Ukrainian output was cut short by Nazi invasion in 1941



From Lake Baikal to the Pacific stretches the Soviet Far East

Photographs from Sovfoto

Where East Meets West Again

The Russian Far East and our American frontage on the Pacific share vast common interests in the greatest ocean of them all.

HARRIET L. MOORE

PETER THE GREAT, RUSSIA'S MOST ALERT Tsar, is famed for opening a window on Europe. But he did not confine his view to the west. In 1724 he ordered Vitus Bering to discover whether or not Russia was separated from the New World by water. Though Peter died before a Russian ship had yet touched the shores of America across the North Pacific, his successors continued to show a mild interest in extending the realm of the Tsar beyond the sea, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century the Russians were firmly established on the coast of Alaska, hunting furs and fishing under the stern guidance of Alexander Baranov.

Nor did the Russians limit their ambitions in the Pacific to Alaska. The colorful Nikolai Rezanov, better known to America for his romance with the daughter of the Spanish commandant at San Francisco, was earlier dispatched by Alexander I to try to open up Japan to Russian commerce, nearly half a century before Commodore Perry succeeded in establishing trade between Japan and the United States. Rezanov, who was head of the Russian-American Company which operated Alaska, had plans to claim the mouth of the Columbia River and his agents, too, considered Hawaii a highly desirable acquisition for Russia's merchant marine.

These activities of the Russians across the Pacific did not escape the notice of the young American republic, and it was in

—By the acting secretary of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations who writes of the USSR out of firsthand knowledge gained on three visits there, 1934-6, with the international secretariat of the Institute. A graduate of Bryn Mawr, she was formerly executive secretary and editor of the American-Russian Institute. One of the ranking experts in her field, her book, "A Record of Soviet Far Eastern Relations," is scheduled for early publication.

part with Russia in mind that President Monroe enunciated his famous doctrine in 1823.

But shortly thereafter, the Russian throne became preoccupied with problems in other parts of its vast realm. The quick and easy profits in furs already had been stripped from the Alaskan coast and the Russian-American Company gradually fell into debt and disrepute. The sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867 for the trivial sum of \$7,200,000 marked *finis* to the story of Russian geographical expansion in America which had in fact come to an end nearly two decades before. Save for the Russian names of islands and cities, the Russian church domes in the coastal towns, for nearly eighty years there was nothing to remind America that its nearest neighbor across the seas is Russia.

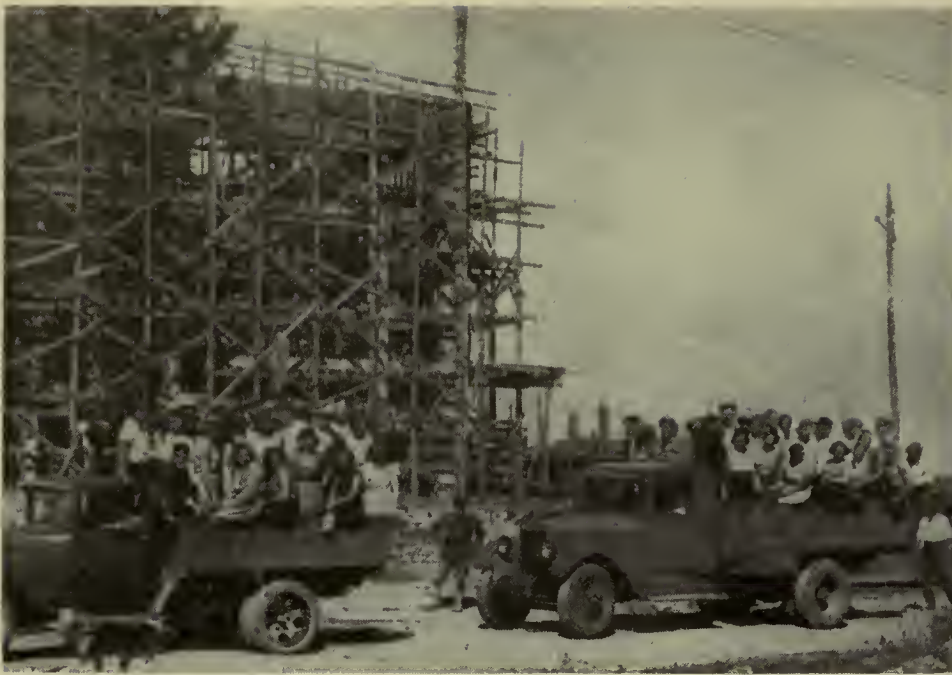
Twentieth Century Pioneering

TODAY, UNDER STRESS OF WAR AND WITH the development of "short line" travel by air, we are once again realizing that we all but touch hands across the top of the Pacific. And it is more than idle curiosity that makes us wonder what is going on in the Soviet Far East, the right flank of our Japanese enemy.

The symmetry of the two sides of the land arch which bridges the map of the Pacific is more than superficial. Americans and Canadians, suddenly realizing the potentialities of developing this continent's Northwest, are finding that across Bering Strait the Soviets are facing many of the same problems. For the Soviet Far East—that huge area beyond Lake Baikal—is a rugged, cold, sparsely populated but potentially rich area which the Soviets have been developing at "double-quick" since Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931. Today, thousands of miles of Soviet-Japanese border are patrolled by sentries and bristle with armaments. And behind this frontier is the new Soviet East—new cities chopped out of the tangled taiga, huge floating docks in remote port cities, the native peoples of the Far North flying mail planes to their distant collectives. The story of this area in the last twelve years could be entitled "Planned Pioneering."

What were the objectives? Who were the pioneers?

The old paths of settlement to the east



Youths arrive to work on Komsomolsk, key industrial center of the Far East, named in honor of the Young Communists who literally hewed it from the wilderness

were trod successively by traders, Cossacks, convicts, and peasants squeezed off the crowded lands of European Russia. They led down the rivers—first the Lena and its many tributaries which carried the traders to the far northeast and Kamchatka. There they found an ice-free port, Petropavlovsk, warmed by the Japan Current. Thus it was that the isolated Kamchatka Peninsula, reaching out toward America, long antedated Vladivostok and the maritime provinces as Russia's outpost in the Pacific. It was not until years later that the peasant settlers moved east via the Amur and Ussuri valleys to Vladivostok.

As in Alaska and the Canadian Northwest, it was fur and then gold that lured the traders. They met a native population, small but of many tribes, the Buryats near Lake Baikal, the Tungus and Yakuts along the Lena, the Chukchi in Asia's northeastern headland, the Goldi down near Vladivostok.

As time passed, some farming was developed; coal was found and mined; lead, zinc and other metals were exploited by foreign companies along the Pacific Coast; and the Japanese developed the fisheries and lumber, discovered the oil and coal on Sakhalin. Thus it was when in 1925 the last Japanese soldier left Soviet soil and the new government took over in full charge. There were few more than 3,000,000 people living in the area. It had a tiny industry and was not nearly self-sufficient in food. Its main products were still gold, furs, and timber. It was the Soviet intention, judging from the first published plans, to let the area develop slowly; provide the non-Russian populations with alphabets; improve education, health and agriculture; develop existing industries. The rapid exploitation—even exploration—of its resources was to wait on the completion of the steel and heavy industry centers in the

Urals and in western Siberia at Kuznetsk.

But September 18, 1931 changed the schedule. Japan had once before seized the Russian East and had not revised her ambitions. To turn Russia's Far East into a bastion was the immediate Soviet reaction to Japan's new continental invasion. But this required everything from people and transportation facilities to agriculture, industry, and armies. Though for the past decade most of the activity in the Soviet Far East has been in the category of military secrets, the changes have been so great that an idea of what is going on can be pieced together from newspaper reports and accounts of travelers.

Peopling the Land

THE MEN TO BUILD THE NEW FRONTIER were not too easily found, for the Soviets with their gigantic program of construction



Model homes for railway workers in Ulan Ude, capital of the Buryat-Mongolian Republic, built on land recently cleared of the age-old taiga forests

from Leningrad to Vladivostok and from the Arctic to the deserts of central Asia had no surfeit of people. Moreover, it was not a land of milk and honey, of pleasant climate and easy living to which people were being asked to move. The Far East has one of the least hospitable climates of the entire Soviet Union: bitterly cold in winter, rainy and foggy in the summer.

Much of its land is plagued with problems of "perpetual frost." The earth remains frozen the year round and the surface alone thaws so that, lacking drainage through the deeper soil, it becomes a great swamp in summer. Difficult for building, perpetually frozen soil is also bad for farming; and it is a mecca for mosquitoes and other waterbred insects that torture mankind. So much of the area is mountainous and forested that habitation, by and large, is confined to the great river valleys, though the Buryats range with their cattle over the arid highlands east of Baikal.

The Soviets had never thought to populate this area heavily for, as in the Arctic, they aimed to develop resources and necessary transportation with a minimum of manpower. Yet for a fortress area—and that is the concept of the Far East—there must be a garrison. It has been to the Red Army and to the youth that the patriotic appeal has been made, accompanied as always in the USSR with material reward as well. Before the war, men doing their service in the Red Army in the Far East were urged to settle there following the completion of their training. They were given special credit facilities and subsidies to move their families and establish themselves as farmers or workers in this area. Today, the farms along the Amur and Ussuri are collectives of Red Army men who were trained in the special Red Banner Far Eastern Armies. They remain in the reserve and are called up frequently for refresher training courses.

To the youth fell the opportunity to do the most dramatic job of all—the building and populating of the new key industrial center of the Far East—Komsomolsk.

named after the Soviet youth organization. This city is situated at the point where the Amur ceases to be navigable for ocean-going vessels of any size. It is two hundred miles north of Khabarovsk and was literally hewn out of the dense forest and swampland by the Komsomols—members of the Union of Communist Youth. The challenge to build it was taken up by the Komsomol in 1932, and by 1939 the city had 70,000 inhabitants. Pavlenko's novel, "Red Planes Fly East," tells the dramatic story of setbacks and sacrifices, of death and disaster, which made up the early years of Komsomolsk but which were in the end crowned with success.

Today it can be assumed that Komsomolsk has 300,000 inhabitants; it is a big shipbuilding center, has a steel mill, is a rail and river transportation junction and, lying well behind the Soviet frontier, it is a pivotal point in the Soviets' military might in the East.

This is but one of the stories of industrial development. Other Far Eastern cities have grown immensely in the last ten years and other new industries have been established where there were none before. The bulk of the people moving into the area have been industrial workers prevailed upon to move east in a spirit of patriotism or adventure, or in response to the higher wage paid and other financial inducements offered. The result was that from 1926 to 1939 the urban population in eastern Siberia and the Far East trebled, while the rural population only increased by 17.5 percent. This meant 800,000 more farmers in the area but 2,090,000 more industrial workers.

Workers and Farmers

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS BEFORE THE NAZI invasion of the USSR, steps were being taken to redress the balance. Previously the more or less haphazard movement of farmers to the East often met a corresponding flow westward of settlers who had not been able to make a go of farming under the difficult pioneering conditions. To avoid this wasteful shifting of families, improved procedures were being devised. The Soviets estimated that between 1938 and 1942 some five million farmers would be prepared to move from the overpopulated lands of central Russia to the East or to the cities.

To resettle farmers in the East meant complex problems of moving entire collectives with their livestock, supplying them with cleared land, or sending the men ahead to clear the land and build homes, financing them until the first harvest was in, providing agricultural machinery such as they were accustomed to in the farms which they were leaving. Methods of handling these problems were being worked out successfully so that 10,000 households moved East in 1939 and in 1940 the figure was expected to rise to 35,000 families or 140,000 persons. Without an even larger flow of farmers to the East, the Soviet Far Eastern bastion would be in danger of defeat by siege. It could not feed itself if it were cut off for long from the West. It was to meet this threat that the third Five-Year

Plan originally called for a 30 percent increase in cultivated acreage in the Far East. And to achieve this the farmers had to be lured eastward.

In speaking of the new peoples of the East, Birobidzhan, small as it is, deserves mention. This tiny region just west of Khabarovsk on the Amur was set aside in 1934 as the Jewish Autonomous Region. Virtually uninhabited at the outset, and possessing resources and farmland of real

and the Pacific, it will be safe from surprise assaults from the south. But it passes through extremely difficult mountainous terrain and whether in wartime the Soviets have been able to spare the men and materials to complete the project remains a military secret. And in this secret lies the future strategy of the United Nations in regard to the possible use of the Soviet Far East in the war against Japan.* For, to supplement the Trans-Siberian Railway,



Students in Birobidzhan, once an uninhabited area on the Amur. Set aside in 1934 as the Jewish Autonomous Region, it is becoming a cultural center.

potentialities, though difficult to utilize at first, it has gradually grown into a well settled district, producing food, clothing, and certain minerals of value. The number of Jews who emigrated to Birobidzhan has not been large, totaling perhaps not more than 60,000 or 70,000 before the war. Nonetheless, the region has become something of a center of Jewish culture, and at the same time is making a real contribution to the prosperity and defense capacity of the entire Far East.

Supplying the Far East

THE LIFELINE OF THE SOVIET EAST REMAINS the Trans-Siberian Railway, skirting dangerously near the Japanese-held frontier of Manchuria. The railroad is today double-tracked and equipped, it is rumored, with two sets of bridges, tunnels, stations, and so on, in case of military emergency. Though much has been written of the Baikal-Amur-Magistral line, better known as BAM, no one really knows how near completion it may be. Designed to run north of Lake Baikal, through the Lena gold fields and on eastward to Komsomolsk

* Interesting light was thrown on this problem in the recent War Department film in which the following statement was made:

"What about Siberian bases for attacking Japan? Vladivostok lies at the end of a long supply line which is particularly vulnerable from Khabarovsk down. The Japanese army has 500,000 troops deployed all along this supply route. If we or the Russians were to use these bases to bomb Japan, the bases would be made useless and Russia would be involved in a two-front war. Russia is engaging the main Nazi strength and a two-front war for Russia would diminish the pressure on the worried Nazis and endanger the plans of our own army."

there are but three types of transport that could carry men and munitions into the fortress—once the Amur and hence the Trans-Siberian Railway became the front-line between the Soviet Union and Japanese troops:

1. One is by air, from the east or west, from Alaska or Siberia. Both these lines have been tried out; Willkie and Davies both flew home over the Siberia-Alaska line. And for years the Soviets have been using aviation to reach remote points in the east and north, carrying in mail, men, and medicines, carrying out the valuable furs and gold to speed them to market. The airline map of the Soviet Far East shows many miles of regular transport routes along the coasts, parallel to the rivers, and cross-country from river to river.

2. The second line of supply is by sea from America. Today this is open to Russian ships because of Soviet neutrality in the Pacific. But if war comes on that frontier, the line would be automatically closed, as Japan's Kuril Islands stretch down from the very tip of Kamchatka to Japan proper, forming a breakwater off the whole Soviet Pacific coast. Only Petropavlovsk on Kamchatka is not hemmed in by Japan and that, in turn, is cut off from the mainland save by the sea which is frozen half the year.

3. The third line—the Northern Sea Route—is far more spectacular in its nature than

(Continued on page 142)



SOVIOTO

MAN OF THE SOVIET ARCTIC

The Nentsi are becoming acquainted with a world far greater than the cold Siberian North, where they live by hunting and fishing

Neighbors Across the Arctic

Alaskan frontiers and those opened by the Soviet Northern Sea Route are only less dramatic than future air lanes over the top of the globe.

RUTH GRUBER

ACROSS FROM ONE DIOMEDE ISLAND TO the other, Asia and America are only three and a half miles apart. The whole world knows of the long, unfortified border between Canada and the United States, but the little known boundary far to the north of the Aleutians marks off two worlds.

This is the free, unfortified passage between the Western and Eastern Hemispheres, between the political ideologies of the United States and the Soviet Union. For Little Diomedé belongs to the USA; Big Diomedé to the USSR.

The islanders are Eskimos. They speak the same language, attend each other's movies and dances, inter-marry; but those of one island pay allegiance to the Stars and Stripes, those of the other to the Hammer and Sickle.

The two islands are tiny, treeless, hard rocks, almost level on top, as though a giant flatiron had pressed them out. Having no beaches, the Eskimos build their rock, clay-chinked and driftwood houses on the face of the westward cliffs. The streets are cobblestone; the only direction you can walk is up or down.

In the summer, all transportation is by skin boats, equipped for the most part, with outboard motors. These native *kayaks* and *umiaks*, patterned by use from ancient models, navigate the Arctic better and can be pulled up on shore more easily, than any modern craft we have introduced. Winter ice, which comes early and stays late, links the two islands like a paved road. Children play on the ice, hunters go out to shoot seals, and Eskimos of two worlds exchange gossip as they sip tea, trade skins, and carve bracelets and necklaces from walrus ivory.

That narrow three and a half mile boundary marks a separation not only in space but in time. Today and tomorrow meet across it, for the International Date Line runs between the Diomedes. An American islander may leave Little Diomedé on Wednesday, reach Big Diomedé an hour or two later on Thursday, eat some *muktuk* and seal oil, laugh and "chase around" (a favorite expression), and return home in the late afternoon to Wednesday again.

The Eskimos Show the Way

THE DIOMEDE ESKIMOS ARE AMONG THOSE rare people who can travel to foreign soil without the delays and harassing red tape of customs officials, immigration authorities, quotas, quarantines, and minor inquiries. The governments of the United States and the Soviet Union long ago reached an agreement which permitted this

free paddling back and forth. Thus, at that Arctic border, our oldest inhabitants exhibit the untrammelled intercourse that may someday be possible throughout the civilized world. I say civilized advisedly. If you define it as the ability to adapt yourself to environment with intelligence and cheerfulness, if you mean a faith in the dignity of man and a joy in life, then I know of no people more civilized than the northern peoples of Alaska and Siberia. They are a happy people, and happiness should be a quality of civilization. They are an honest people. They are a good people.

Ancient natives of Siberia and Alaska knew, thousands of years ago, that the great highway of their world was the little group of islands in the Bering Strait which links Alaska to Siberia. Primitive man, coming from Asia, streamed into America over that ancient bridge, a short cut which lay neglected by the white race until today. Bush pilots—men like Carl Ben Eielson and Joe Crosson, two of the most beloved names in Alaska—have found it once again the shortest route between America and Asia.

In 1929, the *Nanuk*, an American trading ship, was caught in an autumn freeze-up in Siberian waters. Fearing the market in furs might drop before he could get loose, Captain Swenson hired Alaskan pilots to fly the precious skins to Nome at a fixed rate. Eielson took part—and did not come back. In 1936, I flew down the Lena River to Yakutsk with Victor Galishev, the famous Soviet pilot who had blazed the route

and who had worked with Joe Crosson in the tragic search for Eielson. He felt toward Crosson that kinship you find among fliers or pioneers. Galishev never tired of telling how they found Eielson's body in the snow where he had crashed. They wrapped his body in the Stars and Stripes, and American and Soviet pilots together flew in solemn escort across the Strait.

Give and Take

LAST YEAR, I ENCOUNTERED AMERICAN soldiers as well as pilots in wartime Alaska, itching to get into Siberia. The lands west of the Diomedes have captured their imaginations. Having learned that the North is habitable; that parts are as beautiful as anything in the States; that it can be warm, hot in fact, with 90 degrees above in Fairbanks in the summer—they are willing to change their misconceptions not only of Alaskans but of our Arctic neighbors.

Russians in Siberia are just as keenly interested in lands east of the Diomedes. They are particularly eager to learn more of the Americans who, under General Graves, saved them from Japanese atrocities in 1919. Millions of Asiatic peoples will turn to America for finished goods and tools when the war is over. The Arctic trade route can link factories in our Middle West, north and south of the Canadian border, with the crowded markets of the Orient. China's silk can be flown by light cargo planes in less than two days over Alaska to our silk mills in New Jersey.



Ruth Gruber on the Alaska Highway

—By the field representative of the U. S. Department of the Interior who has appraised postwar possibilities in Alaska.

This, in sequence to her colorful adventures in 1935, under a fellowship from the Yardley Foundation; in 1936, as correspondent for the New York

Herald-Tribune. These she crystallized (1939) in "I Went to the Soviet Arctic."

Brooklyn born, A.B. from New York University (1930), M.A. from Wisconsin (1931), she was hailed as the world's youngest Ph.D when she earned that degree at the University of Cologne (1932).

The Arctic in Wartime

MIKHAIL GROMOV, WHO ESTABLISHED THE world's long distance record in 1937—from Moscow across the North Pole, to Los Angeles—was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general last May, and had command of the Soviet air forces when Smolensk was recaptured in September. By flying boat in 1941, he had made the trip through Siberia to Alaska and the United States, to discuss aid we could give the Soviet Union—then desperately resisting the Nazis. The Japanese were furious at his flight. The Japan *Times-Advertiser*, mouthpiece of the Foreign Office, warned that "Our country cannot stand idly by while a scheme of northern encirclement is in the making." That was three months before Pearl Harbor.

When the Japanese attacked Dutch Harbor in June 1942, in a double spearhead against the Aleutians and Midway, Alaska was saved by American ingenuity and resourcefulness. Everyone believed that Dutch Harbor was our westernmost base in the Aleutians. But the army, under Lieutenant General Simon Bolivar Buckner, Jr., had built an airbase beyond Dutch Harbor, a secret base the name of which was never mentioned in radio messages, supplies for which were sent to a mythical salmon cannery.

When the enemy attacked that fateful Wednesday morning, our army bombers came from *behind* them. The Japs were taken completely by surprise. These were land planes; that meant there must be landing fields west in the Aleutians, army installations, troops. Stunned that their army intelligence had failed them, they steamed away from Dutch Harbor to Kiska and Attu. Last May our troops and navy and pilots recaptured Attu and Kiska. The Aleutians, once more ours, are now the base for heavy bombing raids on Paramushiru, the Japanese naval base only 760 miles to the west of Attu. The Aleutians

are now the closest islands on the invasion route to Japan.

In the midst of our own strategic advances, significant reports are reaching us from the Soviet mainland. One is of the completion of the Northern Pechora Railroad, 1,847 kilometers long, from Kotlas to Ust-Vorkut. The great coal fields of the Pechora, undeveloped because of lack of transportation, by now may be fueling liberated Leningrad.

Another is that last October a new, year-round, motor road was completed between Yakutsk and the Aldan gold fields. Hitherto, in winter, the Soviets had used trails and the Lena and Aldan Rivers as ice-paved highways to connect with these rich fields. In summer, transportation was either by circuitous water routes, or by air across the mountains, a route blazed by Victor Galishev just before I flew it with him in 1936.

Sir Hubert Wilkins revealed recently that the Soviets, using tractor sleds—the "cat trains" which they learned to use effectively in the Arctic—are now traveling overland to Kunming and Chungking, delivering matériel for Chinese ground troops.

Undoubtedly one of the most telling wartime contributions of the Arctic lies behind the Soviet's mastery of airplane "winterization." Some of our own army experts believe that lack of this Arctic "Knowhow" may be the key to the mystery of what happened to the *Luftwaffe* the winter Hitler first invaded the USSR. The grounded Nazi air force, like Napoleon's army, may have been frozen in its tracks.

Economics of Our Arctic Frontier

THE ARCTIC MUST BE THOUGHT OF FIRST as an area of transportation through which manufactured goods can be exchanged for raw materials. Speaking realistically, shipping routes from our West Coast to the Orient may stop at an Alaskan port like Dutch Harbor for fuel but, for the most

part, they will probably bypass the Territory. Airplanes, however, will fly directly over Alaska, using it as a stepping-stone. When cargo planes become a reality in the postwar world, the commercial future of the Arctic will be guaranteed.

More, the lands on both sides of Bering Strait are enormously rich in natural resources. Since we bought Alaska from the Russians in 1867 for \$7,200,000, we have taken out \$1,000,000,000 worth of fish; \$600,000,000 worth of gold; \$200,000,000 worth of copper, platinum, silver, iron, tin, and quicksilver.

The heart of Alaska's problem, however, is not wealth, but people. Twice as large as Texas, it had in the 1941 census 72,000 inhabitants against Texas' 6,414,824. Our War Department's Pentagon Building holds 40,000; two Pentagons today would populate Alaska. Alaska has lost incalculably because people have been frightened away by schoolbook myths of ice and snow. Alaska needs better transportation facilities to bring people in. It needs better roads, hotels, houses, sewers, and paved streets to keep them there. It needs industries and agriculture to support them.

It would be easy to fall into travel folder glow about the Territory. The Alps cannot compare with Mt. McKinley and the Alaska Range. I know of no more thrilling sight than the midnight sun throwing a violet and red haze over the Yukon River. But beauty is not enough. Lack of ready communication is a crucial problem, with its corollaries, isolation and loneliness. Though the towns have schools, hospitals, churches, radio, even nightclubs, there are vast stretches of wilderness.

Moreover, Alaska does not yet have a stable, year-round economy. The two chief industries, fishing and mining, are seasonal; farm markets in peacetime are uncertain. Roads within the Territory are few; incoming and outgoing travel expensive; and there is the still unanswered question: Can Alaska support a large population?

If the answer to that question is "Yes," Alaska's future is as safe as a War Bond. Aviation to Alaska and on to Asia is bound to expand. We can count on the tourist industry to become lucrative. Alaska is a year-round combination of Baden-Baden and Sun Valley. Civilians will hike in the national park at Mt. McKinley where the army now takes holidays. There are skiing and hunting for the agile; hot springs for the arthritic. We know, too, that there is room for tremendous expansion in the fishing, mining, aircraft and lumber industries. Miners are generally not permanent settlers, but farmers are. There are rich valleys to be settled, particularly on the Kenai Peninsula.

There is still room in the Matanuska Valley region, where dustbowl farmers were rehabilitated by our government in 1935. A few of us, even in the darkest days, refused to believe that experiment a failure. It has since become the new success story of the American frontier. The 140 colonist families last summer took in more than a million dollars in milk, meat, and vegeta-



Photo by the author

A farm in Alaska's Matanuska Valley, to which our government sent colonists from the dustbowl in 1935, and which is today the success story of the American frontier



WHERE AMERICA AND ASIA ALL BUT MEET. The Diomed Islands (page 83) are in Bering Strait

bles. Under the impact of war, the colonists' own cooperative, the Matanuska Valley Farmers' Cooperating Association, now numbers 250. The Valley has completely vindicated Secretary Harold L. Ickes' unshakable faith in its climate, its soil, and its resources as a district where farmers can raise families in security and self-respect.

What Alaska needs, what the Canadian Northwest needs, what Siberia needs, is women. It does not take any strength, other than the strength of character you need in any small town in the States, to live in Alaskan towns like Ketchikan, Juneau, Anchorage or Fairbanks. There the demand for women at dances and parties makes even a chronic wallflower feel glamorous. But living outside the towns may mean hauling water, using outdoor toilets, doing without adequate dental care, and perhaps not seeing another woman for months at a time. This takes more than physical strength; it takes courage and humor and self-sufficiency. But it pays dividends—the rewards of being free, of settling new land, of raising children in a world you have helped to fashion.

Territorial Self-Government

AVERAGE AMERICANS, LIVING WITHIN THE framework of our North American republic, the people of Alaska maintain their own territorial government and elect, not their governor who is appointed by the President

for four years, but their own legislature (recently enlarged by Congress). The voters elect also a number of their Territorial officials and a delegate to Congress, now Anthony J. Dimond, recently made a federal judge.

Alaska is one of the most lightly taxed regions under the American flag, yet its people pay for and reap the benefits of the federal social security program. The Territory maintains elementary and secondary schools. Most native children attend federal schools operated by the Office of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior. The University at Fairbanks, originally a mining and agricultural school, is Alaska's chief cultural achievement. Its president, Dr. Charles Bunnell, a typical Alaskan jack-of-all-trades, designed most of the buildings on the campus and practically built them himself. Before its faculty was drained by the war, it had physicists, anthropologists, and other scientists, who looked at its campus as a laboratory right in the field.

True to the tradition of democracy, there are loud and eloquent differences between Democrats and Republicans, between territorial and national politicians, between the people who think there is too much federal control and those who think there is too much laissez faire, between the born Alaskan who wants to keep the wealth at home and the absentee interests who want to take fish and gold and profits out. And

in the larger towns, there is a growing urge for self-government, for self-sufficiency.

Alaskan Administration

IN ADOPTING, NOT A COLONIAL POLICY, BUT a territorial policy, the United States has sought to keep faith with our earliest aspirations for freedom. Under President Roosevelt and Secretary Ickes, this policy has been broadly to assist the Territories in the development of industries and agriculture and through the wise conservation of their natural and human resources.

Alaska, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Virgin Islands, formerly under various agencies of the government, were brought together under the Department of the Interior in a specially created Division of Territories and Island Possessions. Ernest Gruening was appointed its first director in 1934, and served until December 1939, when he was appointed governor of Alaska by the President. Defining the functions of the division, its present director, Benjamin W. Thoron, has stated that it should be "the center through which a coordinated program of federal activities" can be formulated, based on "studies of economic development," and "a forward-looking view."

In the light of our territorial policy, Alaska is financed in greatest part by the federal government. Its agencies have Alaskan branches which administer their own funds, and are responsible to their

Washington or regional (northwestern) offices. Since 1940, the army, and navy, and the Civil Aeronautics Administration have spent hundreds of millions of dollars in making Alaska an impregnable fortress.

The Department of the Interior has jurisdiction over most of the administrative functions of the Territory. Governor Gruening, the Department's chief representative, travels constantly, talks to people in all the outposts, fights vigorously for social, economic, and tax reforms.

War Discovers Alaska

THE WAR HAS DONE MORE THAN FOCUS NATIONAL attention on Alaska. It has brought a concerted attack on the great problem of transportation. It has given thousands of soldiers and sailors, officers, construction workers and their wives the experience of Alaskan living. Many are making plans to return after the war.

The Alaska Highway has been built by the U. S. Army through Northwest Canada and Interior Alaska, following the line of an air route pioneered by Canada's bush pilots. Its construction has been a feat remarkable not so much for its engineering as for its speed. In nine months, 10,000 troops of the United States Engineer Corps, white and Negro, and 4,000 American and Canadian civilians, bulldozed their way through 1,500 miles of forest and swamp and over swiftly flowing rivers. The route the army chose has become the source of heated discussion on both sides of the border. Yet no high-powered publicity campaign could have made our nation so Alaska-conscious as the thrilling story of the building of this road.

The U. S. Army's part, also, in developing the Canol (Canadian Oil Lines) project to pipe oil from Canada's Arctic Norman Wells, has come in for severe criticism by the Truman committee of the U. S. Senate. Its very debate in the press has made Americans realize the vast oil reserves in the Arctic. It has pointed up the urgency for exploring Alaska's own oil deposits, particularly the Naval Petroleum Reserve at Barrow.

Inside Alaska, an important wartime construction job has been the completion of a spur of the Alaska Railroad from Anchorage to Whittier, with a tunnel pushed through a mountain, to bring Anchorage closer to the sea. With almost no publicity, the Alaska Road Commission has built a road through a beautiful section from Palmer to the Richardson Highway, giving the interior its first complete network of surface transportation.

In the drama of actual war, Alaska has held the role of leading lady as the only part of our continental USA to be bombed. Some of her people have fallen victim to the enemy. She has provided swift air routes and shortened sea routes. She has provided Sitka spruce for making Mosquito planes in England; she has produced quicksilver, iridium, chromite and other strategic materials. Her farmers have fed army, navy and civilian population, freeing shipping space to carry men and supplies to the

Aleutians. Now she is girding herself for postwar developments for which the federal government is making plans. So, too, are the people of Alaska.

New Tools for a New Arctic

IN BREAKING THE BARRIERS OF THE NORTH, radio and airplanes have proved our most effective weapons. Throughout Alaska, school teachers and radio operators, living in remote villages among the Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts, sit at their instruments giving aircraft warning signals and sending weather reports at regular intervals every day. Countless lives throughout the Arctic have been saved by radio. A Soviet doctor, sitting at his radio on Dickson Island, di-



OTTO IULEVICH SCHMIDT

Early chief of the Northern Sea Route Administration in developing a region—from the 62nd parallel north to the Pole—larger than the Hudson's Bay Company once claimed in America. Now vice-president of the famous Soviet Academy of Sciences, he is remembered in the United States for his visit here following his rescue from the *Chelyuskin* which sank in polar ice near Bering Strait in 1934.

rected a difficult birth in a polar station hundreds of miles away. Or take a dramatic Alaskan example.

At four o'clock one morning, an exhausted Eskimo beat on the door of a little radio station at Koyuk, in the Seward Peninsula. He had run all the way from Dime Landing on the Koyuk River with a message that a fellow Eskimo at Haycock had lost both hands in a sawmill. With all commercial telegraph stations closed at that hour, the radio operator, Bruce Hensley, now an official with Pan American Airways, put his transmitter on the amateur band. He raised the Signal Corps at Bethel on the Kuskokwim River. The radio operator there made contact with his counterpart on a Coast Guard vessel near the Bering Sea and he, in turn, with the Signal Corps several hundred miles away at Anchorage. The Signal Corps man got an emergency message through on the telephone line along the Alaska Railroad to Fairbanks where it was broadcast by KFAR, the commercial radio station. This broad-

cast was picked up by the government teacher at St. Lawrence Island who reached the radio station at Nome.

It took two hours and eight men scattered across the vast expanse of Alaska to establish contact between Koyuk and Nome, less than 150 miles apart. At six o'clock that morning a rescue plane with a doctor on board flew to Haycock and saved the Eskimo's life.

Some of these stations in Alaska are now manned by Eskimo and Indian men, and women too, who have attended schools operated by the Indian Office or have taken the short technical courses given by the Civil Aeronautics Administration. Only a few years ago, many of these people saw only one ship a year, which brought them "store food" and mail order clothing, and took out their furs and carved ivory. To day, like the rest of the nation, they have learned that the Arctic Ocean is not a fierce unknown expanse of ice and snow and desolation but, as Vilhjalmur Stefansson pointed out back in 1925, only a small "mediterranean sea like those which separate Europe from Africa, or North America from South America."

"When navigation of the air becomes customary," Stefansson predicted, "the Arctic will be like an open park in the center of the inhabited world, and the air voyagers will cross it like taxi riders crossing a city park."

Flying and the Future

FOR ALMOST TWENTY YEARS, AMERICAN, British, and Soviet flyers have been expanding their mastery of the Arctic. In 1925, Sir Hubert Wilkins, the Australian who had his training on Stefansson's great Canadian Arctic expedition, made the first airplane flight from an American base over the Arctic Ocean. In 1926, the dirigible *Norge*, with Amundsen, Ellsworth, and Nobile on board, flew from Spitsbergen across the North Pole to Teller, Alaska. In 1927, Wilkins and Carl Ben Eielson, flying across the Arctic from Barrow, were forced down. Their three safe landings on the pack ice proved beyond doubt that ice makes a suitable field for emergency landings and take-offs. And in 1928, they carried out the first actual airplane crossing of the polar sea, flying from Barrow to Spitsbergen.

After the famous freighter, *Chelyuskin*, was crushed in the ice in 1934, and its 103 passengers rescued by flyers from Alaska and Siberia, the Soviets began regular passenger service and intensive exploratory flights. In 1936, Molokov inaugurated a Trans-Arctic Air Route, following the line of the new Sea Route. Chkalov flew non-stop across the entire Arctic coast, almost 6,000 miles, in two and a half days. And that same year, Levanevsky, purchasing a Douglas plane in Los Angeles, flew back the 12,000 miles from California by way of Alaska and Yakutsk to Moscow. "Your flight over the Arctic," Professor Otto Schmidt wired him, "links America, Asia, and Europe. . . ."

The North Pole is a mathematical point



IVAN PAPANIN

Courtesy Embassy of the USSR

Soviet explorer, chief of the Northern Military Region. In 1937 he headed the group which was left on the drift ice at the Pole to establish a research station. Eight months later they were picked up by a Soviet icebreaker off the Greenland coast



Sovfoto

Moscow crowds greet the two aviators who made the non-stop flight from their city to North America in 1939

on the globe which has always fired men's imaginations. In 1909, Admiral Robert E. Peary reached it, planting the Stars and Stripes at what he called "the goal of the world's desire." He traveled with Matthew Henson, his Negro assistant; four Eskimos, Ootah, Egingwah, Seegloo, and Oocheh; five sledges and thirty-eight dogs.

The Pole was next reached in 1937, this time by wings and radio. Four 4-engined airplanes carrying Professor Schmidt, Ivan Papanin, a crew of scientists, mechanics and radio operators, and more than ten tons of scientific and housing supplies, landed on the drifting ice-floes at the Pole. Papanin, Krenkel, Shirshov, and Feodorov were left to establish a station for polar research on top of the world. They drifted steadily for eight months in the direction of Iceland, until they were found and picked up by Soviet icebreakers off the Greenland coast.

Meanwhile they had radioed their observations regularly to the scientific institutes in Leningrad and Moscow. Their work was to be of revolutionary importance, not only to scientists, navigators, and flyers, but to farmers half way down the globe who would benefit from more exact long range weather forecasts.

Altogether, 1937 proved the greatest year in Arctic aviation. Chkalov, Baidukov, and Beliakov crossed the Pole, this time from Moscow to Vancouver Barracks in the state of Washington. Another Soviet airplane, with Gromov, Yumashev, and Danilin at the controls, flew from Moscow to California, over 6,200 miles in 62 hours, setting the world's record for long distance, non-stop flights. The year was not without tragedy. Levanevsky, piloting a new type of Soviet transport plane designed especially for this Arctic route, was lost, probably somewhere between the North Pole and Alaska. In searching for him, Sir Hubert Wilkins flew a total of 45,440 miles, 20,000 of them over the polar sea.

Two years before Hitler marched on Poland, the swift, strategic path between the great northern continents had been proved feasible, if necessary for war, and certainly for peace—when the skypaths these American, Australian, and Soviet flyers blazed

will become as commonplace as the air routes between New York and London.

Soviet Arctic Administration

THE USSR ATTACKED THE ARCTIC AS AN all-round regional problem. It has the longest Arctic coastline in the world, the most extensive Arctic mainland. In 1932, Moscow established the Central Administration of the Northern Sea Route, which was called for short, *Glavsevmorput*. People abbreviated this still further to initials that in Russian sound like Goose M.P.

Since the fifteenth century, explorers had been searching for the Northeast Passage around Asia and for the Northwest Passage around North America. Columbus accidentally discovered America, sailing west to reach the Orient. Henry Hudson first sailed east to reach it, but in 1607 wound up at Spitsbergen where he started the great whaling industry in those waters. He next sailed west, discovering not only the great river that bears his name in the United States, but the vast reaches of Hudson Bay in the Canadian North.

Centuries passed before Baron Nordenskjöld, a Swede, finally discovered the Northeast Passage in 1878. After him came the Russian, Boris Vilkitski, in 1914, and Roald Amundsen, the Norwegian, in 1920; but all of them were forced to spend a winter or more in the ice. The conclusion the world drew was that, short as it was in miles, the route was so long in time, so dangerous, that it never would be feasible commercially.

That idea hung on until it was shattered for ships and icebreakers by the Soviet Union. In the outlook of their Five-Year Plans, the Northeast Passage was a lifeline. It ran from their Atlantic to their Pacific borders entirely through Soviet waters and would supplement the Trans-Siberian Railway as a route between Moscow and Vladivostok. If it could be opened from July to October each year, the USSR would have a new and formidable artery of defense in confronting either Germany or Japan. To open it meant to dot the whole Arctic Ocean with weather and radio stations; to send out scientific expeditions to study the ice, the wind, and the weather; to establish airfields and seaplane bases for patrol planes; to fix safety zones, patrolled day and night by heavy icebreakers. These last carried so many scientists that they became regular laboratories afloat.

Economically, the new sea route would tap the vast natural resources that flanked it—gold from the Aldan and Lena regions, oil and salt from Nordvik, lumber from the forests around Lake Baikal, nickel from Norilsk, coal from the Pechora and Lena deposits, furs and fish. Open the great rivers which drain into the Arctic from the mountains of Siberia and this wealth would start flowing to the markets of the world.

Socially, the route would link Central Russia and the Soviet Far East with the peoples of the Interior and the North—with the Yakuts who live along the Lena

(Continued on page 146)



Photo by the author

Yakuts celebrate Aviation Day in their capital's Park of Culture and Rest



Sovfoto

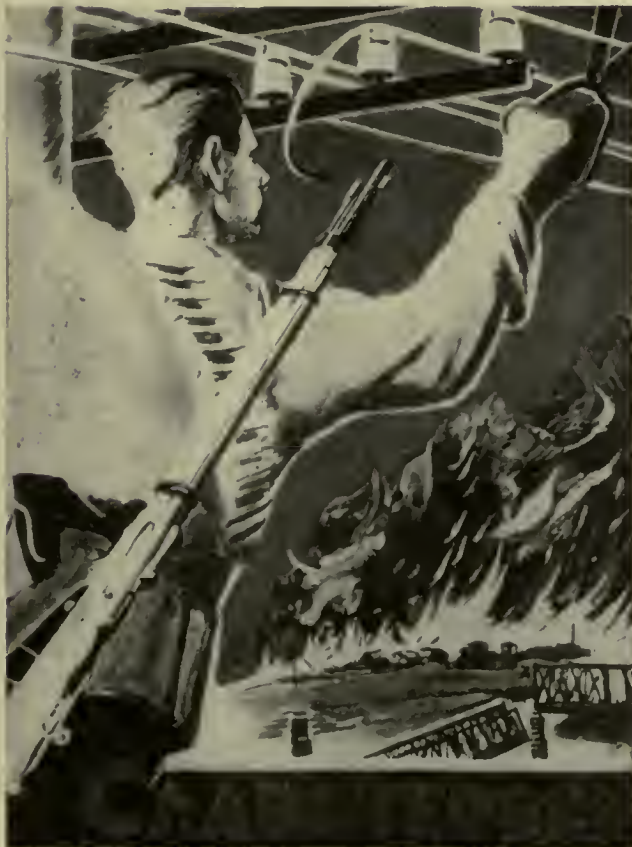
A community center in Siberia, where reindeer are raised in great herds on the collective farms, and used for transportation, milk, and hides by natives and settlers

FIGHTING POSTERS

From "The Soviet Artist in the War"—Metropolitan Museum of Art and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship



They Shall Not Pass!



All honor to the guerrilla heroes behind the enemy lines



More bread for the fighting line and the home front

Cannon Have Not Silenced the Muses

How the arts have been thrown in close to the fighting lines,
and creative impulses stirred by the struggle of the Soviets.

ALEXANDER KAUN

SONGS HAVE ALWAYS PLAYED AN ESSENTIAL part in the life of Russians and other nationals across the vast area from the Arctic to the Black Sea and from the Baltic to the Pacific. Songs were almost the only expression of the illiterate masses, voicing their sorrows and joys, their grievances and hopes. Half a century ago the American George Kennan noted the stirring music that emanated from the ranks of marching convicts in Siberia. They hummed (to sing aloud was forbidden) prison and Volga motifs to the accompaniment of their chains. Soldiers, both in the Imperial Army and the Red Army, have found in song an outlet for their pent-up emotions.

Most of us have heard of the little partisan boy who was decorated for bravery after he had helped capture a regiment of German soldiers, dressed in Russian uniforms and speaking fluent Russian. When asked how he managed to penetrate the disguise he replied, "They did not sing."

Less well known is the story of an old Russian partisan who watched from behind a tree as a group of wounded Red soldiers were led past. Bandaged, bleeding, barely able to stand on their feet, they were prodded by bayonets. Suddenly the wounded Russians burst out in the well known song, "If Tomorrow Comes War." There was so much vigor, confidence, and determination in their mighty chorus, we are told, that the Nazis became enraged and bayoneted their triumphant victims on the spot.

BUT SONGS NO LONGER CONSTITUTE THE only diversion of the soldier, the sailor, or the factory and farm worker. The Soviet masses are, beyond doubt, the most exacting audience in the world, after having had their tastes cultivated and considered for twenty-five years by the finest creative talent of the nation. The guarantee of freedom of leisure in the Soviet Constitution reflects the seriousness with which Russians regard the hours they are not spending in productive labor or in defense of the land. The men, women, and children, who call themselves "builders of life," demand a varied and vital entertainment, one that can amuse or thrill and at the same time give courage, communion with creative minds.

Both army and factory programs, accordingly, have included first rate clowning as well as classic ballet and the music of Beethoven and Shostakovich. Wide varieties of folk dancing are provided by the one hundred and eighty nationalities of the Union; dramatic performances by groups of

the Moscow Art Theater and the Red Army Theater. Other units include local army and factory theatrical companies, lectures and readings by celebrated authors; motion pictures, radio broadcasts, puppet shows, and the increasingly popular jazz music.

The Arts at the Front

AT FIRST, THE HITLER INVASION PARALYZED the arts. For the moment the cannon silenced the muses. The new slogan, "Everything for the Front!" seemed to preclude any activity not directly connected with defense and attack. But only for the moment; soon it became clear that morale at the front itself and in the productive rear required the mobilization of all the creative forces of the nation. Artists in every field began to display exuberance, and a great number of them have risen to the peak of their careers. They testify that the closer they are to the fighting lines the more they are stimulated. Thus, during the long and oppressive siege of Leningrad, Shostakovich worked on his Seventh Symphony, in the intervals between putting out incendiary bombs. He says: ". . . never before have I worked as ardently as now.

"There is a current saying, 'When the guns roar the muses are silent.' This may be truly said of the guns which by their roar suppress life, joy, happiness, and culture. Such is the roar of the guns of darkness, violence, and evil.

"But we are fighting in the name of the triumph of reason over madness, of justice over barbarity. There are loftier tasks than those which inspire us in our struggle against the dark forces of Hitlerism."

—By an emigré before the Revolution, who over the years has made the Slavic Department of the University of California a beacon light for common understanding between his adopted country and his birthplace.

Note his incandescent biographies of two great novelists after the turn of the century—Andreyev, who died in exile; Gorky, who became a force—and an independent one at that—in the cultural evolution of Soviet Russia. Witness the many textbooks and readers he has brought out; his translation and amplification of Kornilov's impressive "Modern Russian History"; his "Slavic Studies" in collaboration with Professor Simmons (page 121), and his own engaging "Soviet Poets and Poetry" (1943).

Imbued by this feeling, Soviet artists have been stirred by the war to fulfill their finest potentialities.

In any daily announcement of art exhibitions, dramatic or musical performances, one is struck by the growing number of non-Russian names and themes. During the current war the first Uzbek symphony (by Ashrafi) and the first Turkmenian operas were performed. The pages of the press abound in notes on the latest examples of the art of Kazakhs, of the Kirghiz, Karelia-Finns, Georgians, Estonians, Armenians, Jews, Azerbaijanians, Gypsies ("Romen"), and scores of nationalities hardly heard of before 1917. The evacuation of many institutions and notable individuals from Moscow, Leningrad, and German occupied centers, like Kiev and Odessa, to remote parts of the Soviet Union, has furthered the wide interchange of cultural values.

From Kuibyshev eastward across the Urals all the way to the Pacific and the borders of struggling China, there are frequent exhibitions and performances of a caliber which in normal times would grace these places only on rare occasions.

The Wartime Theater

THE WAR FAILED TO CHECK THE EXUBERANT growth of the Soviet theater. Nor did the recent loss of the great director Nemirovich-Danchenko dampen the enthusiasm of the Moscow Art Theater and its numerous branches. Tairov's *Kamerny* or Chamber Theater has revived its activity, and in distant Barnaul it has been showing as varied a repertoire as ever, from Molière's "L'Avare" and Sheridan's "The Duenna" to Ozerov's eighteenth century patriotic play "Dmitri Donskoy" and such a recent drama as Mdivani's "Moscow Sky."

The rich crop of new Soviet plays has not affected the popularity of old playwrights, with Shakespeare still leading both on the Russian and the non-Russian stage. (The annual Shakespeare conference has been held in Moscow with pre-war regularity and liveliness of discussions). Lope de Vega, Schiller, Ostrovsky, Gorky vie with the dramatizations of Zola's "The Siege of the Mill" and Goncharov's "The Precipice." Leonid Rakhmanov has written a play about Darwin. The Moscow Art Theater has been showing M. Bulgakov's "The Last Days," a play about Pushkin; the versatile Okhlopkov has produced his own version of "Cyrano de Bergerac," and the Theater of the Revolution



Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art

Close to the front, a theater company gives a performance of Simonov's war play, "The Russian People," for a soldier audience

has staged a play by Guss and Finn, "Keys of Berlin"—keys that were handed by Frederick the Great to the victorious Russian troops.

The war has brought forth a number of plays by leading Soviet authors. Of these, three have had the greatest success—Korneychuk's "Front," Simonov's "The Russian People," and Leonov's "Invasion." "Front" frankly criticizes obsolete methods used by romantic heroes of the civil wars. The fact that the play was published by the party organ, *Pravda*, and has been widely produced indicates the firmness of a regime unafraid of healthy criticism even in wartime. The American public is familiar with Simonov's play, in a version adapted by Clifford Odets. One may hope that Leonov's subtler and more dramatic "Invasion" also will be shown on the American stage.

In general, it can be said, the Soviet war plays are fresh and unhackneyed, emphasizing individual qualities against the background of the collective national drama.

The vitality of Soviet art manifests itself back of the firing line. Picture an ingeniously contrived platform, sometimes mounted on a military truck, with a concert pianist, a string quartet, a dance ensemble, or a theater company giving their artistic best, to the accompaniment of artillery and bombers. By their enthusiastic applause, the soldiers show both their appreciation and their need of entertainment.

Time and again, men and officers have reported that they fought with redoubled determination after listening to a Beethoven symphony or a reading of Tikhonov's poems. Special trains travel from front to front, bringing performers close to the battlelines. On the Finnish front a "Forest Philharmony," a squad of musicians and dancers on skis, glide over the deep snow from dugout to dugout, often at night, to cheer the fighters with song, dance, and jest.

Needless to say, the wounded give a special welcome to such entertainers. Valentin Katayev, brother of the late Eugene Petrov, has a moving description of a lieutenant on a stretcher, unable to move or to speak, his face completely bandaged except for one blue eye, but that one eye responding eloquently to Lydia Ruslanova's songs of the Volga steppes.

The New Music

A MERE ENUMERATION OF NEW MUSICAL compositions during this war would fill pages. To mention only a few: Shostakovich, in addition to his Seventh Symphony and many lesser compositions, recently completed his Eighth Symphony. Now he is at work on his ninth, a "Victory Symphony." Of it he has said: "I want to create a musical interpretation of our triumph over barbarism and express the greatness of our people."

The prolific Myaskovsky has published

his Twenty-second Symphony, based on Slavic folk motifs, and his Twenty-third Symphony, drawing on North Caucasian folklore. Symphonic and chamber music has been produced by old and new composers, including Prokofiev, Khachaturyan, Golubev, Gliere, Myaskovsky, and others.

Among the new operas by Soviet composers, patriotic themes prevail, derived both from the past and the grim present—Taranov's "Battle on the Ice," which deals with the defeat of the Teutonic Knights by Alexander Nevsky in 1242; Vasilenko's opera, "Suvorov," about the celebrated eighteenth century general; Prokofiev's "1812," based on Tolstoy's "War and Peace"; Marian Koval's "Emelyan Pugachov" and his unfinished "Sevastopolians"; Mokrusov's "Chapayev"; Shaporin's still incomplete "Tale of the Sufferings and Glory of the Russian Land."

It would be a mistake to suppose that the musical fare of Soviet Russia today is limited to war and patriotism. During the critical days of the siege of Moscow, the Muscovites flocked to performances of Oransky's new ballet, "The Merry Wives of Windsor"; the ballet "Straussiana," composed of Strauss dance melodies; Cui's one act opera "Mademoiselle Fifi"; Tramlitsky's opera "The Storm"; and other non-war compositions. Some recent announcements include a new performance of Rossini's "Wilhelm Tell," a new text and arrangement of Strauss's "Gypsy Baron," along

with the regular performance of western and Russian music on a scale unknown in other sections of wartorn Europe.

The State Jazz Orchestra of the Russian Republic recently completed a successful tour through the Urals, Siberia, and the Far East. The repertory included folk airs, partisan themes, Simonov's "Wait for Me," and a "Slavic Jazz Fantasy." In an order of the day to the Army of the Far East, the Jazz Orchestra was thanked for justifying its popularity and living up to the expectations of rank-and-file and officers, by its "variegated, buoyant, vital program."

Architects and Sculptors

IN WARTIME RUSSIA, THE "FROZEN MUSIC" of architecture is limited mainly to the construction of duplicate plants and "shadow-plants" for evacuated industries. It required great ingenuity to build in the Samara Region and east of the Urals work shelters for machines, materials, and workers rushed out of Leningrad, Moscow, Kiev, Kharhov, and Rostov ahead of the invading Nazis.

A far greater task awaits Soviet architects: the reconstruction of occupied regions. The modern Hun has laid waste towns and villages with systematic thoroughness. Groups of architects already are meeting to confer on the dual responsibility confronting them: the restoration of old monuments, cathedrals, and museums, along with the planning of modern homes, factories, and public buildings. Soviet architects, laying out new towns and villages on war's ruins, plan to make the restored communities models of comfort, healthfulness, and beauty.

Like architecture, sculpture is too inflexible a medium for the arduous present. Such fine artists as the three women sculptors, Mukhina, Manizer, Lebedeva, as well as Zelensky, Merkurov, Schwartz, Mograchev, and others have exhibited portraits of soldiers, officers, and partisans. Their war-time work strives for the monumental.



Three dancers cavort and clown—

The War and the Artists

FAR MORE READILY THAN SCULPTURE, THE graphic arts portray the country in the flames of unprecedented conflict. Aside from popular posters, exhibited in the Tass "Windows" Studio [see page 51], frequent exhibitions of paintings and drawings are being held in many communities with enthusiastic response. Judged by reproductions, the number of the canvases is more impressive than their quality. The abundance of striking war themes leads the facile painter to sketchiness and prolific superficiality. The official organ *Literatura i Iskustvo* ("Literature and Art") has urged editorially the need of "raising the form of art to the level of the great themes of art and to the level of its ideological content."

With due allowance for the inevitable carelessness of "mass production," the number of superb paintings since the invasion

is notable. These include the work of such well known Soviet painters as Konchalovsky, Sokolov-Skalya, Gaponenko, Deineka, Seriv, Ryazhsky, Korin, Yuon, Lansere (see page 125), Gerasimov, and the irresistible cartoons signed "Kukriniksi," by the three artists, Kuprianov, Krilov, and Sokolov (see page 116); and also the work of many young and new artists.

Most of the painters have drawn from life—the scenes of besieged Stalingrad, Moscow, Sevastopol, Leningrad, and the epic of the battlefronts. Their work conveys the proximity of danger, the intimacy of the painter's reaction, the stark reality tempered and sublimated by the vision of the artist. K. Finogenov is outstanding for the number of drawings and portraits he has produced "on the spot," without degenerating into mere photography.

Russian observance of the centenary in 1942 of the celebrated painter Vasily Vereshchagin, emphasized his own experience of war and his violent death, his hatred of conflict, and the anti-war propaganda of his art. Vereshchagin was convinced that the artist "must personally feel through and go through everything he depicts, must take part in attacks, in raids, in victories."

Soviet motion pictures have had an important role in the war period. Most of the recent films have been shown in this country. In my brief space, let me pay tribute to the courage with which scores of cameramen have recorded actual battle scenes. In the Vereshchagin spirit of close communion with the fighting forces, film experts have risked their lives again and again—and some have lost them—to obtain an accurate record of this war. Many of them believe it is the last outburst of such inhuman folly and greed.

The Writers Mobilize

SOVIET LETTERS ARE TRADITIONALLY THE most forceful expression of the Russian



Photos courtesy American Russian Cultural Association

The best talent for the soldiers' hospitals also. Simonov reads his poems aloud



—and fighting men laugh and relax

mind. The mobilization of Soviet literary forces, more far reaching than that of other arts, may be compared to the mobilization of Soviet science, agriculture, industry. A people's war, this has absorbed the articulate elements of the nation and, above all, the verbal arts of prose and verse. Scarcely an author in the USSR has not been to the front. In many instances the front has come to him, in this conflict which has brought air raids and trenches to all the important cities west of Kuibyshev.

The leading essayists and fiction writers have contributed to what is perhaps the noblest war literature the world has known; and journalism was raised to literary heights when it enlisted as reporters such artists as Sholokhov, Eugene Petrov, Katayev, Sergeyev-Tsensky, Alexei Tolstoy, Ehrenburg, Polyakov, and many others. By straight reporting in a sketch, a story, a play, a novel, a flaming editorial, Russian authors are telling their contemporaries and future generations what they have seen and felt in these heroic days. One of the most quoted Leo Tolstoy passages today is the conclusion of the first part of "Sevastopol Tales":

"The real hero of my story, whom I love with all my heart, whom I have tried to reproduce in all his beauty and who has always been and will remain beautiful, is—truth."

This is the quality of realism that has often taken Russian literature out of the realm of pure art and brought it close enough to life to be virtually its synonym.

Can art reproduce contemporary events, or must it wait for them to crystallize and provide perspective?

Leo Tolstoy's "War and Peace" was written half a century after the Napoleonic wars it describes. Yet the same author's "Sevastopol Tales" were an immediate reaction, and smelled of gunpowder.

Alexei Tolstoy's trilogy on the years of war and revolution (1914-1919) was finished

in 1928. With all its excellencies the novel lacks the breadth and insight of his "Peter the Great." Sholokhov's "The Silent Don" might compare with "War and Peace," had it been written decades later. The author is now writing a novel on the current war, and it is not hazardous to predict, on the basis of his previous work, that the book will present a series of stories, scenes, and sketches, excellent in themselves but loosely jointed. "The Fall of Paris," by Ilya Ehrenburg, is sparkling and informative documentary fiction, but it is a bit tart, like young, unmellowed wine. Ehrenburg's war poems and war sketches, to appear shortly in an American edition, have the incisive rhythms and relevancy of the music of machine guns.

Of the Soviet novels published since 1941, the best are those that treat the historical past; for example, Yan's "Genghis Khan" and "Baty." Wanda Wasilewska's "Rainbow" and Vassily Grossman's "The People Are Immortal," though hailed as novels are in fact long short stories, superbly done.

What I wish to suggest by these illustrations is an explanation of the fact that while, for lack of perspective, Soviet letters have not as yet produced great novels dealing with this war, they already have brought forth some excellent plays, stories, and poems. I have only mentioned some of the plays and two tales but the number of good stories by older Soviet writers and by younger men is impressive.

Poets Sing Love and Wrath

THE DESIRE FOR POETRY AT THE FRONT was shown early in the war, when the defenders of Voronezh requested copies of the collected verse of two nineteenth century Voronezh folk-poets, Koltsov and Nikitin. Still more urgent is the call of the Red Army for living poets—and these have come in person, lived with the soldiers, entertained them, and sometimes joined them in battle.

Leningrad has been a theme more often than other besieged Russian cities—Moscow and Stalingrad not excepted. Symphonic music, songs, plays, stories, and several magnificent long poems immortalize that city's ordeal. Vera Inber, in terse conversational verse, portrayed the daily life there—without heat, water or food, yet with the spirit of heroic humanism hovering over the city of Peter and Lenin. (See page 94.)

The most popular lyric is Konstantin Simonov's "Wait for Me," to which eighteen melodies already have been composed, and which has appeared in half a dozen American versions. It has also been produced on

(Continued on page 133)

WAIT FOR ME

by KONSTANTIN SIMONOV

As Translated by DOROTHEA PRALL RADIN

Wait for me and I'll come back,
But wait with might and main!
Wait throughout the gloom and rack
Of autumn's yellow rain.
Wait when snowstorms fill the way,
Wait in summer's heat,
Wait when, false to yesterday,
Others do not wait.
Wait when from afar at last
No letters come to you.
Wait when all the rest have ceased
To wait, who waited too.

Wait for me and I'll come back.
Do not lightly let
Those, who know so well the knack,
Teach you to forget.
Let my mother and my son
Believe that I have died;

Let my friends, with waiting done,
At the fireside
Lift the wine of grief and clink
To my departed soul.
Wait, and make no haste to drink,
Alone among them all.

Wait for me and I'll come back,
Defying death. When he
Who could not wait shall call it luck
Only, let it be.
They cannot know who did not wait
How in the midst of fire
Your waiting saved me from my fate,
Your waiting and desire.
Why I still am living, we
Shall know, just I and you:
You knew how to wait for me
As no other knew.

BESIEGED LENINGRAD

Fragments of a poem by VERA INBER
Translated by ALEXANDER KAUN
and DOROTHEA PRALL RADIN

My ears are filled with the continuous twitter
Of birds, like running water, murmuring on.
It's weakness, hunger. All the food is gone.
What time is it? But it would be a pity
To waste a match. I lay down early. Night
Is longer when there is no warmth nor light.

I lie and think. What do I think of? Bread!
All brown and crusty, dusted with fine flour.
The room is filled with it, it crowds out bed
And furniture. It's near and yet so far,
Far as the promised land is said to lie—
And it's the very best of bread, it's rye.

It's linked with days of childhood: it is made
Just like a hemisphere, the top half-rounded.
It's warm and it smells sweet of cumin seed.
I only need to reach out, if I'm minded,
Take off my glove—that's all I have to do—
And eat my fill and feed my husband, too.

* * *

And there along the Northern Railroad roll
The trains, an endless line, in our direction.
The cars are countless. By no dereliction
Of duty would a despatcher change their goal.
He knows his country sent them and they are
Each urgent, each an extra special car.

Why, even in Murmansk, it seems that now
The produce of America lies waiting:
Butter, canned goods and sugar. Through the crating
You see even fruit—bananas, row on row—
And to reward our patience, on each lot
The superscription: *Only Leningrad*.

With us it's bad. There's still a raging frost
That won't let up, a frost unprecedented.
The torpedo-cutter's fast in ice cemented,
The auto-bus has grown an icy crust.
For lack of current now no streetcars run
And all is still. It's like a town unknown.

* * *

As in a dream from out the Wooden Age
Faintly from somewhere comes the sound of chopping
Barn, fence, thin wall and, in their final stage,
Half-gutted crippled houses nearly dropping—
All that is left where roof or upright stood
Is cut for coffins or for firewood.

Two women whom their misery has joined,
With shawls up to their eyes and heads together,
Saw at a stump, but with a saw unground,
With ineffective, crooked teeth that slither,
As if it too had scurvy from poor food
And had no power to overcome the wood.

No bark nor mew, no chirping in the air
Excepting where the sparrows yonder wheel
And circle gaily at the horse's heel
And, as if from a steaming bowl set there,
They seize upon the little grains of oats
And then the chirping issues from their throats.

* * *

Water! You'd get up in the morning early
And the white metal faucet used to sing
And warble like a nightingale in spring
And long the water flowed on, light and pearly:
But nowadays with fingers icy chill
The frost has stopped up tight the little bill.

They use the Neva now for drinking-water.
Or the small Neva, ice a meter through.
A job for an ice-cutter! People loiter,
Exchanging mirthless jokes, and frozen blue.
They say: "For even Neva water, look!
You have to stand in line these days, worse luck!"

There is no radio. At six each morning
With eager thirst no longer do we race
To catch the latest news, our spirits burning.
The megaphones are in their former place
But now there is no voice, no voice that swells—
The ocean tide has ebbed and left the shells.

* * *

Indeed, in such a city, where the ranks
Of sick and dead increase as in a slaughter,
Why all these mirrored plains where winter pranks,
These crystal gardens and this silver water?
They should be covered, like the mirrors in
Houses where death not long ago has been.

Yet how to hide them? For the sky's pure vaulting
Is unobscured by warm exhaling mist.
The boughs are lilac where the snow, unmelting,
Takes on the Urals' smoky amethyst.
Red as a Sukhum rose the sunset glare,
Yet savage tenderness breathes everywhere.

And at the hour when the star of morning
Shines through the gulf of dawn upon our streets,
The matchless prospect with its light adorning,
So bitter is the cold that emanates
From all the earth, it's as if breathless, still,
Cosmos looked on to watch our souls grow chill.

* * *

How painfully, still worse, how swiftly, can
Faces grow, old these days! The features stand
Out, cut to birdlike sharpness by the hand,
It seems, of some ill-omened make-up man.
A pinch of ashes and a little lead—
And faces look like faces of the dead.

Among the women many have a swelling.
They shiver constantly, though not from frost.
Their bosoms shrink to nothingness, compelling
The once-white kerchiefs to be tighter crossed.
Who would believe that once at such a breast
A child had ever sucked himself to rest?

Like melted candles in their apathy—
All the dry summaries and indications
Are here of what by learned designations
Doctors call "alimentary dystrophy".
Non-Latinists, non-philologues, will name
It simply hunger, but it means the same.

* * *

And after that the end is very near.
The body, rolled up in a dust-gray cover
Fastened with safety-pins, and wound all over
With rope, upon a child's sled will appear,
So neatly laid out, that it's plain to see
It's not the first one in the family.

And to fill out the picture night has spun,
Another childish image is transported.
It is my grandson, long ago departed.
He wears felt boots, my little darling one,
He's warm, I feel his body touching me.
Alas! I'm sleeping. It is phantasy.

Under the Soviet Rainbow

Not pots of gold—but vessels of human clay in which millions of non-Russians are bound together by a “common experience of constant growth and flowering.”

LOUIS FISCHER

THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN CALLED A “melting pot”; in it, white immigrants from all the world merge to form an American pattern. But Maxim Litvinov called the Soviet Union a “league of nations.” There each race—Ukrainians, Tartars, Chuvashi, Mordvins, Russians, Chechentsi, Armenians, Georgians, Buryat-Mongols and 180 others—received at the hands of the Bolshevik Revolution the right, indeed the injunction, to retain its separate individuality (language, customs, costumes). Since Leninism abhorred national superiority or national inferiority, all nationalities were considered equal.

The 1917 Revolution could preach internationalism abroad and freedom for subject colonies because it immediately created its own International inside Old Russia and freed its subject races. The domination of the Slavs and the cult of Pan-Slavism yielded to the supremacy of workers and the dictatorship of the Communist Party. The Russian worker regarded the Russian capitalist as his enemy and the Uzbek worker or the French worker as his friend and ally. This was not mere dogma; Soviet citizens felt it. Blood ties ceased to count in the new Soviet league of nations. Since nationalities were equal in the Soviet Union, militant nationalism began to fade away.

Soviet scientists have counted 189 races in the USSR. But there is no guarantee that others will not be discovered. Of 193,000,000 Soviet inhabitants in peacetime, only 80,000,000 were Russians.

The Soviets catalogued men not according to blood and birth but by class, occupations, and ideas. That is why the theory of Bolshevism is the extreme opposite of fascism.

UNDER THE AUTOCRATIC TSARS, THE RUSSIANS ruled and all the other races were “aliens” whom St. Petersburg tried to “russify.” Where this attempt to foist the Russian language and Russian traditions on non-Russian or anti-Russian peoples failed, the Cossacks stepped in with their guns and knouts, or one race was set against the other. Ukrainians pogromed Jews; Armenians and Tartars engaged in mutual slaughter in the Caucasus; and other minorities fought interminably. The authorities looked on when they did not feed these feuds. Division helped the “Tsar of all the Russias” to rule. “Russia” meant nothing to the Tadjiks of Central Asia or the Ossetians of the North Caucasus except Tsarist oppression.

This “prison of subject races” was converted into a peaceful “league of nations”

by the simple expedient of abolishing the supremacy of the Russian and Slav. The hatred of the national minorities for the Tsar thereupon began to melt into eager cooperation with Soviet Moscow.

The numerous races inhabiting the long periphery of what had been Russia now felt that they “belonged.”

A Red Emancipation Day

ON NOVEMBER 15, 1917, EIGHT DAYS after the Bolsheviks came to power, a Soviet decree signed by Lenin, the Russian, and Stalin, the Georgian, proclaimed “the right to free development of all national minorities” and “their self-determination including separation.” Lenin conformed to the principle of self-determination when he facilitated or refrained from obstructing the independence of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland which had been annexed by Tsarism. These non-Russian lands were never regarded as Soviet *irre-*

dentia, and Stalin did not except them when he declared in 1936:

“We want no foot of foreign territory.”

He did not say: We want no foot of foreign territory except the border republics once conquered by the Tsar. He said, “We want no foot of foreign territory.” This Stalin slogan was in the spirit of Leninism—and Bolshevik speeches, banners, broadcasts and articles repeated it millions of times.

The principle of “free development of all national minorities” inside the Soviet Union was adhered to even more loyally by the Soviet government. In fact, the treatment accorded to races is the brightest page in the political history of the Soviet Union.

Persecution of national minorities or discrimination on account of race was made tantamount to counter-revolution in revolutionary Russia. To be anti-Tartar or

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Louis Fischer (bareheaded center figure) with a group of Ukrainian collective farmers

—A Philadelphian who first set out for Moscow in 1922—Mr. Fischer’s encounters for fourteen years were not only with Russian leaders who planned and wrought greatly but with workers, collective farmers, racial minorities. His abiding faith in the future of the Soviet Republic has been matched by open-mindedness as an observer, and independence as an assessor of such issues as purges and pacts.

Long time correspondent of *The*

Nation, and other journals, Mr. Fischer’s Russian books include “The Soviet and World Affairs,” 2 vols. (1930); “Why Recognize Russia?” (1931); “Machines and Men in Russia” (1932); “Soviet Journey” (1935).

Since 1936, along with lecturing at home, has come his interpretation of civil war in Spain, India in tension. Meanwhile he has distilled the meaning of our times in an autobiography, “Men and Politics” (1941); “Empire” (1943).

Minority Peoples

Slavs account for almost three fourths of the population of the Soviet Union. There are three distinct divisions of these—the Russians, major national group of the USSR, Ukrainians, and White Russians.

The remainder of the population includes many other races and nationalities, some of them numbering several million people. Each large minority constitutes a separate republic inside the federal Union and many of the smaller groups form autonomous subdivisions within the republics.

The representation of minority peoples on these two pages, incomplete though it is, gives some idea of their infinite variety.



Wedding party, Georgian Republic



Woman at new sewing machine, Yakut Autonomous Republic, Siberia



Cotton picker, Tadjik Republic



American Russian Cultural Association. Other photos from Sovfoto
School children, Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Republic, Siberia



School girl, Armenian Republic

of the Soviet Union



Farmer, Abkhazian Autonomous Republic, in Georgia



Students, Kazakh Republic



School children, Ukrainian Republic



Farm woman enjoying electricity, Uzbek Republic



Weaver, Turkmen Republic



Deputies in Moscow from the Kirghiz Republic

anti-Jewish, or to exalt the Slav or Russian, was a crime against the socialist state, and was mercilessly punished. Just as Hitler later deliberately fostered race hatred in Germany in order to divert attention from the class war and to intensify German nationalism, so the Bolsheviks curbed racial passions and nationalism and emphasized the class war.

Racism is to fascism as racial equality and internationalism are to Bolshevism.

Fractions and Federalism

THE SOVIET RÉGIME DID NOT MERELY END discrimination against national minorities. It discriminated in favor of national minorities so as to wipe out their cultural, political, and economic lag. Every opportunity, encouragement, and aid was given to the races of Soviet Asia, the Caucasus, the Volga region, the Ukraine and White Russia—to educate themselves, to develop the economic wealth of their areas and, as far as was practicable within a highly centralized country, to enjoy political autonomy. Each large national minority, like the Ukrainians, Georgians, Uzbeks, White Russians, and Armenians, constituted an independent republic inside the federal union.

But in Georgia, for example, there is a race called Adjari, numbering a few thousand, who live in and around the Black Sea port of Batum, and another race of Abkhazi at Sukhum. So the Union Republic of Georgia includes the autonomous subdivisions of Adjaristan and Abkhazia. Like all other subdivisions and republics of the national minorities, Adjaristan and Abkhazia use their own racial language in their schools and government offices. Most of their officials are members of these races.

Soviet economy is planned in and directed from Moscow. The federal government owns all land, large factories, oil wells, railroads, mines, lines of communication, wharves, ships—all forms of capital. The federal government operates all important industrial units and also controls the finances and domestic and foreign trade of the entire country. Moreover, the communists are the only political party and their primary allegiance is to Moscow. The secret police—keystone of any dictatorship—the Red Army, Air Force, and Navy, are likewise functions of the central government in Moscow. The powers and responsibilities of the regional autonomous republics and territorial subdivisions which constitute the Soviet Union are therefore, of necessity, severely circumscribed. Yet in the central government, Russians have had no monopoly. Many Soviet leaders of the past, Dzerzhinski, Trotsky, Sverdlov, Zinoviev, Rakovski, Kamenev, Ordzhonikidze, Yagoda, and so on, were non-Russian. Stalin is a Georgian; Mikoyan, Commissar of Trade, an Armenian; Kaganovich, the able industrial organizer, a Jew.

Every Soviet citizen knows that racial origin has not been a bar to the attainment of the highest goals.

Virgin Human Soil

EVEN THE LIMITED POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC rights and prerogatives which the national minorities enjoy in their autonomous regions have infused them with a sense of dignity. New opportunities have fired their ambitions and given them a mighty incentive to achieve progress and knowledge. The country's tremendous expansion in the economic and educational

fields created a vast demand for talent and ability. The national minorities, especially, answered the call, since many of the new industries were located in the peripheral areas—the Caucasus, Central Asia, Siberia—which are largely peopled by non-Russians and which Tsarist Russia had exploited in the usual imperialist manner.

In some cases, the human soil was almost completely virgin. I visited Central Asia in 1930 when the ambitious Turkestan-Siberian railway was opened. Bill Shatoff, former Chicago revolutionist who supervised the construction of the line, told me that one of his chief difficulties was building a railroad with labor that had never seen a railroad. By labor he meant the Kazakh nomads of the vast empty spaces bordering on China.

These are more Chinese than Russian and they had not yet reached even the agrarian stage of civilization. They live in cylindrical or conical felt yurts (cousin of the wigwam) and followed the grass crop with their flocks. They rode ponies. In fact, they seemed to live on their ponies. I saw thousands of them, assembled from the endless domains of Central Asia, listen to many speeches while sitting in their saddles. The women did the hard chores, and the men, Shatoff said, consequently had "lady fingers" and suffered from the unaccustomed work of building the railway.

The moment they accepted employment, the Soviet authorities started teaching them to read and write and to be loyal citizens. In Ain Bulak, a Kazakh settlement on the new Turk-Sib line, a native bard, strumming a gourd-like instrument, sat on the rails and extemporized couplets about "giant bands of steel" and "the iron chug horse."

Amid the Caucasus Mountains, under the shadow of Mt. Elbrus which is higher than Mt. Blanc, dwell the Swannetians who saw Soviet airplanes fly over them before they themselves were sufficiently advanced to use wheeled vehicles. At a lower altitude in the same region, I met Kevsurs who wore coats of mail and claimed to be descendants of the Crusaders.

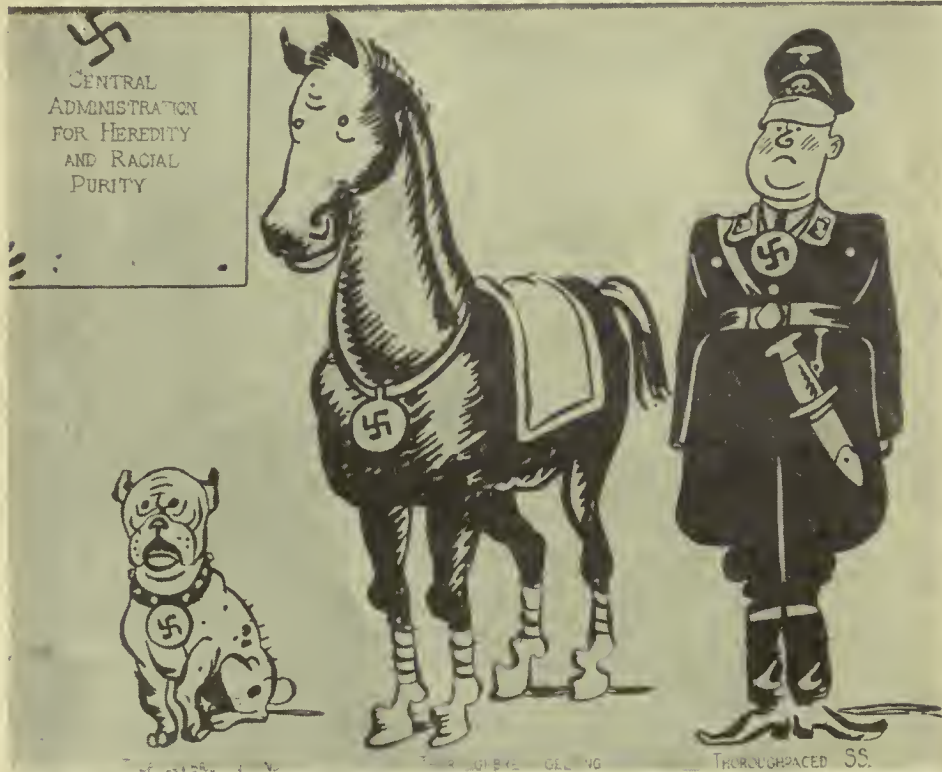
Even these very retarded peoples moved forward rapidly with Moscow's aid and under communist prodding. Betal Kalmikov, a Kabardinian married to a Polish woman, acquired an all-Soviet reputation for the skillful administration of his native Kabardino-Balkarian Republic in the North Caucasus near Pyatigorsk, and he was only one of a new generation of leaders and executives which quickly emerged under the warm sun of racial opportunity.

Soviet experience has demonstrated that "backward" races quickly lunge forward when they are no longer held back.


Alphabets and Unity

THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE members of the national minorities were illiterate before the Bolshevik Revolution. That was because the Empire had not devoted itself to the education of Russians much less non-Russians and, equally, be-

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A Soviet cartoon by Efimov which spoofs Nazi theories of racial purity. The "Nordic German," the Nazis state, should be revived by compulsory breeding as with animals



OLD BOTTLES: NEW WINE

Folk singers, tellers of tales, still give voice in the villages, *akyns* still are bards of the steppes, but their themes are of today.

ROBERT MAGIDOFF

NBC correspondent at Moscow, who has collected and translated these and many other modern folk tales. An alumnus of the University of Wisconsin, he first went to Russia as a journalist in 1935.



But fame came to him enveloped in fire and blood,
For he would slaughter a hundred men at one stroke.

There was Nikolai, the Tsar over Russia,
Only a short time ago.
He, too, will linger in the memory of men.
He destroyed and plundered, massacring and enslaving nations.

His generals were garbed in gold,
But the whip in their hands
Was heavy as in the hands of the executioner.

The earth still remembers these names—
But to forget were better,
For they haunt the memory as curses do and horror.

Only one year has passed since the death of another man.

He lived in the same land as Nikolai,
And he ruled over the same people.
Only one year has passed since the death of Lenin.

He, too, will live in the memory of men,
But men will remember him in a new way,
For Lenin brought light to the land cast by Nikolai into darkness.

He replanted orchards made fruitless by Tamerlane,
Rebuilt cities destroyed by Ghenghis Khan.

Tamerlane, Ghenghis Khan, Iskander, and Nikolai were warriors.

Wherever they saw light, they made darkness.

Wherever they saw orchards, they made deserts.

Wherever they saw life, they made death.
Lenin! Out of darkness he brought forth light.

Out of deserts he made orchards.

Out of death—life!

He was mightier than all these warriors taken together,

For he alone built in eight years

What they had destroyed in a thousand.

* Ali—a legendary Uzbek hero

LENIN and WARRIORS

An Uzbek Tale

Many men have crossed the face of the earth
Leaving no trace behind them,
But some men have left a trace behind them.
Though their time was short, it was great with noble or evil deeds.

Tamerlane crossed the earth long, long ago,
And left a bloody trail
Buried under ashes of burned cities.
Behind him he left a desert strewn with corpses,
And before him,
Wherever he saw light and joy,
He sowed grief and darkness.
Mighty was Tamerlane,
But he used his might for black deeds of destruction.

Ghenghis Khan swooped down with his hordes,
And he knew one law only:
To kill and rob.
He crossed sands and deserts, forests and steppes, cities and valleys,
And rivers of blood and tears flowed in his wake,
And hissing curses followed him.
Mighty was Ghenghis Khan,
But his savage hordes left no stone upon stone.

Iskander came from behind the seas, garbed in steel and gold,
The shapely iron helmets of his warriors glittering in the sun,
Their shields shining, their spears magnificent.

The sun took delight in the warriors
As they followed each other in deathlike silence,

Their spears sparkling.

Nothing could resist this iron wall of men,
Pressing forward shoulder to shoulder.

But they, too, left ruins behind them,
Even as Tamerlane and Ghenghis Khan.

Magnificent, young, and unconquerable was Iskander;

But his heart was as cruel and savage,

Craving destruction,

As was the heart of the wild Ghenghis Khan.

Invincible and renowned was the giant Ali,*

LENIN and ASHMEDAI

*A Taht Legend**

WHEN MEN, MADE OF DUST, APPEARED ON earth, there also appeared the invisible, mighty, evil spirit, the Ashmedai—friend of the idle, the rich, and the deadliest enemy of the poor. He brought them grief and misery, leaving them to the mercy of the oppressors.

Countless hordes of evil spirits, the *shegadoo*, Ashmedai's servants, harassed the poor and tortured them. There was no needy man but bemoaned his lot, no woman but sobbed in anguish, no child but wept over the distress brought upon his own.

The mountains and the steppe complained to the sun, to the stars against Ashmedai and the tyranny of his servants, the *shegadoo*, and against the craftiness of the rich. All the trees and grasses ceased their nightly festivals, their songs and dances died away, and they pleaded with the sun and stars to relieve mankind.

And the sun and the stars, beholding the people's grief, broke off parts of their flaming bodies and created a mighty, fiery avenger. To cool the scorching heat of his fire, they sent him on a dark night to a cold land in the far north where snow gleams white all year round as on Mount Elbrus. They named him Lenin, and instructed him to avenge every drop of the blood of the poor.

The earth sighed in relief, and trees danced their delight. Birds sang to each other the joyful tidings of the appearance of a mighty giant who had come to avenge the blood of the poor. Ashmedai heard of it and informed the rich. They called a council, and ordered the cursed one to kill Lenin, saying: "You have helped us to rule the world. Along with us you have drunk the blood of the needy, and delighted in their misery. Help us slay Lenin, and we will reward you."

Ashmedai summoned his aid Ser-Ovee, the spirit of waters, and ordered him to drown Lenin.

One bright night, under the disguise of an air maiden, Ser-Ovee flew northward to murder Lenin. But the accursed spirit nearly froze in the deadly grip of cold, and returned to Ashmedai before he ever reached Lenin's city.

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* Tabis are mountain Jews, living in Daghestan, Caucasus.

What 36 Million Children Are Learning

Moscow and Teheran make more urgent our understanding of the Russian mind of tomorrow. The clues to be found in the far-flung Soviet school system.

DOROTHY ERSKINE and HOLLAND ROBERTS

CHANCES TAKING PLACE IN SOVIET SCHOOLS and attitudes they are inculcating are bound to be factors in our postwar world. These may give us more as to ultimate purposes than even the speeches of Stalin and Molotov.

What the Soviets accomplished in the educational field from 1917 on is now generally known. Faced with illiteracy estimated at 70 percent of the population before the Revolution, they have more than reversed that figure. At least 80 percent can now read and write and, among the younger generation, illiteracy is a thing of the past.

One of the difficulties overcome was that the languages of some minorities had never been put into writing. The Soviets' policy was to guarantee use of their own tongue and culture to every people. They stuck to it and now textbooks are printed in seventy-five languages.

More, they have adapted schools to the habits of different peoples—to those of nomad followers of the reindeer in the far North, and the nomad followers of sheep and cattle herds in the mountain grasslands of the far South. Sled schools and felt-tent schools are the answer in these regions. The children move with their families but do not miss their classes.

The School Structure

TODAY, AFTER MANY CHANCES TO MEET the changes in society, the outline of the Soviet school system is fairly clear. Crèches or nursery schools for children up to four years of age are not under the direction of the Commissariat of Education but under that of Health. They are located at the mother's place of work whenever possible.

From the age of four through seven the child first comes under the direction of the Commissariat of Education in the pre-school or kindergarten. Not until they are eight years old do Soviet children begin their regular studies in the elementary grades of the Seven Year Schools which are compulsory throughout Russia.

Then come three years of high school or the "middle schools" which specialize earlier than we do in science, trades, medicine, teaching.

As students go on to *technicums*, universities, postgraduate institutes, there is often a shift again in the direction given to education—this time from the Commissariat of Education to that of various commissariats who later will employ the specialists. Heavy Industry runs 115 institutes for preparing engineers and electricians; Agriculture, 56 schools for turning

—By two Americans who have made special studies of Soviet education.

In 1930, Mrs. Erskine visited progressive schools in France, England, Austria, Germany, and Switzerland. That year, and again in 1937, she broadened her canvass by trips to the USSR which gave her unusual opportunities to inquire into schools, homes, and child care.

Member of the faculty of Leland Stanford University, Professor Roberts spent eight months in Soviet Russia, studying educational methods. An authority in his field, his works include "A Cultural Basis of the Language Arts"; "Foreign Language and Culture in American Education."

out agronomists; Timber trains its foresters; Finance, its bankers.

Moreover, all through the lower grades there is emphasis on the relationship between factory, farm, and school. In the upper reaches of the educational system there is a close tie-up of theory and practice—the aim being firsthand contact with all problems from manual labor to management. The student architect must not only learn drafting but pass his period of apprenticeship through all the stages of actual building, from laying bricks and mixing cement to acting as assistant foreman.

Wartime Changes

THE WAR HAS BROUGHT CERTAIN CHANCES which may or may not be permanent. Until defense decrees began to operate at the end of 1939, all primary, secondary, and most higher education was free. Students of college grade received stipends to cover their complete living expenses. Now a small tuition fee is paid. This was intended to syphon off extra funds for the educational system from a people fully employed just as in this country we have resorted to emergency measures in the fight against inflation. It gave the schools more funds than the state could have allotted. No one was deprived of education because of this ruling. Stipends are still granted to certain qualified university students, thus assuring to the country the training of its best young minds.

The levying of this tuition charge has been useful in another way during the war. It has encouraged many students over fourteen years of age to enter the free wartime system of training for industry, transport, and trade which has been established to provide labor reserves of skilled workers.

These new vocational schools tap youth power of pre-military age. The students are clothed, housed, and fed at government expense and have a special uniform and insignia. They are trained as apprentices under conditions approximating as closely as possible those encountered in industry, using real machinery, and turning out finished goods.

Some two million skilled workers have been made available from the adolescent group and a million more are being steadily and continuously trained. It has been reported that this system of wartime technical schools will be used, as war draws to an end, to turn out the carpenters, masons, plumbers, electricians needed to rebuild the devastated villages and cities.

Wartime Curriculum

THE WAR, TOO, HAS AFFECTED THE SUBJECTS taught in the schools. Reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and history have been loaded, even in the elementary grades, with military significance. Geography lessons are devoted to observing local terrain, and to learning how to read and make maps. There are pre-flight mathematics, and also study of ballistics, optical instruments, basic courses in gas, explosives and Diesel engines.

The very method in the classroom resembles that now used in the army. Textbook and homework are secondary to a visual impact upon students through generous use of movies, charts, and diagrams. Shortcuts are used; and the over-all significance of a subject is tied immediately to its practical application.

Whitehead has said that "education is the acquisition of the art of the utilization of knowledge." The tendency of Soviet education ever since the first days of the Revolution has been to vitalize inert facts by their immediate relation to our present industrial society.

Military studies which formerly began in the ninth and tenth grades now begin in the fourth. Children in elementary classes are taught to handle rifles and machine guns and are practiced in the methods of first aid. Boys are taught hand-to-hand combat and platoon drill. Girls are prepared for radio, telephone, and nursing service and the handling of supplies. All pupils are taught about the battle experience of the Red Army and in the middle schools they take 110 hours of military training a year.

Not only has the war thus brought military training into the lower schools, but by the close of 1941 courses were introduced in the seventh and eighth grades in

practical and theoretical training in farm work. The older children learn to be tractor drivers and combine operators. Collective farms send in requests for summer harvesting teams and the schools send out the children. In the summer of 1942 some 3,500,000 young people and 150,000 teachers worked in such brigades.

In the schools themselves, the children are mobilized into sanitary squads to sweep and dust, into carpenter squads to make repairs, into heating squads to bring in the wood. In manual training courses they learn to mend furniture and electrical equipment, and to do simple plumbing and glazing. Innovations like these are taking place in all the wartorn countries, but because Russia is in the greatest extremity the process has perhaps gone farthest.

Elimination of Coeducation

ONE CHANGE IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM may bear on Soviet postwar policy toward the outside world. That change is the ruling of July, 1943, abandoning coeducation early in the educational process, and establishing separate schools for girls and boys from the age of eight. At first glance this decision seemed curiously reactionary coming from a government that has furthered the participation of women in all forms of work on an equality with men. The separation of girls and boys is based by the school authorities on the ground that the two sexes develop at different rates through the school years. They claim that the move will not place girls in an inferior position; but is first and foremost a military measure. The decree reads:

"Man must be the warrior. His preparation for service in the Red Army must begin in the school. He must undergo special physical and purely military training for the coming stern life of a soldier. . . .



Photos from Sovfoto

A group of future miners. Students at an apprenticeship school in Khabarovsk going down into a mine for the actual work which is part of their training

Girls work mainly in supplies, hospitals, communications. . . . They are still not allowed to go into the attack nor build roads or bridges. Girls are the future mothers and must have specialized knowledge of psychology, pedagogy, and hygiene."

Such a drastic reversal of policy points directly to international relations. Having learned through millions of casualties what modern war means, as well as the need in present day warfare of long, intensive training for their young men, the Soviets clearly have determined to be prepared for attack from whatever quarter it may come. The lesson of fear has sunk deep and seared the nation. It is evident here. In spite of the recent conferences in Moscow and Te-

heran, the Russians feel they can not yet be sure that the United Nations will join in building a genuine system of collective security.

By intensifying pre-military training in the lower schools, they are playing safe. It may take years of successful collaboration to reverse this attitude, as the Russians are in deadly earnest about their national security.

Likeness and Difference

NEVER HAS EDUCATION BEEN VALUED more than in Russia today. They know that without literacy, without applied knowledge—scientific and technical—they would have gone down to defeat before the Nazis. Almost the first act of the people on driving the enemy from their territory is to reopen some kind of school. When Nalchik was recaptured, textbooks, maps and even desks were brought out of their hiding places. In Stalingrad the Nazis destroyed 95 schools, all the kindergartens, libraries, theaters, the Palace of Physical Culture and the Palace of Young Pioneers; but in two months after the German General von Paulus surrendered, 16 schools were in session with an enrollment of 3,250 children. Rostov tells the same story. There the Nazis had destroyed 47 schools and carried off to Germany more than 17,000 Rostov children. Yet in June 1943, as the tide of the invasion rolled back, the municipal soviet repaired 38 of these schools and was holding classes in them. Well known are the stories of schools and universities evacuated to safety in the East and functioning even en route.

In many ways Soviet public schools resemble ours. In curriculum, methods of teaching, standards, they have hitherto been surprisingly alike. Looking at the children in their classes there is often a comparable

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A geography class in a girls' school. After school, the students, "learning by doing," work in war industry, out in the fields, or in their own homes

Youth and Its Skylines

How young people behind the lines help carry war's dreadful weight and laugh as they shoulder work and responsibility, their eyes ahead.

MAURICE HINDUS

MOSCOW—via Press Wireless

MARIA KRYLOVA IS A YOUNG GIRL FROM the city of Pskov. She is a member of Komsomol, Russia's youth organization which now embraces at least fifteen million boys and girls, ranging in age from fourteen into the early, sometimes the late, twenties. With the German advance into her native city, one of the oldest and most historic in Russia, she was evacuated to the rural district of Moshkovo, deep in the heart of Siberia. On her arrival there, she set to work aiding the local leaders, especially Komsomols, in organizing and reorganizing the food production of Moshkovo's rich lands—black earth as deep as any in Iowa.

One of the most backward collective farms in the district was the village of Osokino. This had managed to grow a fine crop of grain. It had even succeeded in stacking the harvest in barns and fields. But it had threshed little, and had delivered even less to the government, though because of the vast liberated areas the need for grain was greater than ever. So Maria Krylova journeyed to Osokino to ascertain what was wrong with the collective farm.

On her arrival, she said to the chairman of the farm, "Why haven't you delivered grain to the government?"

"Because," replied the chairman, "our threshing machine broke down."

Such a reason for delinquency in deliveries to the government of "bread," as Russians speak of grain, was not new to the girl from Pskov. Few new threshing machines have been manufactured since the outbreak of war. It has been difficult to obtain spare parts—armaments, ammunition, and other army needs have been devouring nearly all the metal in the country. Worse still, the best village mechanics are away at war; also the best workers and the best leaders. But the nation must have bread; work on the land must continue despite all so-called objective difficulties.

How Youth Takes Hold

MARIA KRYLOVA MADE A QUICK SURVEY of the village—barns, fields, above all, the people: the few men and the many women and children on whom now rested the responsibility for operating the collective farm. She found a youth named Alexey Artemenko, grimy with oil and chaff, hammering away on a threshing machine. He had been hammering for some time without results. She knew at once that he would never repair the machine alone and unearched in the village another youth who had had considerable experience driving a tractor and who therefore had some understanding of mechanics. She persuaded the

—By an American born in a Russian peasant hut, who came to this country at the age of fourteen, ten years later took his master's degree here. Mr. Hindus has visited his native Russia every year since 1923, talked with villagers and workers, and as lecturer and author interpreted, as here, the work, plans, and hopes of the USSR through years of rebuilding and war. Among his notable books: "Broken Earth" (1926); "Humanity Uprooted" (1929); "Red Bread" (1931); "The Great Offensive" (1933); "Moscow Skies" (1936); "Mother Russia" (1943).

tractor driver to give Artemenko a hand in repairing the threshing machine. She persuaded both men to remain on their job until the machine could be put to work again. Nor did she leave them until she saw them busy with their tools over the machine.

Then she made her way home. In the manner of the best American go-getting spirit, she said to the young people: "The threshing machine will be in good working order sometime tonight. Tomorrow we start working. The first day we will thresh at least one hundred and fifty bushels of grain and send it all to the government. We will start a ten-day threshing campaign and we will work with front line energy." Krylova spoke to every young person in the village.

Then she called all the girls together at the home of a woman whose husband was away at war, and with whom she was stopping. With firmness and fervor she lectured the girls. She made them feel ashamed of their laxity when so much unthreshed grain lay in the fields and barns, and she got them all to promise they would turn over a new leaf not only in their own lives but in the life of the collective farm, to make it one of the best in Moshkovo.

By four in the morning the threshing machine was actually repaired. Krylova did not wait for daylight, which is very late in Siberia. With some girls, she went round to the homes and woke all the young people. Carrying kerosene lanterns in their hands, the youth of Osokino made their way to the threshing machine. Soon it started to groan and hum, boom and roar, and grain poured into the sacks. Krylova herself, rake in hand, worked side by side with the other girls. Good, experienced leader that she was, she knew nothing so stirs followers as personal example. Chaff and dust shrouded her back, face and head, but she worked and worked. By evening they had threshed not 150 but over 200

bushels of "bread." Ten Siberian horse carts drew up, loaded the grain and drove off to the Moshkovo elevator. Everybody felt happy, especially Maria Krylova. She had proved to the youth of Osokino that there are no such things as insurmountable "objective difficulties." It was only a question of getting the right people for the task at hand, of getting the entire community, especially the youth, to support these people, and to see that they had to make the collective farm produce all the bread, potatoes, cabbage, hay, the good earth could yield.

Village Youth—Today and Tomorrow

I HAVE GONE TO SOME LENGTH IN DESCRIBING this girl's business adventure—for that is what it was—in a far away Siberian village because it is so typical of what is happening in wartime Russia. Mobilization has taken away from the farms so many, indeed most, of the best managers, experts, team leaders, that new executive blood has to be poured into the villages. If the army is well fed, if cities and factories know no famine, if the famished, ailing millions in liberated regions get enough bread and soup, and some meat, so that they can recover their strength and start to rehabilitate the devastated homes and farms and factories, it is because the Maria Krylovas all over the country have risen with such courage and energy to the stupendous responsibilities which war has thrust on their youthful shoulders.

When war ends the Krylovas will continue to energize, organize and reorganize village work and life. The armies of youth and older folk who were doing this before 1941 have gone to war, and many of them will not return. Less than ever can Russian youth look forward to a life of leisure and ease, at the end of the war. Work, work, is its slogan, its passion, now; and work must remain its slogan and its passion after the end of the war.

This is true not only of the villages. I am writing this article at a time when Russia is celebrating, even amidst heavy fighting on several fronts, the start of a newly built blast furnace in Magnitogorsk, Russia's greatest steel city in the Ural Mountains. This largest and best equipped blast furnace is not only for Russia but for all Europe. The new furnace will turn out almost as much pig iron as was produced in all the Ural plants before Soviet times.

Youth Builds and Rebuilds

SIGNIFICANTLY ENOUGH, IT HAS BEEN NAMED *Komsomolskaya*, after the Komsomol organization. The reason is that the Central Committee of the Komsomols has been its

so-called guardian and most of the work of building it has been done by the Komsomols—3,000 of them—and others under Komsomol guidance. Boys and girls, who before war days might have been attending school, journeyed by carloads, often trainloads, to Magnitogorsk. They came from all the nearby provinces and territories—from Bashkiria, Chuvash, Vologda, Chkalov. Older workers taught them the trades and crafts needed in building the blast furnace. They worked long hours—they had to. An eight-hour labor day in Russia is now chiefly a memory. After eight months of assiduous toil, the shortest time it has ever taken to build a blast furnace in Russia, the *Komsomolskaya* smoke stacks started to puff, and pig iron to roll.

One of the most highly industrialized regions in the Ukraine before wartimes was Stalin Province in the Donbas (Donets basin). Its twenty-two blast furnaces yielded annually five million tons of pig iron which was more than all Russia produced in 1913, the year of highest industrial achievement in Tsarist Russia. Not one of these furnaces escaped destruction. After the Germans were driven away from Ordzhonikidze, the leading steel city in Stalin Province, the factory buildings lay in ruins; highly prized complicated machinery was reduced to heaps of twisted metal; gigantic electric air blowers were in pieces. Yet under the guidance of two young women engineers—Shtsherbina and Ponomareva—the air blowers were rebuilt and, on December 24, 1943, the first blast furnace to be restored in Ordzhonikidze was set in motion.

In every liberated industrial city, whether in the Ukraine, Central Russia or White Russia, the work of reconstruction has been started; and invariably side by side with older workers are crowds of young people.



As the Red Army calls men to the front, farm girls shoulder new responsibilities

When reconstruction in Stalingrad began, youths by the thousand from everywhere volunteered for work there. Wherever it was found possible to release them from jobs in their home towns they were given the official blessing of the local social organizations and journeyed to the shattered city on the Volga. They are living in barracks, dugouts, tents. Food is not, cannot be, of the best. Besides, Stalingrad is the windiest city in Russia. Most of the work is now outdoors or in shattered, unheated buildings. Yet work goes on unremittingly. Never in any land—most certainly not in Russia—have young people, especially girls, been faced by such overwhelming duties, such prodigious tasks, such grinding labor.

Youth Needs Lipsticks and Books—

YET RUSSIAN YOUTH, DESPITE ITS ARDUOUS toil, is neither over severe in manner, nor sad, nor given much to complaining. Physically, these are sturdy young people. While I was spending a few days recently at an airdrome on the Ukrainian front, a young Siberian flier said to me, "We don't need much, we get along; when better times come after the war we'll get more."

Obtaining cloth for a new dress is a real adventure to a Russian girl. If new hats for women are made anywhere during these wartimes, I haven't heard of the place. Before New Year's, which for the first time since the war was festively celebrated this year, I made the rounds of Moscow's shops. They had received fresh shipments of goods, but mostly for children. There were some new supplies—lipstick, powder, rouge, other toilet articles. Girls bought them—for war or no war, war work or no war work, Russian girls like American girls or any other girls want to appear attractive. Some of them don't mind using lipstick on any and every occasion, even when working in an automobile plant or tank factory or laying bricks for the Kharkov tractor plant.

Russian youth has not as much time to read books as formerly. Besides, books are hard to buy. The moment a new novel, new pamphlet, new hook of sketches and essays appears on the market, it literally melts away.

I have just finished reading a new novel by Boris Gorbатов. The title is "The Unconquered." Every page flames with passionate love of Russia and the Russian people, no less than with passionate hatred of the Germans who have waged the most ruthless, most revolting war that any people ever fought. It is the finest piece of fiction that has yet been written on war-swept Russia. Though the first edition was half a million copies, not a shop in Moscow had



Older workers teach young Russians the skills needed to rebuild shattered factories



"Let's Rebuild Stalingrad—Komsomol Takes Charge"

any for sale the day after it appeared. I got my copy from a Russian friend who happens to be editor of the publishing house. Now my copy, like so many others, is being passed on from one Muscovite to another. Somehow Russians manage to find time to read books.

—and Body-Shaking Laughter

ANOTHER DIVERSION IS THE THEATER. I DON'T mean necessarily attending performances in Moscow, or any other city, of ballet, opera, drama, musical comedy. Tickets are hard to buy. Though about forty-five theaters in Moscow are already open, they are more crowded than ever. There is an overwhelming demand for tickets. But Russian youth will have theater anyway. Amateur theatricals are nowhere in the world more encouraged and more widespread.

What young people especially like in these wartimes is comedy. When away from daily cares and daily toil they want to amuse themselves, to laugh—and how they do laugh at comic situations on the stage! Nothing is farther from the truth than the belief so common in the outside world that Russians are gloomy people. They are never so happy as when they overcome sorrow and despair. The Russia before Soviet days as portrayed in the old Russian literature was inclined to be morose and given to brooding and self-castigation. That was Russia at its least progressive, when educated groups had no immediate tasks to excite their emotions, no daily plans of

work written down in graphs and in figures to occupy their minds and muscles.

Let the reader recall "Baron Tuzenback" in Chekhov's "Three Sisters." He, like all his friends, was overcome by ennui and futility because he did not do any work. Again and again the baron says, "We must work"; but the only work he or any of his friends really did was to talk about work, and about how futile life was.

Recent day Russia, especially youth, knows no such talk or such attitudes. It is bred to work, to plan, to achieve, to build. It knows hardship, sacrifice. But it tolerates neither emptiness nor futility. It also knows the meaning, the fulfillment, the blessing of work.

That is why it also knows the meaning, the fulfillment, the blessing of play, fun, amusement, yes—and laughter as old Russia never knew it.

In Moscow, most theater-goers are young folk and every time I attend a comedy, whether American, English or Russian, I am almost startled by the hearty laughter of the audience. I know no theater audiences anywhere in the world which so resemble our own in their love of body-shaking mirth as the Russian.

The Youth of Novodvorki

NOT FAR FROM TULA, ONE OF RUSSIA'S leading industrial cities, is the village Novodvorki. There were few men in the village, young or old. When the Germans laid siege to Tula, the village had the scare



Metropolitan Museum of Art
"200 Percent Bullet Production"

of its life. But the Germans never could take Tula and had to retreat.

There was no community center or club house (as the Russians speak of it) there, and the young people decided to build one. The collective farm turned over to them an old uninhabitable house. The young people, mostly girls, went to the forest, cut timber and hauled it home. They made bricks out of mud and straw. By the time winter came they had a cozy whitewashed community center with a large oven and, of course, a stage. Under the leadership of a girl named Polina Timoshina, they wrote plays, composed their own songs, sewed their own costumes, and invented their own dances. During 1943, they gave sixty-seven performances and they plan to give more in 1944.

Winters in Novodvorki are so severe, with snow so deep and winds so fierce that wolves seek refuge in caves and sometimes in straw stacks in the fields. But the people of the village gather in their heated clubhouse for dance and choral recitals, and above all for amateur theatricals.

Now and then sad news reaches some home. A father or brother has been killed in action. There are tears, of course, loud and prolonged. But Polina Timoshina keeps the clubhouse going and life in Novodvorki, always hard, often sorrowful, has its compensations, its cheer and forgetfulness, its hope of a better tomorrow.

There are many Novodvorkis in Russia's farflung rural regions.

The Soviets and the New Technology

Here is a vast frontier of common interest and understanding—of social and economic techniques applied to the scientific discoveries of the electric age.

MARY VAN KLEECK

FROM FEUDALISM BEFORE 1917 TO GOELRO in 1920—the State Electrification Plan ratified by the Congress of Soviets in December of that year—Russians skipped a century in industrial history. That plan lifted the sights of their economic organization out of eighteenth century peasant and craftsman techniques (with only minor development of factories from the age of steam) into the electrified production of twentieth century technology.

On the long battleline in western Russia, modern warfare is exemplifying the use of this new technology developed so extraordinarily since the last war. Engines, tanks, airplanes, high explosives, and the means of their transport are all products of scientific discoveries of the comparatively recent past. Day by day, since the present war began, scientists in the Soviet Union have been busy discovering new resources, devising new materials, designing new implements, new instruments, and solving new problems as they arise in war production.

ON JUNE 22, 1941, ON A SUNNY MORNING in the mountains near the Polar North, the Seventh Polar Scientific Conference of Soviet Geologists was scheduled to begin at twelve noon. Its task was to create a metallurgical center, the largest in the North, on the rich iron ore beds recently discovered there. Ways were to be found to use tremendous reserves of the mineral cyanite, which is important in making aluminum. Agriculture was to be developed on the seventieth parallel, beyond the Arctic Circle, to provide ample food for 300,000 people. Peaceful construction was to be developed where, before the Soviet Union was established, no man had trod.

Exactly at noon, over the radio came the voice of Molotov, announcing that Hitler's armies had treacherously attacked the Soviet country. Instantly the conference was turned into a military meeting. The new task was to defend the northern region. One scientist was sent to industrial enterprises, to speed up supplies for production of strategic raw materials. Others went to state and collective farms, to advise on increasing raw foodstuffs. Years of polar experience laid the basis for practical application of scientific discoveries.

Scientists Go to War

AMONG THOSE GATHERED THERE WAS Alexander Fersman, subsequently winner of a First Stalin Prize of 200,000 rubles in geological and geographical sciences, member of the Academy of Sciences, and director of the Institute for Geological Sciences.

Writing in 1942 of the work of the scientists, he showed that everywhere, as in the Polar North, men and women had turned from research in peace to the task of applying their accumulated knowledge in the work of the nation at war. Always Soviet scientists had learned to work together, but in wartime they discovered, as he said, that "the combined method of analysis was absolutely essential in order that every scientific discovery might be carried out to the very end so that it might be applied quickly to industry and transport." For instance, new sources of niobium (columbium), discovered in the southern Urals, called for cooperative investigation by geologists, chemists and metallurgists, as well as prospectors, surveyors, and economists, in order to build up the smelting of this element to make special kinds of armor plate.

Other problems, Dr. Fersman pointed out, in which geologists and mineralogists cooperated with other scientists, as well as with technologists and architects, were blackouts and anti-aircraft defense; transfer of mineral and chemical industries from the invaded regions to the areas east of the Urals; provision of shelter and food for millions of evacuated workers; and the discovery and development of new sources of energy as well as new materials. Thus the supply of tungsten, needed for armor-piercing steel, was doubled.

Not only were specific discoveries or inventions thus stimulated; but science itself was transformed. In geography, for ex-

—By the director of industrial studies of the Russell Sage Foundation, which has just brought out "Technology and Livelihood," the findings of an incisive and comprehensive inquiry she has carried out (in collaboration with Mary L. Flédderus) into "the changing basis for production as affecting employment and living standards." Her other books include "Miners and Management" (1934); "Creative America" (1936).

A research economist, Miss van Kleeck served in the Ordnance Department in Washington in World War I, and later directed the Women in Industry Service of the U. S. Department of Labor. Associate director of the International Industrial Relations Institute at The Hague (its headquarters since razed by the Nazis), she was chairman of the program committee of the World Social Economic Congress (1931); president of the Second International Conference of Social Work (1932).

ample, the learning of names of islands, continents, and towns gave place to a new and profound scientific discipline. Actually, wrote this Stalin Prize geographer:

"It was just in these years of war that we first understood the might and power of this science. An understanding of the geography of our country and a correct valuation of it enabled us systematically to transfer our economy to various geographical districts where it could be developed rationally from the point of view of raw materials, energy, water supply, and military invulnerability."

Likewise the sciences of geology and geography laid the basis for war itself, the distribution of strategic raw materials, and the use of the earth's surface for military operations.

Innumerable other illustrations could be given of the devoted enlistment of scientists in the service of the nation. Mathematicians emerged from profound theoretical problems to apply the theory of probability to calculation of the flight of shells and to evolve correct methods of shooting. To replace a valuable import, Peruvian balsam, used in the treatment of wounded soldiers, chemists developed a substitute with equal curative powers. Soviet scientists specializing in aerodynamics are said to have surpassed western European research workers in the theory of calculating the profile of airplane wings and fuselage in order to minimize the resistance of the air in flight, an important factor in the success of war aviators.

No less important, and perhaps even more significant, was the contribution of Stalin Prizewinners hitherto unknown to the academic world, who as workers devised improvements in techniques of labor. A locomotive driver, E. Lunin, introduced new methods of engine care which cut down roundhouse repairs. Ways to utilize the power and capacity of machine tools were devised by a milling-machine operator, D. Bosyin. In the mines, L. Semivolis and I. Yankin improved methods of drilling that increased production of fuel for power and heat.

Science and Organization

THE BODY OF KNOWLEDGE AVAILABLE IN the world today for use in production, which is called technology, is not merely the sum of many new mechanical inventions. It is an integrated and developing system, with its source in the new productive force, electricity. In turn, electric power has evoked a new science of chemistry, which develops metallurgy with all

its power to transform and enhance the earth's elements and raw materials. This new chemistry depends upon the power of electricity to create the excessive heat necessary for chemical processes and this to a degree impossible and unthinkable in the age of steam. The soil itself can be made over, yielding beyond the dreams of the past, by fertilization and irrigation resulting from these new productive forces of electricity and chemistry.

These selfsame modern resources have provided science with today's new instruments and new controls in the laboratory, substituting for human observation and judgment precise measurements which continue to make possible ever new discoveries for extending man's mastery over his environment.

While many processes have thus become independent of man's hand and to a large extent his direct observation, production itself, paradoxically, perhaps, has become more and more dependent upon an element which man alone can supply—namely, organization. In war, organization has had to develop on a new level, coordinating all factors and timing all operations toward the one aim of victory, both in production and on the far-flung fighting fronts. But what determines victory, if both sides possess resources, if both have access to the new technology and have learned the necessity for organization in production and military operations? The answer to this question may well prove to be the great lesson of the war and the guiding principle of peace.

The New Planning

THE SOVIET UNION WAS ABLE TO WITHSTAND and throw back its aggressor in this war because its leaders early recognized the basis of the new technology in the electric power age. The 1920 plan for electrification was a fifteen-year, countrywide program for technical and economic reconstruction and development—the starting point for all subsequent plans. The new government conceived itself as an agency to bring forth and administer productivity in the new age of electric power. The formula which related political and economic organization to the new technology was Lenin's:

"Communism equals Soviet government plus electrification."

As a unit of government, a soviet is a group or council representing men and women in their workplaces. In its simplest meaning, then, the Soviet Union is itself a form of workers' organization, and in Lenin's formula the workers' soviets were charged with the development of electric power as the basis for industrialization and the enhancement of agricultural production.

GOELRO thus committed the nation to electrified production, but two years earlier (April 6, 1918), Lenin had written a letter of instruction to the Academy of Sciences, calling upon it to draw up at once "a plan for the speediest possible reorganization of industry and the economic life of Russia." The plan, he charged, must provide for "ra-

tional distribution of industries" with relation to raw materials, and the "least possible loss of labor in all the consecutive stages." Particular attention was to be devoted to "electrification of industry and transport and the application of electricity in agriculture." While such a plan of reconstruction looked toward a long future, its immediate aim was to enable "the Russian Soviet Republic in its present state (without the Ukraine and without the territory occupied by the Germans)" to provide itself with essential raw materials and industrial equipment. Thus, within a few months after the Revolution, a plan had to be made for getting along in 1918 as in 1941—and for the same reason, German invasion—without the great Ukrainian resources and under conditions calling for defense against an enemy holding part of its territory.

From the very beginning, Soviet Russia was compelled to reconstruct and develop its industries with the twofold purpose of providing for its population and preparing the nation to defend itself against intervention and war. This twofold purpose established the aims of planning. The long range aim was to develop resources for the people and to construct a new society. The shorter aim was to make the nation independent of supplies or equipment from abroad, and to accomplish this, as rapidly as possible.

In February 1921, the State Planning Commission (GOSPLAN) came into being. Its first plans were partial, to provide for great deficiencies. Not until 1925 was it possible to bring them into a single system called the "control figures" of 1925-1926. The assumption was that established trends and relations of the past would continue into the future. By 1927, however, not a forecast but a *program to be realized* was adopted, and planning agencies were developed throughout the country.

Planning was twofold: centralized for each branch of production which was of "all-union importance"; and localized for the community—village, city, or district.

The Three Five-Year Plans

The First Five-Year Plan, drafted in tentative form in the autumn of 1926, finally covered the period 1928-1933. It was concentrated upon industrialization and upon collectivization of agriculture.

The Second Five-Year Plan, 1933-1937, continued the development of industrialization and witnessed a great expansion in the productivity of agriculture, while at the same time it called for developing consumer goods industries much more rapidly than had been possible in the first stages of building the basic industrial equipment.

The Third Five-Year Plan, from 1938 on, has special significance in relation to war. So successful had been the earlier plans, that in 1937 more than 80 percent of the industrial output was produced in plants deliberately built or entirely reconstructed in the interval. Soviet industry in that year manufactured nearly 90 percent of all tractors and combines used in its agricul-

ture. As a tractor can be easily converted into a tank, this development of capacity for manufacturing modern "plowshares" is seen to have been direct preparation for transforming them into modern swords.

Before the present war, the first and second plans had actually laid the basis for the productive forces of modern technology—electric power, fuel, and machinery.

In the new and third five-year span the largest growth was scheduled for the chemical industries, so that it was characterized as "the Five-Year Plan of Chemistry." The report announcing it, in January, 1939—which was given by Molotov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, of which the GOSPLAN is an organ—declared that the USSR had become economically independent, with all the necessary technical equipment provided for the national economy and for its defense forces. Soviet industry, according to the report, held first place in the world for its speed of development.

Nevertheless, reckoning the point from which Soviet planning had started this rapid rate of advance, the report stated that the nation had not yet caught up with more developed countries in terms of output per capita of population. Further expansion was called for in technical equipment, especially machine building; so were advances in organization combined with extensive introduction of scientific discoveries and inventions. Labor discipline and labor productivity were to be improved. Production of consumer goods and food-stuffs, together with real wages, should be advanced. In accordance with a long time view, large reserves were to be established, particularly in fuel and electric power, while transport was to be further developed and more widely distributed.

Thus we see why, when war came, the Soviets needed our aid and that of Britain. It was their organization which enabled them to use our mounting stream of supplies.

Workers' Participation

THE PRECISE POSITION GIVEN TO WORKERS in the organization and day-to-day administration of Soviet industry was not clearly defined in advance, nor was it foreseen in detail by many of the Russians themselves. Organization of the labor force and the functioning of its individual members in the workshop were gradually developed as experience was gained. Today, it is in the plan itself and no less in its social techniques and concepts that the real significance of technology in the Soviet Union is revealed.

It was during the first five-year period that the function of workers in planning was definitely established. The new technique was called counter-planning. This meant that after the first draft of a plan had been made by the State Planning Commission it was transmitted through all the planning organizations to the workplace, where committees of the workers discussed it in detail as affecting their own industry and workshop performance. The result almost invariably was an increase in the

scheduled rate of output. This was often coupled with requests for better equipment, increased mechanization, or other changes which the workers considered necessary for effective production. Thereafter, in the carrying out of the plan, production figures displayed in the workplaces day by day and wide discussion of the progress made in carrying out the plan, served to enlist practically the whole labor force in the development of the planned economy.

Technology and its automatic processes are supposed to displace individual skill. Nevertheless, because it is based on science and calls for a high degree of direction, coordination, integration, and often synchronization, the whole group of workers is drawn into a highly scientific system of production. An associated community of workers, not the individual or the family, must be the producing unit. What shall be produced, how much, where, and when, requires decisions made for each industry or unit in relation to all other branches. A man's labor power can no longer be expended effectively in isolation. The individual, therefore, becomes more rather than less important, because of the dependence of the group upon each of its members for quantity and quality.

Krzhizhanovsky, first chairman of the GOSPLAN, said: "Above all, the organization of the workers is the task of the workers themselves." He enumerated various devices and conditions in the workshop:

"The multiple shift system of labor in conjunction with a shortened working day, uninterrupted production, counter-plans, the social tow-rope, workers' nuclei of rationalization and invention, and lastly the rapidly increasing participation of workers in the administrative and executive organizations—all this upsets previous productive relations, which converted the relations between men into relations between things."

By "social tow-rope" he referred to the brigades who "joined together to see that the job passes through the various shops in the process of production with the greatest dispatch."

While the Russian Revolution took it for granted that a workers' republic was to be established, what had to be developed was the knowledge and initiative of the workers' in each unit of the economy. This was not limited to the workplace. Visiting in 1932 the Park for Culture and Rest in Moscow and watching the people enjoy sports, dancing, concerts, and other forms of recreation, we were struck with a large sign over a building housing an industrial exhibit. This read: "While you are in the park, do not forget technique." Children in the schools, men and women in their meetings, are kept informed of the progress in production.

Science itself is widely diffused in the population, and the workers participate in its applications. Wrote Krzhizhanovsky, in 1931, in describing "The Basis of the Technological Economic Plan of Reconstruction of the USSR":

"The relations between science and the toiling masses are entering on a new and higher plane, which guarantees the expansion of science as well as the unprecedented effectiveness of labor. The Soviet government is not only revolutionizing the forms of organization of labor in its simplest categories, but it also necessarily assigns a leading role to technical and scientific workers."

In the task of general education, the plan itself is a great teacher, for each worker can find from it the position of his industry, his workplace, his own individual output. The trade unions and the cooperatives, each with specific tasks and responsibilities, are also educators. The members of the Communist Party employed throughout industry are expected to be leaders and teachers day by day as problems arise.

Clearly, none of this teaching, however, could have availed, had it not been for the capacity of the workers to respond and to learn. They justified that confidence in the masses of the people which distinguishes the true democrat everywhere in the world.

Science, War, and People

AS THE RUSSIANS SEE IT, THE SCIENCE OF society includes all other sciences. The social economic plan is an application of this concept in that it provides for the organization and promotion of science in all its branches, for the training and development of scientists, and for drawing on scientific research for guidance. Testimony to the vital importance of this concept in war was given in a paper, "The War and Social Science," read at a session of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR by Professor Georgui Alexandrov in May, 1942:

"Social science justifies its calling only when it furnishes correct answers not only to questions of past history, but to questions of the most urgent actual everyday importance which confront the peoples and states of the epoch."

By way of illustration, he described the interpretations given by Stalin at various stages of the war, in contrast with mistaken interpretations abroad, and declared: "It is well known what a colossal role the Stalin analysis played in the development of military operations, in the transition of the Red Army from defense to attack, and in the mobilization of the forces of our people, the forces of all freedom-loving people, for the rout of the enemy."

Had the will and knowledge necessary for the use of the new technology in the USSR been limited to a few at the top, Soviet production in all likelihood could not have met the test of war. With its unprecedented requirements, war called for understanding and initiative by all the people. In highly developed areas, coal mines, power stations, blast furnaces, and factories were appropriated and many of them eventually destroyed by the Nazi invaders. It was as a consequence of long time planning that new bases had already been established east of the Urals and as far away as Siberia. Plans had been made even in Lenin's time to decentralize industry, while retain-

ing the principle of integration. What in Russia is called an industrial "combine" signifies just such an organization of production around widely spread centers. And when war came, instead of long lines of anxious and leaderless refugees, Russia demonstrated the possibilities of planned and organized evacuation together with tools and machines to be set up in regions far enough away to be safe. Meanwhile, agricultural areas to the east had already attained a new productivity.

With the turn of the tide toward Russian victory came the new task, now promptly being met, of restoring the industries of liberated areas, of providing the machinery, seeds, and tools, that will enable people in the shortest possible time to start production again for both civilian and war needs.

International Cooperation

WHAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE DONE IN THEIR own country is a forecast of what they will deem immediately necessary for the welfare of peoples everywhere.

Let me turn back to Krzhizhanovsky's report. In that, he quoted from an address given at the World Power Conference in Berlin by an engineer (not a Russian) who advocated "the construction of an all-European system of electrical transmission. This system was to cover an area from Lisbon to Rostov latitudinally and from the waterfalls of Norway to southern Dalmatia and Italy longitudinally. . . . It would enable Europe to increase its utilization of electrical energy to the level of the present production of electrical energy in the United States." This enormous electrical unit was described as "crossing national boundaries and uniting the water power of Norway and Italy, the lignite of Germany, the coal of Poland, the coal of the Donets basin, the water power of the Dnieper, and the power stations in Portugal and Spain."

Krzhizhanovsky, himself an engineer, declared that such a project "deals not with the fantastic, but with the real potentialities of contemporary electro-energy." Such a plan was far from realization in Europe even before the war. Western Europe failed to develop new resources internationally to enhance their people's living standards. Meanwhile, the fascist nations prepared for wars of aggression to get hold of the developed resources of others.

If we recognize that electricity is the new gift of science to humanity, Lenin's formula might be restated in this way as a program for reconstruction: Democracy calls for representative government plus electrification—if the people are to get their rights to the higher standards of life made possible in this new age of electric power.

The present frontier of unity between the United States and Soviet Russia does not lie in political ideas nor in economic organization. It lies definitely in the body of knowledge based on science which is called technology; and in the opportunity which peace should bring to extend the use of that knowledge—for the common good.



Courtesy American Russian Cultural Association
Coal miner



Factory worker

Sovfoto



Guerrilla



Farm worker

Sovfoto

SOVIET WOMEN have been continuing their old activities in wartime, and stepping into new ones as well

"Those Russian Women"

How Soviet women are making new and swift gains in training and status, as they play their mounting part in Russia's war effort.

ROSE MAURER

IN THE THIRTIES, IT DID NOT TAKE HITLER to make Julia Polyakova a metallurgical engineer, or Anna Shchetinina the captain of a sea-going ship; to make Zinaida Troitskaya a railroad chief, or Maria Kosogorova a coal mine director. But in the Forties, the need to defeat "women's greatest enemy" was back of it when Maria Nikitina took over her husband's job of breaking semi-wild horses on a stud farm in Central Asia, and back of it when Maria Frolova became a "Tugboat Annie" whose woman crew on the Volga read fan mail from grateful Red Army men to whom they have passed the ammunition.

Soviet women have been continuing in wartime their old activities and striding to new ones as well. And their names are as diverse as their jobs. We Americans have said "Russian women" so long that we forget that three out of ten of them are not even Slavs let alone Russians. That is why Soviet women are helping disprove not only the universal myth about a weaker race but the Nazi myth about racial superiority.

Half buried talents have been put to a variety of uses. Julia Rokoshevskaya, wife of the famous Stalingrad defender, heads one of the women's councils concerned with mail to Red Army families. Valentina Grizobova flies a bombing plane. Professor Maria Krontovskaya experiments with anti-phos virus vaccine. Meanwhile, women composers—among them Nina Makarova, Zinaida Arzhanova, and Vera Gerchik—write songs for soldiers and civilians. Katerina Vinogradskaya prepares a movie script on women's war work. Ballerina Olga Lepeshinskaya dances in a rickety shed within sound of artillery. Nina Dumbadze trains Red Army men to throw hand grenades. Natalia Dmitrievna designs a ship and it is built amid falling bombs by girls in their pens.

So it goes, while farther afield, Alla Kulikova serves as ship's doctor on a Soviet vessel that carries cargo to and from American ports. Anna Babushkina ferries American planes from Alaska to the Russian front. Nazly Mamedova goes underground to repair oil machinery in Baku. Basharat Mirbabaeva is a machinist on the Tashkent railway.

Women at the Rear

THIRTY MILLION SOVIET WOMEN WERE AT work in factory and field when the Nazis struck; but more were called once the men were mobilized. After waving goodbye to the troop train, Katya or Mtsazzama or Sara had to dry her eyes. A job was waiting for her, a job that was to make the Red

Army victories possible. Usually it was one she had never tried before. Often it was her husband's job or her brother's or her son's—and perhaps he had given her a few days of training before he left. She may have been a stenographer or a weaver or a dairy-maid, but here were obligations toward a huge vat of molten steel, here to a pneumatic drill, there to a formidable tractor.

And she had to master them quickly. The Nazis were capturing White Russian, Ukrainian, Baltic towns; drawing closer; bombing the factory in which she worked, bombing her children's school, bombing the theaters and movies that had become part of her life. Time was of the essence, and the Soviets could give thanks that so many millions of their women were already skilled and literate, familiar with machinery, psychologically prepared for entering callings once regarded as men's.

Moreover, the Soviet women did not have to waste precious hours in fighting for equal pay for equal work. The principle was specifically embodied in their constitution and its application was enforced in the Arctic and the Crimea, on land and sea.

Neither did they have to argue for the need of nurseries, kindergartens, hot school lunches, after-school recreation centers in order to enable them to put their energies into production. Such child care institutions were already fixtures of the educational system; the problem was one of expansion. Nor did they have to fight against race discrimination. They did not have to choose between job and baby. The peacetime protections of the pregnant woman and the nursing mother were retained as ready-made solutions for some of the problems aggravated by war.

The Soviet woman was not unprepared for the thought of war and its hardships. It had been the nightmare of her existence for two decades. But she was unprepared for the wanton cruelty displayed by Nazis which the Soviet press was quick to record. Thousands of miles from the fighting lines

—By an American woman who spent two years (1935-7) in the USSR, her special study the progress and education of the "new women" of Russia. Back in the USA, Miss Maurer has lectured widely, written many newspaper and magazine articles, edited the weekly bulletin, *Russia at War*, and recently prepared two pamphlets for the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, "Soviet Health Care in Peace and War," "Soviet Children and Their Care."

women volunteered as Red Cross nurses, doctors, telephone operators, chauffeurs, clerks. Even before the 1942 decrees made women between the ages of sixteen and forty-five liable for mobilization into war industry and those fourteen to fifty into agricultural work, it was the rare housewife who was not active in some war effort from scrap collection up. Since those decrees, women outnumber men in factory and field.

Women beyond the mobilization age have volunteered for work. "Sorrow is a fearful ailment," they say, "and we mothers have no right to be ailing now." Moreover, the age at which life begins anew has been pushed up to sixty for Anna Ivanovna who returned to the mill from which she had already been pensioned; to seventy-two for Grandmother Alexandria Rychkova who leads a children's group in fuel collection.

Women were already active in administration—half a million of them serving as deputies in local soviets. Now, by the thousands, they are taking special courses to prepare themselves for the headship of collective farms, and local soviets. Mikhail Kalinin, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, urged that more positions of responsibility be entrusted to eighteen-year-old-girls, especially in the villages.

More remarkable than the numerical increase of women at work is the productivity they are achieving in the face of severe food rationing, long working hours, old and limited equipment. The women who followed Zhaken Mukanova into the Karaganda coal mines are developing a new and greater efficiency. Anastasia Reztsova's tractor brigade more than doubled its quota, even though the night shift in the blackout had to use each previous furrow as guide to the next. There is no sentimentality about women who fall down on their job; they are ousted.

After putting in long hard days of work, Soviet women can be seen in their free hours awaiting their turn in the blood-donor stations. Most of the life-giving transfusions come from the veins of women. They collect funds for new surgical equipment and also devote free time to visiting wounded men in the hospitals and doing little services for them. They fight incendiary bombs, patrol factory yards, study military skills.

Women at the Front

WOMEN AND EVEN CHILDREN VOLUNTEERED for the worker battalions which were quickly formed when Leningrad, Moscow, Stalingrad and other cities were in danger. The

(Continued on page 152)

Soviet Health Lines Ahead

Pushed out unceasingly since the Revolution, they helped meet the shock of invasion and siege and have moved forward into the future along with the armies of deliverance.

JOHN A. KINGSBURY

THE OPERATIONS OF THE RED ARMY MEDICAL Service begin under fire and immediately behind the lines. What Soviet scientists, physicians, surgeons, nurses and laboratory workers have discovered, organized, applied in World War II is bound to count for years on end in conserving life and health.

Before World War I, Russians had the highest respect for German medicine; since the Revolution they have been turning more and more to the United States in this field, as in industry. "American surgery ranks above all," writes one Soviet expert. "The experience of our American colleagues is indispensable to us." This admiration has been enhanced by the quality of instruments and medical supplies which in the last two years have reached them steadily through Russian War Relief from "the land of technical miracles."

Their feeling has been reciprocated on this side of the Atlantic. In a recent address, Dr. Thomas Parran, surgeon general of the U. S. Public Health Service, remarked how our estimates of the Soviet Union have had to be altered drastically—estimates of its military might and of its industrial power to sustain that. But neither, he pointed out, would have been possible without a high degree of skill and development in the medical sciences that preserve well-being and treat the ravages of disease and injury. He added that the record of those sciences in the Soviet Union, "under fire and in disaster attest to the fact that the scalpels and the test tubes of Pirogov, Mechnikov, and Pavlov are in worthy, capable hands."

The Trail of Wounded Men

MUCH MORE THAN THE PRACTICE OF SURGERY is involved. What more? We have both Russian and American sources to turn to. Thus, Dr. Yefin I. Smirnov, chief of the Red Army Medical Administration, reports:

"During the first World War stretcher-bearers as a rule set out to pick up the wounded after heavy action was over, usually by night. The result was that many died after lying on the field six or eight hours without assistance—died not of their wounds but of loss of blood or the rapid spread of infection. . . . In the Red Army a strict rule has prevailed since the first day of the war. The wounded are carried off the battlefield immediately, regardless of enemy fire. More than 60 percent are given surgical attention in the front line zone."

Medical orderlies work singly, crawling

across the fields while fighting is going on and retrieving the wounded on their backs.

Nearly all these orderlies are young women. Field nurses remove the wounded to a close-in Battalion Medical Point before they are taken on to the Regimental Medical Point—within three miles of the scene of engagement. There they are given detailed medical attention to check hemorrhage, counteract shock, inject preventive serum, and immobilize injured extremities. Preventive work is completed at the Divisional Medical Point farther back, but within six miles of the advanced fighting lines.

Except for pressing cases, surgical operations are performed at one of two later stages. Serious wounds and injuries to the nervous system, major injuries to eyes, ears, jaws, or limbs are operated upon at specialized field hospitals. "All surgical operations, no matter how difficult or complicated," writes Dr. Smirnov, "are feasible under field conditions in such a center."

Airplane ambulances provide a short cut from the primary field units to the specialized hospitals and from evacuation clearing points to base hospitals. For shorter trips in various stages of treatment, ordinary ambulances are used (often heated, because of frost), and dog sleds and propeller sledges are resorted to in winter. To complete the picture, hospitals for contagious diseases are situated at troop con-

—By a Kansas born, Seattle bred, trail blazer of health moves and measures since he promoted a tuberculosis campaign for the New York State Charities Aid Association in 1909.

This was true in turn of his work as director of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor and as commissioner of public charities in New York City. As secretary of the Milbank Fund, he initiated its impressive health demonstrations and the same concern ran through his countrywide work for the WPA in the Thirties.

His interest in Russia goes back to his findings (see text), as co-author of "Red Medicine" and his bent for initiative played a creative part in organizing the Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the Committee for Medical Aid to Russia, precursor of Russian War Relief.

Along with Serbian and French decorations for overseas work, he is one of the few laymen to be elected an Associate Fellow of the New York Academy of Medicine.

centration points and in areas where reserve troops are training at the rear.

The New Battle of Blood

LET ME SHARE WITH YOU THE STORY OF one emergency case. To get this wounded man, a girl medical orderly had crawled under bullet fire across the littered field, from tree stump to foxhole and on again. She reached him, only to realize it would do no good to crawl back with him to the medical unit. He would be dead of shock or loss of blood, or both, before they reached it. Dragging, pulling, carrying, she maneuvered the inert body into a foxhole. Crouching down, she got out of her trench packet a Seltsovsky ampule, with its sterilized rubber tube, its needle and filter. This was filled with 200 small cc. of blood of the so-called zero or "universal" group. A few minutes later, the girl orderly watched the color creep back into the wounded man's cheeks; then came his even breathing and the return of a rhythmic pulse.

Long before the invasion, blood transfusion was a subject of Russian research and had found wide currency in medical institutions. Methods for preserving blood were evolved more than a decade ago and were considerably perfected before war broke out. At present, the glucose-citrate method, which makes possible protracted storage, is the chief one employed in the Soviet Union through a network of stations which has been extended all along the 2,000-mile front of the Red Army. The amount of blood transfused in a single month can only be measured in tons.

Another of the Horsemen

THE SUCCESS OF THE RED ARMY'S ANTI-epidemic service hangs on its structural organization. This service has laboratories and departments in all military areas, on every front and with every army. Disinfection companies and contagious disease hospitals insure isolation and proper treatment of patients.

Meanwhile, nineteen-car bath and laundry trains cruise up and down the Russian front. These were built with funds donated by the civilians. Soldiers enter at one end of the train and shed their clothes. In the next car they receive towels, soap, and a cluster of twigs. With these, in a steam bath in the adjoining car, they beat themselves to increase the circulation of the blood. Ancient custom thus becomes a handmaiden of science. Still another car provides showers. Uniforms and underclothing will have been disinfected, and

returned to them laundered, before they relax in a lounge car. Emerging at the far end of the train, they are ready to go to the rear on leave without danger of infection, or back to the front from which they have had this brief respite.

"Giving a man who has lived in a trench a hot bath is A-1 medicine and the Russians have cashed in on it," in the opinion of Col. Eliot C. Cutler, M.D., chief consulting surgeon, European Theater of Operations. Colonel Cutler spent some weeks last summer as a member of an official mission through which Allied medical officers surveyed the Russian military medical service. He and his colleagues were permitted to see everything they desired. It bears on the Red Army measures I have singled out for mention, that they found Soviet care of the lightly wounded excellent—as was shown by a record of 76 per cent restored to service.

Back of Wartime Performance

THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION of Russian wartime medicine would not have been possible except for the solid foundations laid in the last quarter century. For in planning, and to a large extent in accomplishment, the Soviet Union long since brought its system of medicine and public health to first rank—at once more comprehensive and more unified than that of any other country in the world.

This is a sweeping generalization, but it is based on comparative surveys in the most advanced nations, made by an appraiser of unrivaled qualifications—Sir Arthur Newsholme, M.D., who for many years was Principal Medical Officer of Health of England and Wales.

In some of these surveys I had the privilege of participating, notably that in Russia just a decade ago. Ten years is a long time in the Soviet Union, but I have kept closely in touch with developments. Even since the Nazi invasion, a flow of scientific papers and reports have reached me from the Commissariat of Public Health at Moscow and from the Soviet Society of Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

In his assessment, Sir Arthur Newsholme did not say that the Soviet system excels at all points. Its excellence lies in respect to the promotion of positive health (including recreation, physical education, mass health education); and in the emphasis placed on disease prevention and health protection. It excels with respect to facilities for diagnosis and treatment of disease (including health centers, special clinics for tuberculosis and venereal diseases, institutes for the protection of motherhood, infancy, and childhood). These and many other indispensable activities have been extended throughout the USSR under the direction of the All-Union People's Commissariat of Public Health, which establishes all policies and coordinates all health facilities and health activities.

No other public health authority in the world has such great responsibilities and such vast powers.



American surgical instruments, sent by Russian War Relief, in use on a Soviet destroyer

Moreover, the rate of development of health facilities in the Soviet Union in the past twenty-five years has exceeded that of any other country if measured not only by increase in budget but by such indices as increase in the number of hospital beds, medical schools and research institutes, or number of doctors and research workers.

Let me give you the figures: In 1928, the health budget of the USSR had grown to 660,000,000 rubles; ten years later it was 9,433,000,000. . . . From 1931 to 1941, the number of hospital beds (city and village) increased from 142,310 to 661,431; maternity beds from 6,824 to 141,873.

In 1913, Tsarist Russia has roughly 20,000 physicians; by 1928 that number had more than trebled in Soviet Russia and by 1941 reached 130,348. Dr. Henry E. Sigerist of Johns Hopkins is authority for the statement that the progress was not only in quantity but also in quality. And in spite of the Nazi invasion, by 1943 the number had risen to 168,000—65 percent of them women.

There are 51 medical, 12 dental, and 9 pharmaceutical schools in the USSR. The medical course covers a five-year period supplemented by three years in rural practice. Practitioners are required every three years to pursue postgraduate work which is provided free by the government. Over a thousand schools now train what is called middle medical personnel, including *feldshers* (medical assistants), midwives, nurses, and dentists.

Let me add that not only medical training, but pharmaceutical, medical, and dental industries are under the direct supervision of the People's Commissariat of Health. Patent medicines and fake drugs, which in other countries waste millions of

dollars apart from the harm they often inflict, are inconceivable in the USSR.

The Right to Health

THE HEALTH PROGRAM OF THE SOVIET Union has developed from the conviction that every man, woman and child is entitled to health care. In 1936 that right was guaranteed in Chapter X of the new Constitution.

Article 119 provides that "The citizens of the USSR have the right to rest and leisure . . . insured by . . . the institution of annual vacations with full pay for workers and employes, and the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes, and clubs for the accommodation of the working people."

Article 120 provides that "Citizens of the USSR have the right to maintenance . . . in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work." This right has been made good by the extensive development of social insurance of workers and employes at state expense, free medical service, and a wide network of health resorts for the use of working people.

Article 122 provides for "state protection of the interests of mother and child, pre-maternity and maternity leave with full pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries, kindergartens."

That these constitutional guarantees are not empty promises, or kept at unimaginative bureaucratic levels, is borne out by the activities carried on throughout the Soviet Union not only by the All-Union Commissariat but also by the corresponding Health Commissariats of the constituent Republics. Specialized programs and facilities are in the

(Continued on page 150)



Sovfoto

The recent visit of the Church of England to the Russian Orthodox Church. Seated: the Metropolitan Alexis of Leningrad, the Archbishop of York and Patriarch Sergius, the Metropolitan Nicolai of Kiev

Spiritual Resurgence in Soviet Russia

A force in resisting Nazi invasion, religion has survived the throes of Revolution, onslaughts of militant atheism, and the transformation of an entire social order.

HELEN ISWOLSKY

THE ELECTION OF THE PATRIARCH IN MOSCOW early last September, together with the later meeting there of the Ecclesiastical Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, mark a reversal of the Soviet's anti-religious policy. Even more, they register the resurgence of spiritual forces in Russia.

The importance of these forces had been realized by the Soviet government before the official reestablishment of the Patriarch. As the menace of German aggression grew, Marshal Stalin sought to revive Russian national feeling. He turned to the country's historic past, and discovered in the heroes of ancient Russia the great patriotic virtues which he wished to offer as a model to the Soviet people under the stress of invasion and war.

Peter the Great was of course one of those he picked out; Marshal Kutuzov another, who defeated Napoleon on Russian soil; and General Suvorov, field marshal of Catherine the Great. But along with them Stalin cited princes and leaders of the church.

Among these, none was greater than Alexander Nevsky, who in the thirteenth century defended Russia against the Teutonic Knights—ancestors of some of the present day Germans. The drive of these heavily armored warriors in the Middle

—By the author of "Soul of Russia" (1943) which like her "Light Before Dusk" (1942) was written since coming to America from France. Known here as a lecturer, her earlier books "Soviet Man Now" and "Soviet Women" were tinged with prophecies come true. In a novel centering on Rasputin, "Blind Kings," she had dipped into history in collaboration with Joseph Kassels—who has just left France after his work in the Underground Movement.

Miss Iswolsky is the daughter of the late Alexander Iswolsky, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1906-10 and Ambassador to France during the first World War. An Orthodox Russian, she became a Catholic in 1923, but of the Eastern Rite, and has taken an active interest in the problem of union between Catholics and Orthodox.

Agas reminds us of the *Blitzkrieg* of a modern panzer division. They suffered a crushing defeat at Nevsky's hands on icebound Lake Tchud (Peipus). This marked Russian unity at a time when the country, still under the Mongol yoke, was threatened with dismemberment by her Western

neighbors, the Teutons and the Swedes.

Alexander Nevsky was not only a courageous soldier and an astute statesman; he was a great Christian Prince who inscribed on his banner the famous motto: "God is not in strength but in truth." When he died, the Metropolitan of Russia declared: "The sun of the Russian land hath set." He was canonized and became one of Russia's most honored saints.

A hundred years later, Dmitri Donskoi defeated the Mongols who had held Russia for two centuries—a victory which is one of the landmarks of her history. Like Alexander, Dmitri was a Christian prince, who had been educated by Alexis, Metropolitan of Moscow, and was inspired by Sergius, Founder and Abbot of the Troitsky Monastery of Radonezh, who can be truly called Russia's greatest spiritual builder. Of him more later.

The Soviet leaders have revived the memory of St. Sergius as well as of Alexander Nevsky and Dmitri Donskoi. This recognition of Russia's long past, in which national defense and spiritual resistance were so closely linked, visualizes the change in the Soviet attitude towards the Church. The government put a stop to anti-religious propaganda which had deeply and widely

wounded the people's consciousness. The activities of the Union of the Godless were stopped, its official organ suspended. Religious functions were permitted on a larger scale; churches were gradually reopened; special orders were issued requesting military commanders at the front to respect the religious feelings of officers and men.

When Hitler invaded Russia in June 1941, the Metropolitan Sergius of Moscow offered public prayers for victory and from the day of the outbreak of the war the church has manifested both fervent patriotism and national feeling.

Evidence from Three Quarters

JUST A YEAR AGO, THE SOVIET STATE PRESS published a book entitled: "The Truth About Religion in Russia," under the auspices of the Moscow Patriarchate. This presented a detailed account of Russian religious life, as well as appeals for national defense by Metropolitan Sergius and by a number of bishops and priests. The volume described the destructions and profanations inflicted by the Nazis on Russian churches. This was the first time since the October Revolution of 1917 that a book devoted to religious problems and religious life was officially published in the Soviet Union.

For those who had studied developments closely it had long been obvious that atheistic propaganda and attacks on the church had failed of their purpose. To this, its very leaders have testified. In 1938, Emelian Yaroslavsky, late head of the Union of the Godless, had published an official report stating that militant atheism had not succeeded in uprooting religion in Russia. According to the statistics quoted in this report, two thirds of the peasant population of Russia and one third of the urban population had remained attached to their faith.

Yaroslavsky added that it was of no use to close churches, turn them into "anti-religious museums" or expel the clergy from parishes. Religious faith survived in spite of these measures. The report pointed to the so-called "roaming priests" who went from village to village where churches had been closed and desecrated. These priests celebrated Holy Communion, prayed for those who had died, performed religious marriages, and baptized children.

Antireligiosnik, an official organ of the Godless Union, which was published up to the war, had brought out many details concerning secret religious activities. One may truly say that, during the years of persecution, the Russian Church, like the founders of the Church in Rome, found refuge in the catacombs. This underground religious life did not merely respond to the beliefs and the aspirations of a minority. As events have proved, it was a national and spiritual treasury of immense dynamic force.

Article 123 of the Soviet Constitution, promulgated in 1936, assured *freedom of worship*. That meant that religious services could be performed. But while this article specifically provided for "freedom

of anti-religious propaganda," it did not mention freedom of religious teaching. Thus there was no warrant that religion could be taught publicly in the Soviet Union.

How Real Is Religious Liberty Now?

THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW HAS NOT BEEN amended by the reestablishment of the Patriarchate. However, certain measures have been applied which facilitate the training of priests. A theological institute is to be established in Moscow. Other ecclesiastical schools probably will be opened. An official journal of the Orthodox Church and Moscow Patriarchy is circulated. All this points to further concessions to the Church.

If the evolution continues, we may hope that Soviet Russia will establish complete religious freedom as it exists in America and England.

Meanwhile, though Church and State remain strictly separate, it is obvious that the long struggle between religion and communism has subsided. It will be remembered that militant Bolshevism, such as Lenin preached, aimed at the complete de-

struction of religion. If that cause seemed at first to prosper, this was due to the fact that the Church hierarchy in Russia had suffered a spiritual decline toward the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. It had lost all independence. Entirely subservient to the State, it had identified itself with the darkest reactionary forces. Such was particularly true in the reign of Tsar Alexander III, when Pobedonostsev, Procurator of the Holy Synod, personified the most retrograde doctrines and extreme trends. These tendencies prevailed after his death. Anti-Semitism was closely linked with a perverted form of State-orthodoxy. Russian liberal circles turned away from the hierarchy and their antagonism deepened during the first World War when, on the eve of the Revolution, the neurotic charlatan, Rasputin, ruled supreme in the Tsar's palace.

In seizing power, it was easy for the Bolsheviks to launch an attack against such corruption and impotence; but their leaders were unaware of two essential facts:



Moscow Cathedral, Easter, 1942, with the Metropolitan of Kiev conducting the service

Sovfoto

1. That while high church dignitaries manifestly represented political reaction and spiritual decline, the clergy as such was democratic, closely linked to the people, the majority of them true to their vocation.

2. That vast masses of Russians no less than the clergy were deeply attached to their faith. After 1917, they resisted with extraordinary tenacity the onslaughts of the godless militants through three long periods of persecution.

Gradual recognition of these spiritual forces led finally to the reestablishment of the Patriarchate at an hour of national crisis—symbol, at once, of Russian spiritual forces placed at the service of the country in facing a deadly enemy; and symbol of national unity sanctified and blessed by the Church.

History is repeating itself as it did in the seventeenth century. Then, two great Moscow prelates caught up the torch held high in their time by Alexander and Dmitry. One was Patriarch Germogem, who rallied the Russian people when Polish armies besieged Moscow. Captured by the enemy, he was imprisoned and died of starvation. Elected to succeed him, Patriarch Philaret took over his patriotic mission and was largely responsible for the consolidation of the Russian state. Philaret was the father of Michael Romanov, founder of a dynasty which was to rule for three hundred years. When Michael was crowned Tsar of Russia in 1613, his enthronement marked the revival of Russian unity after a long period of intestine and foreign wars.

Things of the Spirit

SO MUCH FOR HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL aspects of the Orthodox Church. What of its spiritual trends?

All those who have studied Russian literature, must have been impressed by the religious themes which constantly spring up in great novels and essays. Both Tolstoy and Dostoevsky found their inspiration in the religious spirit of the Russian people. In "The Brothers Karamazov," Dostoevsky painted an immortal picture of Russian monastic life, and of the Russian mysticism of the *Startzy*, saintly hermits who are the teachers of piety. Tolstoy, on the other hand, revolted against the official Orthodox Church and sought to establish his personal interpretation of the Gospels and of Christian ethics. He remains, however, extremely typical of Russian spirituality, insofar as he gave expression to certain fundamental traits of Russian religious consciousness.

The Russians were evangelized at the end of the tenth century. Adopting the Christian faith as it was brought to them by Byzantium, the Russian Church for many centuries fell under the jurisdiction of the Greek patriarchs and bishops. Saints Cyril and Methodius had composed both Slavonic alphabet and liturgy, and the scriptures and common prayers were conveyed to the people in their own tongue. This may in part explain why Russian Orthodoxy seems from the very beginning to have had its own pattern and retained native traits.

So it is that among the first Russians canonized, the most characteristic were two young Christian Princes who died martyrs' deaths. Boris and Gleb, sons of the ruling Prince of Kiev, were murdered by their elder brother Yaropolk. They forbade their men-at-arms to defend them, preferring death to civil war. The principle of "non-resistance to evil," later taught by Tolstoy, was thus practiced in tenth century Russia.

An eleventh century Russian saint was Theodosius who, the child of a wealthy widow, resolved to embrace poverty. He wore "patched clothes," as the chronicler tells us, and worked in the fields with the serfs. Later as a monk and Abbot of the Petchersky Monastery in Kiev, he continued this rule of poverty joining a life of prayer with work as the carpenter, farmer, and baker of his community.

In much the same way in the nineteenth century, Russian intelligentsia were stimulated to "go to the people." St. Theodosius' ideals had modern counterpart in Tolstoy's teachings of voluntary poverty, manual labor, the simple life. This is what the historian and theologian, George Fedotov describes as the "kenotic spirit" of Russian Orthodoxy, meaning, according to the Greek version of the Gospels to "empty oneself," or "strip oneself"—in the name of Christ—and to assume the labors and sufferings of the poor.

The Pioneering Monks

LIKE ST. THEodosius, ST. SERGIUS HAD taught poverty and given an example to his brethren. It was he who in the fourteenth century roused Russian resistance against the Mongols and inspired Prince Dmitri Donskoi to fight them. His followers, known as "seekers of silence," were in a sense the first Russian pioneers. Their small community in the woods of Radonezh soon became an important religious and cultural center. A learned man, himself well-versed in Greek theology and in the teachings of the Eastern Church Fathers, he believed that in clearing forest and swamp, in plowing, mowing, building rough cabins and their rustic church, in struggling against blizzards and wild beasts, lay ways to perfection as surely as through prayer and contemplation.

Sergius founded a generation of monks who were in truth to become frontiersmen. They conquered the wilderness at the price of great hardships and struggles, and carried with them ideals of Christian order and enlightenment.

The Radonezh community prospered, attracting crowds of pilgrims, so that it was no longer a hermitage sufficiently isolated to suit these austere monks. After their abbot's death a number of them moved farther north to unexplored forests where they founded new communities. These became prosperous agricultural centers in turn, and the northward movement continued for several centuries, until ultimately these settlements extended to the coasts. Heathen tribes of hunters were converted and taught the rural way of life. Monasteries were

founded, like those of Balaam and Petchaneg in Finland and the famous Abbey of Solovetsk, on an island in the White Sea with the most beautiful of Russian medieval frescoes in its cathedral. Centuries later this was to become a dreaded prison of the OGPU where members of the clergy were detained in the years of anti-religious persecution.

Old Believers and Others

THE PIONEERING SPIRIT MANIFESTED ITSELF in other Russian religious groups. Thus in the seventeenth century a schism tore the Russian Church and the so-called "Old Believers" revolted against the Patriarch. Ruthlessly persecuted, these dissidents fled in great numbers to Siberia. There they founded rural communities inspired by a collective spirit. So to say, they were the first Russian socialists as well as early non-conformists.

Even when allowed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries freely to profess their faith, Old Believers retained the original traits of their forbears. Sturdy, energetic, well-disciplined, they abstained from alcoholic drinks and tobacco, and were known for their staunch and unwavering faith. Leaving their Siberian communities, some of the most enterprising of them returned to European Russia and founded merchant families in Moscow which by the time of the Revolution had become patrons of the arts and sciences, promoters of music and the theater.

The Old Believers were not alone in striking out for the wilderness. So did other sects, some of them linked to western European Protestantism—such as Stundists, Evangelists, Baptists—others of purely Russian origin, as Dukhobors and Molokans, who awakened Tolstoy's deep interest.

Such sectarians were subject to drastic measures by the Tsarist authorities, and even when these were suspended they were regarded with disapproval. They abandoned Central Russia, where their right to worship had been restricted or barred, and sought areas where they might lead the pious, austere life which was part of their faith. The Dukhobors, it will be remembered, migrated to the United States and to Canada where they formed large communities. A few groups of Old Believers also settled here.

In the New World as in the Old, they tend to preserve their characteristic traits. They might be called Russian Puritans, but they swung over much further in their non-conformity than most Western religious bodies—seeking to free themselves from the state and to find a social justice which transcends fixed legal forms.

This trend is one of the paradoxes of the Russian soul: to have produced a great liturgical and historical tradition incarnated in the Russian patriarchs and great monastic communities, and yet to have also created these non-conformist mystical currents. The latter found their most articulate expression in Tolstoy, but they spring from ancient Russian popular sources.

Even in the official church, so closely



Poster, Courtesy Russian War Relief

Alexander Nevsky, warrior saint, victor over the Teutons in 1242, symbolizes the patriotic virtues to Russia today



Sovfoto

Repin's drawing of Leo Tolstoy, whose interpretation of Christianity typifies the pacifism and spirituality of Russian religious thought

linked with the state and enhanced with all the splendor and majesty of the Byzantine liturgy, the kenotic spirit was not lost throughout the ages. In the sixteenth century, at a time when the Russian Church had become powerful and wealthy there appeared a man who once more taught kenotic Christianity and holy poverty. This was Nilus of Sorsk, abbot of a religious community in the Volga region. He and his followers called themselves "noncoveters." In the nineteenth century came St. Seraphim of Sarov, who lived as a hermit and resembled St. Francis of Assisi.

The Mir

TO GO BACK BEFORE CHRISTIAN HISTORY WAS written, much less the Communist Manifesto, there existed in Russia a peculiar form of rural community known as the *Mir*. This was founded on the principle that the earth belongs to God, that man is entitled to make use of it, to cultivate it, to enjoy its fruit—but not to own it. In other words, the land belonged to "no one" and to "everyone." Fields, pastures, woods were divided among the members of the community and their families according to the *Mir* code. An old Russian proverb declares that the peasant could possess the land which he had plowed with his own hands, the forest which he had cleared with his axe, the fields which he had mowed with his scythe. This is the *Mir* concep-

tion of acquisition based on personal labor, the essence of primitive Russian socialism.

Thus the *Mir* evolved an ideology of its own, teaching *solidarity* and *mutual* responsibility. In case of fire or drought, the entire community took upon itself the relief of those who suffered. All the members of the *Mir* cooperated in the harvest.

It has often been said that the Russian people know nothing of democracy. That is a misconception. The *Mir* has always known a form of democratic life as authentic as the town meeting of New England. There are old Russian expressions which might be translated as follows: "It has been done by the whole *Mir*," or "It has been decided by the whole *Mir*." Its discussions did not follow a definite pattern nor were they ruled by fixed regulations; they were a spontaneous manifestation of a public spirit expressing itself in self-government.

And these peculiar Russian village meetings had something else in common with the community assemblies of the New Englanders, inasmuch as they were based on a *deeply ingrained Christian tradition*. For the *Mir* is a profoundly ethical phenomenon. Its very solidarity is something which holds in check egotism, cupidity, ruthlessness. It stands up for the poor against the wealthy; for the weak against the strong. It is always in favor of a good neighbor attitude. Inasmuch as generations of the Russian intelligentsia sought

inspiration in conceptions of social justice they found among the people, we may say that the entire Russian movement of emancipation, which antedated the Revolution of 1917, had roots in this primitive charter of Christian socialism.

COMING CLOSER TO THE PRESENT, IS IT TOO much to say that Russian resistance to Nazi invasion—with its tremendous sacrifices on every hand, with the deep solidarity which it has manifested—sprang also from this old Russian source?

Truly the "*Whole Mir*" is fighting Hitler today in the immense army of peasants and workers, the guerrilla fighters, soldiers, civilians, young men and old men, women and children. Moved by one spirit of abnegation, they stopped the *Blitzkrieg* and shattered myths of Hitler's invincibility.

The terrible devastations suffered by Russia, the tragic retreats, the scorched earth policy, the bombed cities, and the intense suffering of the people—all this has not been able to break their spirit of resistance. This very "stripping" is something which the Russian soul accepts not only as purification but as stimulant.

Such resistance would perhaps have been impossible had not so many people throughout all Russian history practiced service to all, had they not been searchers for truth to be acquired at the price of austerities, struggles, and sufferings.



Courtesy Lieut. J. D. Stamm, U.S.N.R., and Russian War Relief

ALLIES

POSTER—by the famous trio who use the name KUKRINI

Our Ally—Soviet Russia

The rise of nationalism and the arduous stages by which—in spite of frantic Nazi efforts to whet suspicion—Russia has won full acceptance as a great power.

WALTER DURANTY

THE BATTLE FOR STALINGRAD WAS THE culminating and decisive struggle of the Russo-German War, comparable to Gettysburg or, in more recent times, to the Battle of Verdun in the first World War.

Field Marshal von Ludendorff, Germany's greatest commander in World War I, believed that insistence upon the conquest of Verdun, which Germany never achieved, was a prime factor in Germany's loss of the war. The same might be said about Stalingrad, where the profits of victory were obvious, but where a similar insistence robbed the Germans of other objectives more easy to be gained, as for instance Baku and its oil, and, finally involved them in a great disaster.

Stalingrad became a symbol of victory or defeat—key to the Volga, Stalin's city, Russia's Verdun. It has been suggested that Japan had promised to attack Soviet Siberia if and when the Battle of Stalingrad should be won by the Nazi arms. Another theory is that Hitler, too conscious of symbolic values, overruled his generals and forced them to go on fighting when prudence dictated retreat. This view may be correct, because Hitler boldly declared, "My army is in Stalingrad and will never leave it."

His words for once were true. As the Russian counterattack developed, the German forces, perhaps a quarter of a million strong, were encircled and their westward retreat cut off. For the first time since Jena, more than a hundred and thirty years before, a German field marshal, von Paulus, surrendered on the battlefield, with what was left of his army, gaunt, half-frozen and starving—a symbolic battle indeed, a turning point of war.

The Issue of the Second Front

THIS TITANIC AND PERHAPS DECISIVE struggle had violent political repercussions. With their backs to the wall, the Russians appealed loudly to the rest of Hitler's enemies, in whose ranks the United States was now enrolled, for a great action to divert some of Germany's strength. Anglo-American leaders had indeed promised such a diversion, a "Second Front," as it was called, as early as June, 1942; but their efforts were still confined to fighting in North Africa, where only a small number of German divisions were engaged, and to air attacks upon Germany itself, increasing steadily in severity but hardly to be described as a second front. True, American and Australian forces in the Pacific undertook somewhat hazardous diversions at

Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands and in New Guinea, which may have aided the USSR indirectly by preventing Japan at a most critical moment from opening its second front against the Soviet provinces of Siberia. This, however, is only conjecture, and the mass of the Russian people, if not its leaders, undoubtedly felt that they were bearing most of the brunt of the war.

The visit of Winston Churchill to Moscow in the late summer of 1942 did not fully assuage Russian anxiety that they were being left to fight alone. The British Prime Minister and Marshal Stalin had difficulty in reconciling the amount of Anglo-American material aid to Russia—tanks, planes, guns, explosives, and other military supplies—loaded upon convoys sent to the Russian ports of Murmansk and Archangel, with the amounts which the Russians actually received. The quantity of such supplies received in Russia in the critical summer of 1942, when the U-boat danger was at its greatest in the North Atlantic, and Anglo-American flotillas were further subjected to the most savage of air attacks from bases in North Finland during the twenty-four hours of daylight in the northern latitudes, was often less than half of what had been loaded and sent.

It was unquestionably an awkward moment in relations between the USSR and the two great powers of the West, but it had no dire effects and the misunderstanding, if any, was mitigated by the victory of Stalingrad, by the Anglo-American conquest of North Africa, and by the great improvement in shipment of supplies to Russia, not only across the Atlantic where the U-boats were progressively overcome, but through Persia by a successful development of road and rail transport from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea. From the autumn of 1942 onwards, at least four fifths of foreign supplies for Russia reached their destination intact.

Once more, in the summer of 1943, the

—By the dean of Moscow correspondents whose book "I Write As I Please" in 1935 gave intimate glimpses of his long time assignment for *The New York Times*. Author of "One Life—One Kopeck," of "The Kremlin and the People." From his California background, will come a new book, "USSR: The Story of Soviet Russia," from the concluding chapters of which this trenchant article is drawn.

Germans attempted an offensive; but it never looked dangerous and was speedily checked. This time the Russian riposte was immediate and effective. All along the front Soviet troops swept forward, taking one strong point after another. They recaptured Kharkov and pressed on across the Donets basin to the Dnieper, where the Nazis declared they would make a stand.

The Goebbel's "Line"

NAZI PROPAGANDA WORKED OVERTIME through its channels in Sweden, Switzerland, and Spain to convince American and British opinion that the Russians could go no farther, or that they did not wish to press home their attacks and might even be on the verge of concluding a separate peace. Quite accidentally, color was lent to these rumors by a renewal in the Soviet press of agitation for the "Second Front." Goebbels redoubled his efforts, and the cables from Stockholm and Berne hummed with reports "from reliable sources" that Russia would make peace with Germany unless there was an immediate Anglo-American invasion of northwestern Europe.

Meanwhile the Anglo-American armies conquered Sicily and then invaded the Italian mainland, simultaneously subjecting the industrial cities of Germany to a day-and-night bombardment whose violence and volume far surpassed the air blitz against England in the winter of 1940-41.

The destruction of Hamburg in particular and of metallurgic centers in the Ruhr Valley was terrific, and the Germans were forced to weaken their Russian front by the withdrawal of aircraft and anti-aircraft artillery to meet the growing menace from the sky. The walls of Fortress Europe still were strong, but the fortress lacked a roof.

At this time, too, the Russians began to note that although the number of German divisions on their front—210, they estimated, two thirds of the whole German Army—had not been lowered by Allied attacks in the West, the numerical strength of these divisions was diminishing. In other words, the same phenomenon was apparent as had occurred in the final phase of World War I. German divisional strength, originally 14,000 to 15,000 men, had dropped to 9,000 or 10,000, although for convenience of manipulation and maneuver the divisional staff and framework remained intact. This was most important, because the Russians had been strenuously pleading for Allied action to withdraw at least fifty divisions, out of 210, from Ger-

many's Eastern armies. A reduction in German divisional strength of one third would have an even greater effect as far as the total forces on the Eastern Front were concerned.

Nazi Efforts to Make Bad Blood

THERE WAS, TOO, A STARTLING DIFFERENCE in the nature of Russia's new demands for a second front in the West. During the Battle of Stalingrad it was almost a cry of despair, "Aid us or we perish"; but now the Russians were saying, "If you others will strike a blow, if you will dare to take a chance, however risky it seems, we may win the war right quick, and thus save countless lives." No longer a diversion, but a final drive to victory, was the burden of Russia's song. And as if to confound the enemy mischief-makers who were staking everything upon their sole remaining card, the hope of causing bad blood between their three major opponents—the United States, Britain and Russia—the Red Army suddenly leaped the Dnieper barrier and streamed westward across the flatlands of the southern Ukraine.

They paid no heed to Nazi suggestions from Sweden and Switzerland that the Anglo-Americans deliberately stood aloof to watch Russ and Teuton bleed each other to death. Curiously enough, the counterpart of such reports, in the form that the USSR might still make a separate peace when its territory was cleared of invaders, or alternatively, would rush on to Bolshevice all of Europe, found some credence in the United States. As did another story, that the USSR for its part would never make war with Japan but watch with folded hands while Japan and the United States bled each other to death.

The Red Army had its answer to Nazi propagandists. It had seen its Russian dead in the reconquered areas, and seen, too, how they had died. Great trenches and ravines filled with bodies of men and women whose mouths were choked with earth to show they were buried alive. Mass graves where bodies of wounded soldiers were heaped pell-mell, charred beyond recognition, to show they were burned to death; and cruellest of all, the crowded corpses of children, slain by machine-gun bullets.

These the Red Army saw as it advanced, and heard shocking tales of maddened and mutilated survivors. Would they make peace with the Nazis who had done such things to their folk? Not Stalin nor any dictator, not one who rose from the dead, could have held the Russians back, after what they had seen, or check their thirst for vengeance, their resolve to pay blood with blood.

As the Anglo-American forces forged doggedly northward through the Italian mountains and rained bombs on the German cities, Nazi propaganda grew more frantic in its attempts to capitalize every possible source of conflict in the United Nations camp. The Russians paid little attention to this subversive nonsense, but it found some echo in the United States, where many people were still distrustful

of Soviet intentions and bewildered by Soviet policy. They did not understand, for example, that the USSR had bitter memories of Munich and was determined to be treated henceforth and forever as a great power, on full terms of equality with the United States and Britain. The Russians made little secret of their resentment that the two Western powers took upon themselves the task of settling affairs in North Africa, Sicily, and North Italy without consulting Russia, and that the British Foreign Office and American State Department went

On the day before the conference opened, *Izvestia*, the official mouthpiece of the Soviet government, published an illuminating editorial whose optimistic tone contrasted with the guarded and hope-for-the-best attitude of American and British sentiment. The writer significantly based his expectations that the conference would be a success on the fact that the USSR had now been admitted on equal terms to Anglo-American politico-military commissions in North Africa and Italy, and that Marshal Stalin as well as President Roosevelt and



The Bolsheviks Come into Power—a sketch of Lenin and Stalin with the Red Guards in the Smolny Institute, Party headquarters, 1917

so far as to prevent the visit of a Soviet representative to North Africa, by an ancient process known as "passing the buck." The Russians indicated plainly that they were not pleased by these maneuvers and meant their voice to be heard in the present and future settlement of Africa and Italy, of the Balkans and later of France and all Europe.

The Moscow Meeting

ONCE MORE, "RELIABLE SOURCES" IN Berne and Stockholm worked overtime to foment discord and foster misunderstanding, but in the second half of October there was held a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain, and the USSR. Significantly, the conference met in Moscow, and in addition to their daily meetings with Molotov, Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, the American Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, and the British Foreign Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, had long private conversations with Stalin, who followed proceedings most attentively throughout. The conference concluded with a joint statement that the three powers concerned would fight the war to a finish together and would do their best to cooperate in framing the peace and in postwar reconstruction. This must have sounded a death knell to Nazi hopes of disunion.

Prime Minister Churchill had signed the joint declaration approving Italy's entry into the war on the side of the United Nations. In short, Russia's principal demand, for full parity with the USA and Great Britain, had already been granted.

Unquestionably this was a diplomatic victory for the USSR, but in return for it the Russians pledged themselves to a degree of collaboration, present and future, military and political, which had hitherto been lacking. The thread of Russian admission to full equality runs through the whole communique issued simultaneously in Moscow, Washington, and London.

The subsequent meeting of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Marshal Stalin at Teheran confirmed and reiterated the principles of equality and cooperation established at Moscow, and set, one might almost say, a seal upon the progress and evolution of the USSR from 1917 to 1943. A long and arduous stage from the status of outlaw nation—"Red enemies of God and man"—to Russia's new position as one of the three great powers in a world whose purpose henceforth would be unity and friendship instead of rivalry and war.

In a bare quarter-century the USSR has accomplished ages of growth. The most ignorant and backward of all white nations

has moved into the forefront of social, economic, and political consciousness. Its obsolete agricultural system has been modernized and mechanized; its small and artificial industry has become gigantic and self-supporting; its illiterate masses have been educated and disciplined to appreciate and enjoy the benefits of collective effort.

The Swing to the Left

AMERICANS, AND THE WESTERN WORLD IN general, have misunderstood or ignored the true course of Soviet history. We have failed to realize that the Bolshevik Revolu-

tion, that Bolshevism itself, was not fixed but fluid, not a state but a process. We saw the initial acts of the Soviet government, its peace with Germany which released a million German troops to break the Western Front in March, 1918, and almost lose us the war, and its attacks upon three fundamental principles which underlie our civilization, Home and the Family, Religion and the Church, Money and the Rights of Property.



National Traditions—a war poster showing the inspiration of the Christian Prince, Alexander Nevsky (page 112), Tsarist General Suvorov, and revolutionary hero Chapayev (page 129)

Inevitably and naturally we opposed the Bolsheviks on these counts, and were further outraged by their impudent pretension to make us follow their line. Without questioning Bolshevik sincerity, it was absurd and pretentious for them to think that the Western world, which had won self-government and freedom by a thousand years of struggle, should accept the newfangled dogmas of a handful of fanatics whose nation was less than a hundred years from semi-slavery and had never known self-government in any form.

When once the Bolshevik Revolution broke the ancient ice-dam, when it shattered the iron band around the Russian tree, it was only natural that the Bolsheviks who had broken dam and band should wish to share their victory and spread their revolutionary doctrine across the whole

world. Great as Lenin was, he confused the restrictions upon Russian growth and the political slavery of the Russian masses with the apparent subservience of Western democratic nations to a land owning and financial oligarchy. He did not realize that the Western peoples had curbed the powers of kings and oligarchs, landed or financial barons, and that in the final instance the vote of the people—the “government of the people, by the people, for the people”—was real and imperishable.

But we, too, failed to understand that Sovietism, Bolshevism—call it what you will—

was impermanent and subject to change. Slowly and gradually Lenin and his followers came to see that the three great fundamentals—Home and the Family, Religion and the Church, Money and Property—were not the obscure creations of some capitalist Demon, but the development, through hundreds and thousands of years, of human habit and practice, of human hope and desire, of human aspiration, of human need.

The history of the Soviet Union has been a steady swing away from the early ideas of extreme or “militant” communism to more practical and reasonable methods, and inevitable compromise. Stalin was bitterly attacked by Leon Trotsky and the “Old Bolsheviks” as a backslider from initial ideals. But he won and they lost because he *was* practical—and dared to reconcile the present possible goal with the ultimate hoped-for-goal. He declined to allow the growing Russian tree to be bound anew by the iron band of Marxist dogma. He allowed a free development on Russian rather than dogmatic Marxist lines.

The Wheel Turns

WHATEVER MAY BE SAID, HISTORY DOES REPEAT itself, and the development of the Soviet Revolution follows that of the other greatest social upheaval of modern times,

the French Revolution, with as close a parallel as that between the policy of Stalin in 1939, who made a deal with Hitler because he distrusted his potential allies (Britain and France) and wished to gain time, and Alexander I, who distrusted his allies (Austria and Prussia) and wished to gain time to prepare for Napoleon’s attack.

The French Revolution swung away from the Church and worshipped the Goddess of Reason in the Elysian Fields. The French Revolution killed a king, as the Russians killed their Tsar. The French broke everything down to flat equality, and went from there to the Empire of Napoleon.

In Russia, too, the wheel turned. The bottom became the top and the top became the bottom. But the forces of merit and energy released by the Revolution found their natural expression in authority and strength.

Unlike the French Republic, the Russians had, from 1920 to 1941, no foreign enemies to cement their unity and hasten their process of evolution. They fought among themselves, and from their conflict was established the power of Stalin, little less great—or greater—than that of Napoleon, Emperor of the French.

It was a process of change, so imperceptible as to be scarcely noticed by the rest of the world, but no less important and no less changeful for that. The old distinctions of class had vanished, but there came new distinctions of rank, a new ruling class whose strength was measured by performance and success, to take the place of the obsolete hereditary rulers. Slowly but surely the Bolsheviks abandoned their first wild attacks upon the Home, upon the Church, and upon wages. They modified their marriage-divorce laws, they eased pressure against the Church, and they introduced the principle of “greater reward for greater service.”

Moreover, they put the principle of nationalism, of national defense against the threatened German invasion, above their former ideas of international brotherhood of workers throughout the world. They became nationalists instead of internationalists.

Now a National Struggle

THE WAR HAS EMPHASIZED A HUNDREDFOLD the move towards nationalism in Russia. It has done—this national war with Germany—for Russia what war did for Revolutionary France in the later years of the eighteenth century. It has established national unity and hastened the change from a proletarian, international, workers-of-the-world-unite revolution to that of a national struggle against a foreign enemy.

In France, as in Russia today, this process was accompanied by a whole gamut of nationalist phenomena. The French and the Soviet Revolution tore epaulettes off officers, tried to reduce military ranks to a flat equality, called everyone “citoyen” or “tovarisch.” They swung the pendulum to the “Left,” but the pendulum swung back. In Russia today, as in the France of Napoleon, the titles of General and Marshal,

(Continued on page 150)

Postwar Trade - and a Rule of Thumb

Consider the corner store—or markets since time began. Are strained relations likely where merchants are anxious to clear their shelves, customers ready and eager to buy?

WILLIAM W. LANCASTER

WHEN THE FIRST WORLD WAR CULMINATED for Russia in revolution, diplomatic relations with us had ended, means of transport were almost non-existent, and the purchasing power of the ruble beyond the borders of Russia was nil. Yet little by little trade between the United States and the new Soviet Union began to lift its head.

A trickle of furs came from Vladivostok, sausage casings and rugs found their way across Siberia and the Pacific to the United States. Hog bristles from Central Asia began again to reach the brushes of American citizens.

It may be that this efflux of goods was attributable to the lack of purchasing power of the ruble, and was to pay for what Russia needed to buy in America to reconstitute its own shattered economy. It may be that it was attributable to the desire of Americans for sausages soundly encased and for brushes properly bristled. It is more probable that the renascent trade developed out of the needs of both the American and the Russian communities.

But once this trade was born, it grew. There was no consular service between the United States and the Soviet Union, and no favoring commercial treaties; there was suspicion in each country of the political, economic, and religious ideology of the other; yet the purchases of the USSR in the United States steadily increased. In the twelve months following the establishment of the first Five-Year Plan, those purchases reached approximately \$111,000,000. There was a recession from 1930 onward as commodity values throughout the world sought lower levels, but buying recommenced as commodity values became stabilized, and just before 1939, according to figures of our Department of Commerce, Soviet Union purchases reached a peak of nearly \$90,000,000.

What the Soviets bought was only a small percentage of the American export trade, but it affected key industries. The Russian Five-Year Plan called for American technical skills, but it also called for American tractors, machine tools, freight cars, electric equipment. The purchase of these items came at a time when the American domestic market for them was much restricted. In this period Soviet Russia took for its own needs a substantial percentage of the output of our machine tool industry. Russian buying was thus an important factor in preventing the workers in that industry from seeking other employment and from losing their old skills. Looking back, we can all of us conceive to what extent a noticeable drop then in the

output of the American machine tool industry would have meant later when Hitler invaded Poland and threatened the civilization not only of Western Europe but of the world.

A Tale Told Twice

SUCH A SUMMARY OF WHAT HAPPENED TO Russian-American trade after the first World War will suggest what we may expect at the end of this second World War. There are many parallels between the situation created by the German Imperial armies in Russia in 1917 and the situation which Nazi invaders are leaving behind them today. Then, as now, food producing areas had been ravaged, means of transportation destroyed. Then, as now, the Russian people had to be rehoused and fed. The difference is of scale: today the need to feed and to rebuild is inconceivably greater than it was twenty-six years ago.

It is estimated that the present German invasion has driven a third of the Russian people from their houses. Sixty million people in the devastated areas are in want of food and clothing. Tractors by the thousand are needed to plow the fields. Seed by the ton is needed to plant them. Machinery is required to reequip the factories in which tractors and combines can be made to plow and harvest the land.

Rolling stock is wanted for the Russian railroads, to replace what the Germans removed or destroyed. Thousands of tons of steel rail are wanted to rebuild the railroads, and thousands of tons of copper wire to restore telephone and telegraph lines. Generators must be supplied for the Dnieper Dam and for other power sites. Machinery is wanted to reopen the mines which the Germans have gutted. Machinery is required with which to make other machinery.

When American business views such a panorama of tremendous need it may ask itself how Russia can carry out its vast reconstruction program. Does it concern the United States; and if so, how? America

—By a member of the New York Bar who is, not by chance, a long time member of the Council on Foreign Relations and now chairman of the Foreign Policy Association.

His judgment is much sought on every hand for, as few Americans, he keeps extraordinarily abreast of developments in important industrial areas as well as in the capital cities of two hemispheres.

has its own problems. The USA has increased its airplane productive capacity from 5,000 planes to more than 100,000 a year. Its steel production has reached 89,000,000 tons as compared to less than 60,000,000. It now produces 2,200,000,000 pounds of aluminum a year, where formerly it produced 300,000,000. Similar comparisons can be made in our production of tractors, rolling stock and electrical equipment, as well as in the other industrial key categories where Russia would desire to buy. The United States thus is keenly concerned with keeping up its markets. Every recession in demand for our industrial output means unemployment, which means loss of purchasing power; this in turn means further restriction in demand, and a further drop in employment.

Credit, the Crucial Factor

RUSSIAN NEEDS, LIKE THOSE OF THE OTHER devastated or war affected areas, dovetail with the American necessity to dispose of its huge output, so far in excess of American peacetime requirements. From the American standpoint, the need to maintain and increase the market for our goods may necessitate the giving of credit where credit can be soundly given. This may not be the necessity of every seller, of every enterprise, but from a national viewpoint it is something which American statesmen may desire to weigh, together with the other factors of the postwar problem.

It would seem from the record of the last twenty-five years that the Soviet Union will make every effort, and will have the capacity, to repay its obligations both in gold and in merchandise; but it cannot pay in one year or in five, for an almost nationwide reconstruction. Its requirements are very great and the absorptive capacity of the American market will be taxed to take the merchandise which our debtors will want to send us. The Soviet has one advantage over others who may become indebted to the United States. Eventually it can dig gold out of the ground and send it to the United States to pay for tractors and generators. But when houses are to be built, factories erected, railroad lines and highways restored and extended, fields and orchards brought back into bearing, vast natural resources developed it would be difficult and unwise to divert large amounts of manpower to the operation of gold mines.

After World War I, the Soviet Union was compelled to ship abroad grain in order to pay for tractors with which to raise more grain, but it may be questioned

whether the demands of their own people will permit such a device again.

It is certainly unlikely that Russia will hesitate to hasten its reconstruction program through the use of credit, if such credit can be obtained on normal terms. But what it borrows must of course be limited by what it can pay. If it pays in goods, they must be non-competitive, and this in itself limits the credit and retards the day of payment. If these considerations constrain the imposition of what the Russians

regard as onerous terms, it can probably be assumed that the USSR will delay its program, reduce its purchases abroad and turn to other areas to meet its needs where the list of non-competitive goods is longer—with resulting economic and political repercussions.

The problem is so great and deals with so long a future that the alternatives will have to be carefully weighed.

If it is correct to believe that Russian requirement of goods, and the American

need to produce and to sell them are as closely related as this article indicates, we may have one factor in the answer to the question as to whether a victorious Russia means strained postwar relations with the United States. Strained relations between the merchant and his customer are not likely where merchants are anxious to clear their shelves, and customers ready and eager to buy. Russia will want to buy. Can America afford to sell, and if so, how much? That is the question.

American Windows on Russia

We must throw them open as Peter the Great once opened a Russian window on Europe. The only antidote to fears that come from ignorance is education.

ERNEST J. SIMMONS

IT SEEMS FAIRLY CERTAIN THAT AMERICA will have to live in much closer contact with the nations of the world than ever in the past. Not only will political and economic necessity bring this about, but the amazing advances in modern communication and travel.

We cannot talk intelligently about the century of the common man without knowing how the common man lives in countries other than America. We cannot in all conscience demand the four freedoms for ourselves without knowing how the enjoyment of them here will affect the justifiable demand for them among the other peoples of the globe. The whole future of the peace is closely connected with the ability of our people to become citizens of the world, as well as citizens of America. These things can come about only by a type of education that will provide us with sympathetic understanding of the problems and national aspirations of the nations with which we must live.

We urgently need such a type of education with respect to Soviet Russia. The American public has had, generally speaking, two main sources of information on the USSR: the press and formal instruction in our colleges and universities. The press, of course, has been by far the most important in forming public opinion. If we may judge from the reactions, opinions, and estimates of government officials, military experts, the press, and the public in general when Russia entered the war, then we must soberly conclude that for a quarter century we have been fed much misinformation and many half-truths about the Soviet Union.

Russian officials have not always made it easy for Americans to obtain authoritative information. Yet the chief blame is ours, for we have too often approached them with an impregnable kind of suspicion that undermined their confidence in our desire to tell the truth. Worse than this, we were frequently victimized by Nazi propaganda against Russia and by the prejudices and

hate of Russian emigrés. Newspapers and books alike have been slow to convey progressive developments in the Soviet regime. As a result, some of the absurd social experiments in the early days of the Revolution and far-fetched rumors that grew out of them, are still deeply imbedded in the mind of the average American as fixed Soviet practices. It is discouraging to have members of an audience still constantly ask questions that clearly indicate that they believe that all women are held in common in Russia, that a workman must surrender half of his wages to the government, that priests are killed on sight, and that all Russians are ready at any moment to throw bombs for world revolution.

Before the War—and Since

WHAT HAS BEEN THE CONTRIBUTION OF the other general source of information on the Soviet Union—formal education in our colleges and universities? The answer is, very little. Before our entrance into the war, the Russian language was taught in not more than a dozen colleges and universities. About six of these institutions offered courses in Russian history and literature, which were rarely concerned with these subjects after the 1917 Revolution. Occasionally, in courses on comparative government and economics, some small space would be allotted to a discussion of Marxian economics and the formation of the Soviet State. This is our dismal record

—By the chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages, Cornell University, who directed its Intensive Study of Contemporary Russian Civilization, open to students from all parts of the country. An impressive group of American, Russian, and British experts carried forward ground-breaking demonstration in 1943—made possible by a grant from the division of humanities of the Rockefeller Foundation. Its repetition in next summer's semester, starting July 3, is assured.

of instruction on a country that one of our statesmen recently called "the most dominant force in the world today."

Since our entrance into the war has come a new interest in Russia. This, and a practical need in the armed forces and government agencies for college graduates with a knowledge of the language, has brought about a very considerable increase in the number of Russian courses, many of which are handicapped because of a lack of adequately trained teachers, a natural consequence of pre-war disinterest. It must not be thought that even now the number of Russian language courses in our colleges and universities bears any comparison with those in French, German, and Spanish. I know of only one university where Russian may be accepted as one of the prescribed languages that undergraduates may elect to satisfy the usual college language requirement.

A wider knowledge of Russian in this country will obviously contribute to a better understanding of the Soviet Union, since it will enable students to go directly to Russian source material. To be sure, such material is not easy to obtain here, for our Ally's principal bookshop in America is still unable to send Soviet books through the mail in the ordinary way without incurring the risk of legal action for disseminating propaganda.

This new interest in the language is an encouraging sign, but it is only a part of the total educational program that is necessary. We need to know everything of consequence about the Soviet Union. Two factors stand in our way. The first is fear. For the plain truth of the matter is that we fear the Soviet Union—in a baseless, unreasonable way, founded largely on ignorance of the thing we fear. The words "communist" and "Red" long ago became fixed symbols in the minds of our people for something insidious and hostile, something reaching out to destroy our way of life. When the press connects these words

with a great Russian victory over the Nazis, countless American readers actually dread that the Soviets may win the war. Despite Soviet sacrifices in the common cause, in spite of millions of dead and wounded, we hear of American soldiers who still inquire if we shall not have to fight Russia next. In short, Soviet Russia is still to them an outcast nation. The only antidote to this fear that comes from ignorance is education.

Among Our Contemporaries

GERMAN BOMBS OVER ENGLAND HELPED TO convince that country of the wisdom of knowing everything possible about its great Ally—Soviet Russia. Today the teaching of the Russian language in Britain has become a commonplace, and not only in colleges and universities, but in the public schools. Not long ago the English Ministry of Education issued a selected bibliography of books on Soviet Russia that should be read by all students, and with foresight the British Foreign Office now strongly encourages a knowledge of the Russian language among service applicants.

In Soviet Russia our music has long been listened to, our literature read. There have been exhibitions of American books and, in sections of the Academy of Science, learned papers have dealt with American literature, history, and scientific achievements. But much more important, English was made one of the foreign languages from a choice of three that all Soviet high school students must learn.

What has happened during the war? In a Soviet pamphlet describing the 1942 literature course for millions of students, the works of contemporary American authors are on the required reading list. In the history program, many hours were set aside for American history. Let me translate for you a few significant sentences:

"A study of the democratic traditions of the (American) people ought to promote a better understanding of those friendly relations that exist at the present time between the Soviet Union and the USA. . . . (Hitler) has turned the freedom-loving people of Europe into slaves. . . . The American people, together with the people of Great Britain and the USSR, are conducting an irreconcilable struggle for the complete and final destruction of Hitlerism. At this point in the study of history, one ought to indicate that the friendship of the (se) peoples . . . is based on old historic traditions."

Let us make no mistake. These subjects on America in the Soviet high schools are taught from a Marxist point of view, but they are *not* taught by people hostile or unsympathetic to America. Soviet Russia has made a beginning in promoting friendly relations and understanding, though I would stress that it is only a beginning.

Living Civilizations

ANOTHER FACTOR THAT HINDERS A FULL program of education on Soviet Russia is the traditional scheme of majoring or concentration in our liberal arts colleges and

the conventional reluctance to consider contemporary subjects as suitable material. Emphasis should be placed upon a knowledge of the total civilization of foreign countries and our relation to them, and not merely upon their languages and literatures. It is true that the study of human values in intellectual discipline has commonly been centered in civilization's accomplishments in the past, but human values may be studied with equal validity in the accomplishments of the present.

No doubt, secondary schools will feel the impact of this new demand in some measure, but it will be in the liberal arts colleges that such training will be most in order. And this interest in international education will help to infuse into them that increment of utility which has been lacking in a system that has failed to adjust itself fully to modern educational needs.

With this kind of program in mind, the time has come for American higher education to introduce into the regular curriculum the study of the civilization of Soviet Russia, as well as the study of the contemporary civilizations of the other great nations with which we must live in close contact in the future. It is not propaganda, either of the right or left, that we want, but the truth, whether it be good or bad, about the Soviet Union.

Cornell's Intensive Study

IN ITS SUMMER SEMESTER OF 1943, CORNELL University introduced such a program, called "An Intensive Study of Contemporary Russian Civilization." As the prospectus put it, "The war and our future relations with Russia have made a thorough knowledge and understanding of that country an essential part of American educational experience." In offering a comprehensive and integrated study of the civilization of the Soviet Union, the program consisted of five full semester courses on Soviet literature, history, government, and international relations, economic theory and practice, and social institutions and life.

These basic courses were supplemented by thirteen weekly workshop seminars on specialized subjects: the Russian people, Soviet education, music, medicine and health, jurisprudence, military and naval history, scientific achievements, theater and cinema, agriculture, art, and architecture; also the Soviet Union and the Far East, industrial development, and Soviet Russia and the Peace. A large staff of distinguished experts, all of whom have had direct contact with the Soviet Union, was assembled to teach these subjects.

One thing soon became clear. In the course of the orderly process of classroom instruction, the psychological element of fear among the students quickly disappeared. The symbolic words "Red" and "communism" ceased to arouse instinctive hostility towards Russia; they became simply necessary descriptive terms in the business of imparting information. In brief, education by overcoming ignorance destroyed fear and prepared the way for an objective and rational understanding of a

great country and its millions of people.

Cornell intends to repeat these courses next summer, for its experiment has proved the validity of such training from the point of view both of education and of academic organization. Many inquiries from educators throughout the country and from Canada for details on the organization and teaching methods involved, attest the desire to establish similar studies in other institutions of higher learning. Clearly, in various branches of trade, industry, and science a premium will be placed in the future on an expert knowledge of Soviet Russia.

It is interesting to observe that the Russians themselves, anticipating the significance of their relations with America and other foreign countries after the war, have already set up an Institute for Foreign Trade and International Relations in Moscow to train men and women for these endeavors. And England and Sweden recently took steps to organize educational training for those who will carry on future commercial and diplomatic business with Soviet Russia. In this respect, Americans cannot afford to lag behind.

An Institute of Slavic Studies

IT IS TO BE HOPED, THEN, THAT CORNELL'S experiment may encourage other universities to undertake similar projects in contemporary civilizations. Once the high schools observe that these studies of Soviet Russia are in the colleges and universities to stay, they will not be loathe to introduce the study of the Russian language, and perhaps some elementary knowledge about the Soviet Union that would be a corrective to the utter lack of such information now, or the occasional misinformation to be found in American high school and college textbooks.

In turn, widespread educational interest might eventually stimulate the establishment of something that is badly needed in this country—an Institute of Slavic Studies, similar to the school connected with London University in England. Such an institute, primarily on the graduate level, could bring together foremost authorities in the field to concentrate on training the expert personnel necessary for teaching positions, for government service, and for various branches of American industry whose business with the Soviet Union will expand after the war.

Clearly, we must speed up the process of educating ourselves on Soviet Russia and other nations. Political isolationism is a positive reflection of our intellectual isolationism. The intolerance often manifested towards Russia and other foreign peoples is born of ignorance of their way of life. Nations today desperately need to know the whole truth about each other. Only that will set them free from deeply-rooted prejudices and national antagonisms that lead to wars. Such truth can come only through education conceived on an international basis and dedicated to the high purpose of promoting peace among the nations of the world.

Stumbling Blocks and Stepping Stones

What good sense and good will can do in turning into good relations the things that hamper understanding.

HAROLD H. FISHER

"IN MELITOPOL," WROTE THE COLONEL, "there have been captured and liquidated 42 Bolsheviks." *That was on April 7, 1918.*

In Los Angeles, a state senator tried to prevent the meeting of a writers' congress. He charged, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, that it was communist inspired. *This was on October 1, 1943.*

These two occurrences, so far apart in time and space, have this in common: they both rest on the assumption that being a communist, believing in communism or even associating with communists, deprives one of certain rights, privileges, immunities accorded to those members of the community with other associates and beliefs.

For twenty-five years many an American has taken this line. Whenever we wanted to discredit a proposal, we said it was communistic. Then we didn't have to argue about it. When the Japanese invaded China, it was to stamp out the communist menace. Mussolini not only made the trains run on time; he saved Italy from communism. The Nazis behaved outrageously but we overlooked them because Hitler did put the communists in their place. Better Hitler than the near-communist Blum, they said in France. And so we stood aside while the Nazis and the fascists helped Franco and his mercenaries save Spain from communism. In that way, too, we were going to keep the war from spreading!

For twenty-five years we have been acting on the assumption that communism was intolerable outside of Russia and a failure inside. Now things have happened which force us to decide whether we are going to try to keep on with this assumption. There may be some doubt as to whether communists inspired the Los Angeles writers' congress, but there is no doubt that they have inspired some other things—Stalingrad, for instance.

Well, what are we going to do about it?

The columnist Samuel Grafton has said that we have to decide whether we intend to live in the same world with Russia after the war. More than that is involved.

I. WE MUST DECIDE WHETHER WE SHALL not only accept Soviet Russia as an equal of the United States and the British Commonwealth and Empire, but whether we shall tolerate communism as a legitimate political doctrine which one may hold without jeopardizing rights as a citizen; whether we are prepared to interpret the right of liberated nations to governments and institutions of their own choosing as including the right to choose a communist government and communist institutions. Our reluctance to decide these questions affirmatively is, I be-

lieve, the biggest stumbling block to good relations and a serious danger to a stable peace. (Let me say that to tolerate communism is not the same as saying that communist institutions are superior to all others.)

II. THE SECOND BIG STUMBLING BLOCK TO good relations is Russia's territorial claims and her interest in regimes that are set up in the countries lying in what the Russians call their zone of security—that is, in the Balkans, Eastern Europe, the Middle East. Are we going to deny the Soviet claim that the peoples of some of the border states voted to join the USSR? Are the Anglo-Americans and the Russians both going to try to build up blocs of buffer states to protect them from each other? All this, of course, is tied up with the number one problem of equality and legitimacy.

III. SO IS NUMBER THREE STUMBLING block. Our habit has been to think of Europe as the place where the toughest problems grow. That used to be true. But now that Asia has come into production, our third stumbling block will be found in the status of Eastern peoples in the postwar world. What are we going to do about such issues as racial equality, the status of dependent areas which are to be liberated from the Japanese, and, in fact, the whole problem of imperialism? The Soviet attitude in these matters is unlike the traditional European policy and in that fact lie possibilities of great trouble for us and for the world.

These three stumbling blocks—inequality, insecurity, imperialism—are serious but

—By the distinguished director (since 1924) of the Hoover War Library at Stanford University, professor of history there and (since 1934) director of the Russian Revolution Institute.

Vermont born, he served as a captain of field artillery, AEF (1917-19); and in 1922 took part in work in Russia of the American Relief Administration. For four years (1920 on) he was chief of its historical department.

A shelf of books of which he is author or co-author attest his competence as an authority: "The Famine in Soviet Russia" (1927); "America and the New Poland" (1928); "Public Relations of the Commission for Relief in Belgium" (1929); "The Bolshevik Revolution" (1934); "The Bolsheviks and the World War: the Origin of the Third International" (1940).

not insurmountable. As a matter of fact they can be taken apart and made into stepping stones for good relations if we and the Russians have enough good will and good sense.

I. INEQUALITY

THE FIRST THING TO REALIZE ABOUT THE number one problem of equality is how deep-seated are the suspicion and fear of communism. Selfish and stupid people have done their best to keep such fears alive, but they did not make them up out of whole cloth. They put them together pretty largely out of materials furnished by the communists themselves. These materials are of two kinds: the words and deeds of the communist parties and the policies of Russian communists carried out by the Soviet government.

A revolution generates a kind of violence more persistent than that of war in which devastation and casualties may be vastly greater. Moreover, the Russian Bolsheviks not only expropriated and destroyed the nobility and the middle classes of Russia but they promised to destroy the middle classes of every other country as soon as they could get around to it. But that was not all. The Bolsheviks destroyed, one after another, the other radical parties in Russia, the socialists, the anarchists, and finally their own collaborators in the Revolution and in the first Soviet government—the Socialist Revolutionists of the Left.

They attacked with invective and anything handy the liberals and socialists of other countries. And on the eve of Hitler's triumph, the German communists were denouncing the supporters of the Weimar Republic as social fascists and by some strange process of reasoning confusing the Nazi victory with the first stage of the communist revolution. There was no one left with whom the communists could quarrel except themselves and, to the delight of their enemies and the consternation of their friends, they did just that, first purging the left wing and then the right.

Besides the purges, such other policies as their anti-religious campaign, their support of revolutionary propaganda abroad, their denial of freedom of speech and association, their build-up of Stalin as benign, omniscient, infallible—all these caused hatred, fear or disillusionment in this country.

These difficulties are attributable, in most cases, not to communism but to inheritance. For example, Communist Party tactics have stemmed not from many decades of party experience, in and out of government, but from the fierce sectarianism of political

exiles who were suddenly transported from obscure cafes in Geneva or the inn at Zimmerwald to places of great power. Control of opinion, censorship, the monopoly of political action by a privileged group, the personification of a regime in a single figure—these are as familiar and natural to Russians as the political shenanigans of a Presidential election year are to us.

Grass Roots of Behavior

RUSSIA HAS CARRIED OUT AN INDUSTRIAL revolution over a huge area in the incredibly short time of a generation. We are amazed at the transformation of sleepy country villages into noisy factory towns, and we are somewhat shocked to discover that a similar transformation has not taken place in the political behavior of the people. We forget that it is a great deal easier to teach shepherds how to run tractors than to govern themselves.

Men cling to habitual ways; the Little Father, the Tsar, goes and the father of the new Russia, the Great Stalin, comes to the Kremlin. Now this does not mean that there has been no change in the political behavior of the Russians or that Stalin is just another Tsar. It means that Russians find it more comfortable and reassuring to believe that their head man is endowed with fatherly qualities of wisdom and authority than to believe, as I was brought up to do, that office holders are the servants of the people, and whenever these servants get a notion that they possess superior qualities it is time to get some new servants.

Russians, I am sure, would be just as uncomfortable under my system as I should be under theirs. We shall do well to recognize that, so long as we and the Russians do not try to impose our familiar ways on each other, we can live in the same world with only a tolerable amount of friction and misunderstanding.

Exit the Comintern

IF THE RUSSIANS HAVE NOT CHANGED THEIR political methods as fundamentally as they have changed their agricultural methods, they still have changed them a great deal. These have changed not only from Tsarist times but also from their own practices in the early years of the Soviets. There are many examples; I shall mention three. One comprehends the abandonment of the anti-religious campaign, the encouragement of tolerance and the recognition of the Orthodox hierarchy. Another is recognition of individual achievement.

Another example of the operation of something like the biological principle of adaptation is the obsolescence and finally the disappearance of the Comintern. As a general staff for world revolution this had raised a small army, the contingents of which were the national communist parties. In spite of an unbroken series of defeats, these won a terrifying reputation, due partly to the fact that the communists, like primitive armies, made up in noise for what they lacked in numbers and ammunition. But the communists owe their reputation

less to themselves than to their opponents—first to the angry reactionaries and timid conservatives who built up the communist menace as a bogey with which to oppose progressive legislation, and later to the fascists, the Nazis, and the militarists in Japan and elsewhere who used the communist menace to scare people into surrendering their liberties to their own dictators.

By the time these dictators were reaching the crescendo of their hullabaloo, the Comintern had in fact ceased to be the general staff of world revolution and had become, what some of its left wing critics called it, an adjunct of the Soviet Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. This transformation was due chiefly to the fact that the Russian communists themselves had to do what every other revolutionary regime has done to survive, that is to settle down to the business of governing, of giving security and stability to the country. The Soviet government took steps to protect itself against revolution; and the Communist Party, which managed the government, became a party of order and stability, not of upheaval.

Here are some of the signs of this transition: the triumph of the doctrine of "socialism in one country" over "permanent revolution" . . . longer and longer intervals between congresses of the Comintern . . . the shift from support of revision of the 1919 treaties to support of the status quo under the formula of collective security . . . the revival of Russian nationalism . . . the Stalin constitution of 1936 . . . and, of course, the purges. The dissolution of the Comintern last year and the recent adoption of a new national anthem in place of "The International" are belated acknowledgments of a condition that has existed for some time.

These developments mean, it seems to me, that those dreads and dislikes which have caused us to apply different standards to the communists and Russia no longer have the same substance. We need not fear Russia as the backer of revolutionary communism, because under Stalin's leadership communism is no longer revolutionary as it was in the first years of the Bolshevik Revolution. Nor fear that recognition of an equality of status for communism would mean the spread of those features of the Soviet regime that seem intolerable to us, for they are not essentially attributable to communism and in any case are slowly being modified.

Where We Come In

FURTHERMORE, WE OUGHT NOT TO FORGET the debt that the democracies owe to Russia for her defense against the Nazis and we shall not be allowed to ignore the prestige that Russia and communism have won in Europe because of that defense. In the face of all this, we must either concede an equal status to communism or we must conclude that the world is too small for the communist system and ours and prepare to fight it out.

I do not think there is much likelihood

of our deliberately deciding to fight it out, although there are some among us who would like nothing better. The danger is that we shall hesitate so long to concede equality of status to Russia and to communism that we shall find ourselves in a finish fight over differences that are neither real nor vital. We may find ourselves saying to the peoples whom we help liberate in Europe and Asia that they must not get the notion that we have spent our blood and treasure so that they could go communist. We are liberating them, we may say, so that they may imitate us, not Russia. That they will have the right to choose institutions of their liking, provided they choose our kind. That to adopt Russian ways would mean an increase in Russian power and endanger our own security.

This could happen. It would be the end of all hope of peace. It would cause a civil war in the ranks of democracy, for both Russians and Americans are believers in the capacity of men to govern themselves, in equality of opportunity and in the right of the majority to rule. Neither we nor the Russians always live up to our professions. We think they fail miserably on the political side and they think we fall just as far short on the economic side. But with all our failures we both believe in the dignity of the individual, in the ideal of a classless society (although that is not what we call it) and in human freedom. If we and the Russians can come to realize that the goals we have in common are fundamental for the peace and well being of nations, while our differences are the result of history and circumstances and subject to change, we shall have found the most necessary of all stepping stones to good relations.

II. INSECURITY

THE PROBLEM OF RUSSIA'S WESTERN FRONTIERS is not as big a stumbling block as number one, but it is big enough. American opinion is not much concerned about Bessarabia. But the eastern districts of prewar Poland and the three Baltic republics are a different matter. Americans may know that these areas were part of the old Russian Empire; they may even agree with the declaration that "the Baltic Sea is to Russia what the Gulf of Mexico is to the United States, strategically and economically." But they are not likely to forget that the Soviet government agreed in 1920 to the separation of these areas from Russia and in 1940 repossessed them in apparent collusion or agreement with the Nazis. All this makes it hard to accept the Russian contention that the inclusion of these areas in the USSR is in line with the Atlantic Charter.

There are two aspects of the matter which we should keep separate. The first is whether the union of these areas with Russia is against the will of the people who live there; the second is whether these acquired areas represent all of Russia's territorial demands or whether they are just the beginning.

With regard to the first, the Soviet position is as follows:
(Continued on page 148)

RUSSIA'S DEFENDERS—Across Seven Hundred Years



Tanks and the armor of camouflage in a street battle.—Detail of painting by Grandi, Soviet artist



In coats of mail, conquerors of the Teutonic Knights at Lake Peipus.—Painting by Lansere, Soviet artist



The three leaders at Teheran, December 1, 1943: Premier Stalin, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill

The United States and the Soviet Union

To use a French saying, Russians and Americans alike can see beyond their village steeples. Both, if they will, can be in the vanguard of a new world order.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

THIS COUNTRY'S RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA since the first World War have been strangely misshapen. Each has tended to see the other through a distorting glass of false assumptions. As a result neither could, or perhaps would, understand the other's motives and actions. The mental pictures each accepted have seemed to any dispassionate observer consistently out of focus.

In 1917 some Americans jumped to the conclusion, unwarranted by Russia's past history, that the downfall of Tsarism heralded the birth of democracy. When, instead, this was followed by the establishment of "the dictatorship of the proletariat" under Lenin, our country turned away in revulsion from the hardships and brutalities that marked the revolutionary growing-pains of Soviet Russia.

Meanwhile, some Soviet theorists jumped to the equally unwarranted conclusion that the United States was ripe for a revolution on the Bolshevik model, and as late as 1941 perpetuated the idea that "The Grapes of Wrath" was an accurate portrayal of the American way of life.

Once Soviet Russia and the United States had taken a straightforward look at each other following resumption of official relations in 1933, and particularly after Nazi Germany's invasion of the USSR in 1941,

—By the research director and editor of the Foreign Policy Association, lately consultant to OFRRO and now to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

In her work for the FPA—since a master's degree at Yale and a doctorate at Radcliffe—Mrs. Dean has taken high rank in her chosen field. Witness her volume "Europe in Retreat" (1940), based on documentary research reinforced by frequent trips to Europe.

Back of her penetrating treatment of American-Soviet relations, also lie her childhood in St. Petersburg, her thesis on "Government de Facto," with special reference to the Soviet Government (1928), and her recent findings in an FPA Headline Book, "Russia at War" (1942), and an FPA report, "The USSR and Postwar Europe" (1943).

neither could recognize the mental picture it had hitherto entertained. For Russia did not disintegrate politically and economically under the impact of German attack—as some Americans had predicted in their disappointment at Russia's failure to produce Utopia. Nor did the United States, in the wake of Pearl Harbor, undergo the internal upheaval—as might have been an-

anticipated in the light of earlier Soviet analyses of our historical "conjuncture."

Now that both peoples, in what is still a far too limited way, have seen each other face to face, stripped for action in a life-and-death struggle for survival, some of the false ideas nurtured on either side are gradually, to use Engels' famous phrase, "withering away." Enough misconceptions linger on, however, so that both in Moscow and Washington it behooves us to be on the alert against the ever present danger of allowing relations between the two countries to be clouded again by mutual doubts and fears.

Free Play and Friction

IT SO HAPPENS, THROUGH THE ACCIDENTS of geography and natural resources, that of all the great powers in the world the USSR and the USA have, between them, the fewest possible points of friction.

For the present, and the visible future as well, their relations are not threatened by territorial conflicts such as, for example, have arisen in the past between Russia and Britain in the eastern Mediterranean, the Near East, and the Middle East.

Neither are the United States and Soviet Russia, so far as can be foreseen for the moment, competitors for markets or raw

materials. Both have within their borders—with the notable exception of tin and rubber, lacked by both—most of the foodstuffs and raw materials required for modern industry. After the war, Russia will need its industrial plant, in considerable part destroyed or damaged by invasion, to fill the far from satisfied basic wants of its own vast population. After the war, the United States, its industrial system greatly expanded and thoroughly modernized as a result of war production, will be in a position to supply Russia's need for tools, machinery, and equipment of all kinds, provided that trade on a practicable basis can be restored throughout the world.

It is therefore not in the realm of conflict over territories or markets and raw materials that misconceptions endangering American-Russian relations are to be found.

The danger lies in the far more tenuous and, for that very reason, more disturbing realm of political policy. And here there are two issues which must be squarely faced by both countries if collaboration between them, so essential for postwar stabilization in Europe and Asia, is to be achieved and maintained.

Both issues concern the future aspirations of Russia and of the United States as great powers.

The first, as seen from both Moscow and Washington, is whether each will seek to aggrandize itself territorially after the war, in spite of the pledges of the Atlantic Charter.

The second, as seen from Washington, is whether Russia will seek to spread revolution throughout the world; and, as seen from Moscow, whether the United States will become the champion of restoration and reaction.

While one of these issues concerns ter-

ritorial expansion, and the other ideology, the two are inextricably linked together.

Mutual Fears

IN THIS COUNTRY, THERE IS FEAR THAT the Soviet leaders will capitalize on the victory of the United Nations over Nazi Germany to improve Russia's strategic position on the continent, and that Soviet Russia, as a result, will become the dominant power in Europe—no longer to be counterbalanced, as might have been done in the past, by a strong Germany, or France, or Britain, or even by a European federation or coalition of some kind. This fear is paralleled with respect to Asia for there, too, some Americans believe that Russia, industrially more advanced than any one of its Asiatic neighbors, will be in the ascendant after the war, and assume the position of leadership forfeited by the Western powers.

The Soviet leaders, for their part, still suspect that the United States is by no means irrevocably committed to a system of world organization, notwithstanding the Mackinac conference, the indications of the Gallup poll, and the Senate's adoption of the Connally resolution. On the contrary, the belief persists in Moscow, even after the Teheran conference, that some Americans at least might use fear of Russia's emergence as a world power to justify a "soft peace" for Germany and what the Kremlin would regard as exaggerated leniency toward Hitler's satellites in Europe. Moreover, greatly expanded American activities in areas formerly regarded as within Russia's orbit—the Balkans, the Near and Middle East—while today unquestionably helpful to the USSR, raise as many questions as would undoubtedly arise in this country if large Russian military and economic missions were hard at work in, let us say, Mexico or Panama.

It would be childish to pretend that Russia can be indifferent to what takes place in countries along its borders, just as it would be childish to pretend that the United States is not concerned with developments in the Caribbean and in Latin America. From the Kremlin's point of view, its security demands that the governments of border states should not be inimical either to the Russian national state or to its political and economic system. It so happens that, during the inter-war years 1919-1939, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece were all ruled by regimes which were either both anti-Russian and anti-communist (as in the case of Pilsudski and Colonel Beck in Poland), or, if sympathetic to Russia as a nation, were openly hostile to the Soviet system. This last was true of the regimes headed by four kings—Carol of Rumania, Alexander of Yugoslavia, George of Greece, and Boris of Bulgaria.

Now there is no doubt that small countries have just as much right as the great powers to determine their own form of government. Russia's intervention in the affairs of its neighbors can no more be justified than United States intervention in the affairs of the countries of Central and South America. But no one familiar with this area of Europe could contend that, except for Czechoslovakia (whose presidents, Masaryk and Benes, both favored collaboration with Russia), the peoples themselves had a genuine opportunity to determine either foreign or domestic policy. Similarly, the United States is far from indifferent to internal changes recently effected in Argentina and Bolivia. And even the staunchest supporter of self-determination could not contend that the regimes of these two countries, established by military cliques, were the result of free choice on the part of their peoples. (Continued on page 128)



Signing the Moscow Pact, October 30, 1943. Left to right: Foo Ping-sheung, Cordell Hull, V. Molotov, Anthony Eden

WHAT IS OBVIOUS IS THAT GREAT POWERS always have, and always will have, an intense natural concern with the aims and policies of their weaker neighbors—not merely because these are weak and therefore easily swayed, but because their weakness eventually leaves them no choice except to play one great power against another in the hope of thus maintaining at least the semblance of independence. As long as international society remains in a state of anarchy, in which each great power seeks to assure its own security singlehanded by the seizure of adjoining territories or the creation of spheres of influence, no small nation can hope to be wholly free to determine its own fate.

The answer, then, to the fears both Russia and the United States have about their future aspirations is not for each to set out to prevent the other from exerting its influence. That would be like trying to stem the normal processes of nature. The answer is that each should work unremittingly for the creation of a world organization through which, as foreshadowed by the Moscow accord and the Teheran conference, all countries, great and small, could be assured equality and security—with the great powers assuming a degree of responsibility for the maintenance of stable conditions commensurate with their superior military and economic resources. Only when such a system has been created will Russia's fear of anti-Soviet machinations along its borders gradually subside. The same is true of our corresponding fear of anti-United States maneuvers in the Western Hemisphere and other continents.

Should such a world organization be established, it would then not only be possible, but essential to postwar stabilization, that peoples in contested areas should be given an opportunity, through internationally supervised plebiscites, to determine their own future with a degree of freedom hitherto denied to them not only by would-be foreign conquerors, but often by their own governments. (This means not only the Baltic states and Eastern Poland, but other hitherto dependent areas.)

Otherwise we shall witness a catastrophic struggle between the victorious great powers over the spoils of victory—and an attempt on their part, foredoomed from the outset, to impose order by force on the small countries.

Revolution as a Factor

WHILE MANY AMERICANS WOULD concede that Russia has an immediate concern in Eastern Europe and the Balkans just as we have in the Caribbean and Latin America, some point out that, in contrast to the United States, Russia may be preparing to foster revolution in adjoining countries, and perhaps all over the world. In this crucial respect, they contend, there can be no fair comparison between the United States and Russia.

This issue is of such importance to future relations between Russia and the United

States that it deserves the frankest possible discussion. Clearly it is impossible to draw an exact comparison between the two.

Soviet Russia today is still a country freshly emerged from revolution, and therefore has something of the same emotional ardor and missionary zeal that France had in 1789, when the doctrines of the French Revolution swayed men everywhere, far beyond the confines of France and even Europe. In contrast, the United States had settled down before the war to often complacent acceptance of ideas and practices inherited from an older revolution, and had become fearful of changes effected by force in other countries. This does not mean, however, that we have not tried, even in this century, to influence peoples outside our borders, or have not urged them to adopt our way of life—without always understanding that their past traditions (for example in Latin America) were not the best possible preparation for the establishment of Western democratic institutions.

Changes Ahead

SO FAR AS EUROPE IS CONCERNED, WE IN the United States have not yet fully grasped the moral crisis that has swept the continent under Nazi rule. Within European hearts and minds, an agonizing struggle has been waged between the desire to achieve reform of admittedly obsolete or unsatisfactory conditions by peaceful evolution and democratic methods, and the urge to find a quick way out by revolution. No one who has witnessed the havoc wrought by revolutionary movements during the past quarter of a century can possibly believe that revolution is in itself desirable. But, unless necessary reforms are effected in time in countries liberated from the Nazi yoke, revolution may prove the only course open to desperate peoples.

There is no reason to assume that the Soviet government desires revolution in Europe solely for the sake of revolution. Peace and stability on the continent will be as much needed by Russia, whose ravaged territories must be reconstructed after the war, as by other countries. What Moscow will seek is the creation, especially in countries along its borders, of governments sympathetic to the Soviet Union and offering no threat to its security. These governments need not necessarily be recruited from communists in order to win Soviet support. But they cannot be anti-Soviet or used by other great powers to checkmate Russia.

That changes will take place in Europe in the wake of war can be taken for granted. The conquered peoples are not only resisting Hitler's "new order." They are also determined to prevent the return of the old order that made Hitler's expansion possible.

But there is no evidence that the peoples of Western Europe want to adopt the Soviet pattern after the war. On the contrary, they would probably prefer to use democratic methods—provided that by these methods they can obtain the reforms they regard as necessary for reconstruction.

THE SITUATION PROMISES TO BE PROFOUNDLY different in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, where social and economic conditions before the war resembled those of Russia in 1917, and may produce similar explosions. In fact, it is entirely possible that some of these countries, especially those of Slav origin which have a historic orientation toward Russia, may seek their future security in closer links with their neighbor to the East, even to the extent of joining the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. To blame Russian propaganda or Russian influence for such developments, if they occur, would be worse than futile. During the inter-war years the United States and Britain had ample opportunity to make their influence felt in this area of Europe, and to create there a bulwark of democracy. If we have lost out, it is not primarily because of Russia's action, but because of our own inaction.

This may prove even more true in Asia, where the Russians have steadily gained in influence, partly because they have demonstrated what a relatively backward nation can accomplish without dependence on foreign capital, and partly because the Russian people have little of that sense of racial superiority that has so often marred the relations of Western countries with the peoples of the Orient. Neither in Europe nor in the Far East will it be possible or desirable for us merely to negate Russia. If we want to exercise equal influence over men's minds, we must open up equally tempting vistas into the future.

That cannot be done if the United States becomes identified in the public opinion of other continents—as has happened too often during the war years—with restoration and reaction. There is no doubt that, in the postwar period, there will be a contest between the American and Russian ways of life both in Europe and Asia. But there is no reason why it should not be an honorable competition as to which of these profoundly different ways of life is best adapted to the special needs of very diverse peoples at the particular stage of development each has attained.

The Major Task of Our Times

IF, AFTER THIS WAR, AS MUST BE HOPED, Russia and the United States definitely emerge from the isolation in which both have been living to a greater or lesser extent since 1919, both could be in the vanguard of twentieth century internationalism. Both Russians and Americans, to use a French saying, have a capacity for "looking beyond their own village steeples." Whether because they live in vast areas with limitless horizons, or because both peoples are made up of many different racial strains, both have a tendency to see the world in larger terms. Both, if they are determined to do so, can make an invaluable contribution to the major task of our times—the task of combining the best values of nationalism with the inescapable necessity for international collaboration.



Old Bottles: New Wine
(Continued from page 99)

In his anger Ashmedai himself flew in search of Lenin who dwelt in the coldest city in the north, from whence he was sending his disciples to free cities and villages from the tyranny of the rich. Ashmedai entered the city where Lenin lived and saw him speaking to the poor of freedom. And such a light flamed forth from Lenin's words that terror overcame Ashmedai, and he fled.

He informed the rich that Lenin's men were coming to wage war against them, and they groaned in horror, anticipating their doom. Again they called a council and resolved to fill the hearts of the believers with the holy fire of hatred against the mountain Jews.

Lured by gold and deceived by the rich, the people of Daghestan shed the innocent blood of the Jews. But mountain eagles flew to the distant land in the north, and told Lenin of the treachery and cruelty of the rich. Lenin mounted an eagle and flew to Daghestan. Dressed as a poor man he raised all the poor and the distressed against the tyrants. He tore off a part of his fiery body, and lit the flame of war against the rich. Then he flew back to his cold land in the north to write books of truth for the people.

And the pupils of Lenin brought freedom to many lands.

Ashmedai saw that he was powerless against Lenin, and he fled to the countries not yet freed by him. But the day is near when Lenin will forever vanquish the evil Ashmedai.

CHAPAYEV

*A Russian Fairy Tale**

AND INDEED CHAPAYEV DIDN'T DROWN IN the foamy gray Ural.

He swam across the river—not in vain was he famed a great swimmer—and the Cossacks went in pursuit of him.

Plucky was this fellow Chapayev! The mounted White Cossacks kept pressing on after him as he fled from them into the woods. Bullets whizzed above his head, but he dodged them, crouching low, and rushed along.

The Cossacks were on his heels already, but he tricked them by jumping into a bear's cave. The Whites rushed past, thinking he was still ahead of them. Chapayev, in the meantime, crawled out of the cave and ran along a side path hidden in the bushes.

The forest was dense and dark, and Chapayev must have run for many hours, for evening was setting in when he at last reached the edge of the woods. The sun was already rolling beyond the edge of the steppe.

* Recorded in Kuzh'vev region, March 1936, as told by Anastasia Ivanovna Filomina.

Chapayev looked about him and saw a nomad tent to his right, the horses grazing in the steppe. He walked toward the tent.

"Who is Host?" Chapayev called out.

Complete silence answered him. One could only hear the grass sing, and the call of larks in the sky.

"Who is Host?" called Chapayev again. "Come forward."

A rustling sound reached him from the tent, and an ancient Kirghiz crawled out of it.

"What is your wish, friend of the steppe?" he said.

"I am Chapai," said Chapayev. "Vassili Ivanovich, the commander of the Chapayev Division. I am fighting for a free and a happy life for the poor."

"I've heard about you," said the old man. "You are a great hero, and all the world knows of you. All the poor love Chapayev—the Russians and the Kirghiz, the Tartars and the Chuvash alike."

Suddenly he bent low, held his ear close to the ground and listened. His face darkened and grew worried.

"Your enemies are on your trail," he said, "and are drawing close."

The old Kirghiz quickly ran into his tent, and fetched a piece of cheese and a pot of *kumiss*.

"Eat and drink," he said, "but be quick about it! Then we'll see what can be done."

Chapayev ate, wiped his mustache with his shirtsleeve and waited to hear what the old man would say.

The Kirghiz again held his ear to the ground and listened.

"The White Cossacks are close," he said. "They might come galloping out of the woods any moment now. Their horses are fast as deer, but ours are faster yet; they are like mountain falcons."

The old Kirghiz rose to his weak, trembling knees and whistled so that the entire steppe heard him. Then Chapayev saw a stallion leave the drove and race toward them. Rarely a king had a horse such as this! He was like a flame. A white star shone in the center of his chest, and his eyes were as bright as the eyes of man.

"Here is a horse for you," said the old Kirghiz. "He will speed you away from any danger. Also take this silver saber and the gilded gun. They will prove your faithful friends." Handing the saber and the gun to Chapayev, he said:

"Mount to the left. After five days and five nights, the stallion will bring you to the Black Eagle Mountain of which no mortal knows. You will camp there and no one will ever find you. But when the hour strikes, you will emerge from there, and go to the aid of the poor and save them from their yoke."

Chapayev embraced the old man and kissed him three times.

"Fly fast, bright falcon, the Cossacks are at hand."

Chapayev jumped into the saddle, caught the halter and swift as lightning the stallion shot through the woods.

(Continued on page 130)

Special Number of *SURVEY MIDMONTHLY* for March

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

A challenge to

CONCERTED ACTION

NOW AND AFTER THE WAR

Delinquency is probably the most pressing of our wartime community problems, reflected in the mounting concern of teachers, clergymen, public officials, social workers, the police and above all the mothers and fathers of the country. Here and there an attack has been made on the problem by interested persons and agencies but in general there is a good deal of uncertainty as to what can be done and how.

This special number of *SURVEY MIDMONTHLY* proposes that delinquency is a fundamental and continuing problem which can be solved only by concerted action now, under wartime conditions. It outlines ways of using the various specialized services that are essential to an overall community plan, and it reports experience from cities and rural areas where planning and action are in effect.

Among the Contributors

- Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck
- Eliot Ness • Kathryn Close
- Austin H. MacCormick
- Katharine F. Lenroot
- Genevieve Gabower
- Bradley Buell

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The sun in the meantime dropped somewhere beyond the horizon, and night fell upon the steppe, dark as pitch.

The Cossacks came galloping out of the woods, and surrounded the old Kirghiz.

"Where is Chapayev hiding?"

"I know not," he said, "I have not seen him."

"You are lying to us!" cried the Cossacks. "You did see him, for there was no other place for him to go to."

They searched everywhere. The tent, the nearby woods, but found no trace of Chapai. The officer then shouted his command:

"Hang this old Kirghiz monkey on an aspen tree!"

They hung the noble old man on an aspen tree, and burned his tent.

Then they went far back to the place where their general was, and reported that Chapayev had drowned in the Ural River.

And now, only the steppes knew of Chapayev's heroic deeds. Time and again he would save Red Army troops from disaster!

A detachment would seem on the verge of destruction, with few men remaining, and all their ammunition gone. It would seem as though any moment the Whites would hack them to pieces, when suddenly, as if from the very sky, Chapayev would appear.

Flying on his stallion as though it were a bird, he'd swing his silver saber, the folds of his wide felt cloak outspread in the wind.

"Follow me, Comrades!"

The Red Army men, their hearts aflame, would follow Chapayev into a fierce attack and press on until no enemy remained alive.

And when all was quiet, they would notice that Chapayev was gone. Then they'd wonder: "Was he really with us?" But many swear they saw Chapayev, and that he was wearing the Order of Lenin on his chest.

Meet the Russian People

(Continued from page 45)

own corps of workers to go out and build others."

And so it was. The huge steel and concrete structure is dynamited and in ruins but in the people now reside the knowledge and skill to rebuild it and to erect still bigger ones. In the course of a generation, 20,000,000 Russian nomads and peasants were transformed into mechanics, engineers, welders, tank drivers, gunners, pilots, bombardiers. And good ones, too, as the Germans who have felt their impact will attest.

So enthusiastically did the Russians plump for the new wonder-working machines and techniques that they named their children after them — *Tractora, Dynamo, Electricita, Radium*. So great has been their obsession that, as Harold Ware who brought the first American tractors observed, "Like us, a Russian will spend a week trying to devise a machine to do some job that could

be done in a day with an axe." But out of this curiosity come machines that do the work of a thousand axes. Into the patent office in Moscow as into that in Washington pours a steady stream of new inventions.

In terms of blueprints, pistons, kilowatts, amperes, the workers in Kharkov and Leningrad have a common language with their contemporaries in Detroit and Pittsburgh.

Unearthed Talents

THE GERMANS HAD CALLED THOSE RUSSIANS "mechanically inept and stupid," "congenitally unfitted for industry." How then did it come to pass that in so short a time they became masters of the machine? To understand this, we must erase from our minds that image of the peasant—a clumsy, oxlike, shambling, dull-witted creature—derived from Edwin Markham's "Man with a Hoe." Primitive as were the 300,000 Russian villages, crude as were their implements, they possessed a genuine culture. Indeed, their very primitiveness called forth and developed a high degree of skill and intelligence.

Think of the dexterity involved in building (with hardly anything more than an axe) a tight, winter proof house decorated in intricate scroll work along eaves and windows! There are weavers the world round; but think of the folk-knowledge and deftness of hand in processing flax—planting and reaping it; carding and spinning it into threads; weaving them on hand looms into linen; bleaching it on the grass; dyeing it with bright colors concocted out of roots and barks—until it finally emerges as a gaily embroidered towel or dress.

Out of the "cottage industries" come artisans who sometimes are artists. Entire villages engage winter long in the making of laces, samovars, sleds, wagons, musical instruments. These aptitudes especially show themselves in the lacquer and ikon-painting villages. Tillage of the soil itself demands a cunning and craftsmanship more exacting than city dwellers can conceive—when the earth has to be made to yield up its crops with plows, harrows and rakes fashioned out of trees and saplings.

With this background it was not hard for the Russians to acquire the new trades and techniques of modern industry. Why should we be surprised considering that Slavs comprise fully a third of the mechanics of Pittsburgh, Gary and Detroit? With us the process, stretched over a longer period, was elicited through individual experience and did not embrace such vast areas.

Urbanization, Here and Over There

BOTH PEOPLES HAVE SHARED IN THE CITYWARD movement which in modern times is the social counterpart of mechanization. In the last ten years the urban population of Russia has more than doubled, until it is now over 60,000,000. Scores of big towns and cities have mushroomed up around the new industries in the East. The strain upon Russian peasants and nomads in passing from life in the open to the shut-in mines, the offices and factories is far greater than

for American farm boys drawn into our industrial centers. While the peasant could and did work hard in seed time and harvest, his exertions were punctuated by long periods of rest and idleness. But modern industry cannot run by spurts. It demands steady sustained effort, all day long, all the year round. Accustomed hitherto to stop his horse to smoke or talk with a neighbor, the novice wage earner had now to keep pace with a never stopping conveyor. Accustomed to regulate his goings and comings by the sun, it irked him to punch a time clock, or set the rhythm of home life by the screech of a whistle.

Westerners growing up in an industrial society take such canalization of human habits as a matter of course, but to Russians it meant a loss of freedom far more intimate and grievous than any impingement on civil rights. Hence there was much absenteeism, lateness to work; high labor turnover in the factories; reluctance to join the ordered mechanized collective farms. Even if they were better off, the older peasants didn't like routine and discipline.

That these aversions and difficulties were overcome is due to the Russians' capacity for adaptation—their innate flexibility, versatility and realism. Like Americans, they are quick to adjust to almost any place or circumstance. Whether they be doctors or engineers in some lone outpost in the Altai or the Arctic; or *kulaks* uprooted from their farms and exiled to the forests of Archangel; or "White" emigrés fleeing to the big cities of the world from Shanghai to Paris, they soon take root in the new environment.

This mobility and facility for accommodation which made the Russians successful colonizers in the past, now stands them in good stead in their greatest undertaking—the opening up of the immense new terrain to the East—beyond the Urals.

Frontiersmen, a Century Apart

BOTH ARE PIONEER PEOPLES. AS AMERICANS consolidate the conquest of our "Wild West," Russians begin their conquest of thrice greater domains to the East and "Wild North." In Soviet Asia there are three of the ten longest rivers in the world; a fifth of the world's stand of timber; colossal untapped reserves of coal, oil, metals.

"In this now savage wilderness," exclaimed the Russian Lenin in 1918, "a score of civilized states could be built up!" "In controlling this great Heartland," proclaimed the German Haushofer, "we can control the world!" Little meaning to that geopolitical concept so long as this was an untamed, almost unpeopled hinterland. But with the First Five-Year Plan in 1929 the slow trickle of emigrants grew into a stream. Then, with the Nazi onslaught in 1941, this stream suddenly came to flood.

There followed the most unique, if not the greatest, migration in history. In flight from the invading armies, millions of peasants burned their own villages, and with their children, cattle and chattels, began the long trek eastward. Over the rails

moved hundreds of big plants with their workers, engineers and machines—all uprooted from their foundations. In less than a year more than 20,000,000 people found sanctuary in new homes, schools, farms and factories beyond the Urals. And most of them are there to stay.

Now begins in earnest the development of this immense terrain. Unlike that of our West it is largely planned and directed by the government. But the tasks are essentially the same. Settlement calls for draining swamps; blasting a way for roads of steel and macadam through the dense forests; dynamiting ice and timber jams on the rivers; spanning the streams with bridges; building boom towns, sawmills and smelters.

Meanwhile a struggle goes on against Baikal wolves and tigers in the Ussuri jungles; against the deadly stinging mosquito hordes on the tundras; against steppe fires sweeping the cattle ranges and blizzards roaring down from the Arctic. There is wilting heat in the deserts—cold so intense that cement freezes as it pours.

In perpetual battling with the elements the already hardy qualities of the Soviet peoples are further toughened and tempered. Out of it emerge strong, resourceful men and women like our early pathfinders and sod-busters — Soviet replicas of our Boones, Crocketts and Carsons, such as Wendell Willkie encountered in Yakutsk.

Theirs are the qualities that make the Siberian regiments indomitable—composed as they are of lumberjacks, miners, prospectors, and hunters with aim so accurate that they can put a bullet through the eye of a squirrel. Hurried to the Moscow front at the critical moment, they hurled back the Nazis from the gates of the capital. But if they fight well, it is from necessity, not inclination.

Human Equations

BOTH ARE PEACE-LOVING PEOPLES. LIKE Americans the Russians find their deepest satisfaction not in the conquest of their fellowmen but of nature. While they fight like demons, they have a loathing for war. Utterly alien to them is the Prussian delight in militarism, the fascist exaltation of war as a means whereby men grow great and noble.

BOTH ARE FRIENDLY PEOPLES, GIVEN TO hospitality. Peasants will often spend their last *kopeck* feasting a guest, even though they must live on a meager fare of black bread and cabbage soup for weeks afterward. Travelers on the long train and boat journeys, gathering about a samovar or balalaika, are soon singing and talking together like lifelong friends. Even to the foreigner—if Russians like him, and they usually do—they will soon be telling the story of their lives, pouring out inmost secrets "with souls unbuttoned"—*doosha na raspashkoo*.

Not sharing this trust of strangers, the government tried by every means to button them up in the years preceding World War II. By press, radio and posters, it adjured

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them, "Beware of foreign agents! What you know about the Red Army, crops, or factories, keep to yourselves." How well the Russians did this the Nazis will attest, for with all their spies they obtained little information of value. Naturally loquacious, they proved that they could be silent or evasive under necessity. But this was alien to their impulse, and they really suffered under such constraints. Their expansive forthgiving natures will find release only with the removal of national danger and insecurity.

That can be counted one of the benefits, and not the least, flowing from a good peace—the unfreezing of the genial current of their souls. For one of the riches of Russia, as Donald Nelson and Wendell Willkie well know, is the abounding good fellowship and camaraderie of her people.

The Russian Home

BOTH RUSSIANS AND AMERICANS ARE family loving peoples. This needs emphasis in view of the persistent notion that Soviet children are taken from their parents and raised by the state. True, intent that its future citizens shall be well born, the government provides special care for the mother before and after birth; grants pensions to large families; supports an extensive network of crèches and nurseries for working mothers; gives children, in peacetime as in war, first claim on milk, butter, eggs.

While often grumbling against other restrictions, to these priorities the Russians give fervent approval.

Like Americans, they are always ready to stint themselves for their children—loving them, wanting them, better children and more of them. In Russia, almost always it is the father who carries the baby—and this not merely because baby carriages are all but nonexistent. Whatever else the millions of Red Army men driving the Nazis across the steppes may not have, be sure that each one carries a picture of his children, wife, mother, father.

Witnessing to the depth and strength of Russian devotion to family life is the way it has weathered the trials and stresses of the Revolution. Early excesses such as "post-card" divorces and unlimited abortions—long since abolished—were a phase in the struggle to liberate women from the disabilities and sex taboos of the past, to break the almost absolute authority of the husband and father which among the Moslems amounted to sheer despotism.

The chief factor in this liberation is the economic independence of women through their entrance into the trades, the professions, and all social activities. In public life, they now enjoy equal rights and privileges with men; so they do in private life. While the Soviets cherish and safeguard the family, most of its old economic props are gone.

The new Soviet household exists today almost solely on the basis of mutual love, common interests and children. But so powerful are these that in no other country is family life more warm, rich and abiding.

Long- and Short-comings

AS IN THEIR VIRTUES SO IN THEIR VICIES, their foibles and pleasures, Americans and Russians are much alike. Both are restless, intent on going places and seeing things. The old Russians had a sense of leisure, time to loaf and invite their souls, sitting around the samovar talking for hours. But with the advent of the machines and time-saving gadgets they—much as Americans—seem to have no time to spare. Both peoples are given to sports, athletics, and big game. Both are addicted to hard liquors rather than light ones.

What about the more negative, even sinister traits of the Russians—those darker sides set forth by their own great writers from Gogol to Sholokhov? It's a long list, ranging from idleness and procrastination to intoxication, thievery, lying, callousness. Some items in the list, such as indolence and petty dishonesty, are incompatible with an industrial civilization and are fast disappearing. Though vodka still flows rather freely, drunkenness is on the decline. The once prevalent bribery is all but non-existent.

Nonetheless most of the seven deadly sins continue to function in this socialist state as elsewhere. Soviet Russia has its due quota of sycophants, of time-servers, and careerists. Of "radish communists," as they are called, with their eyes on the main chance, ready "to commissar it" over the helpless. Of churlish, bungling bureaucrats turning the simplest transaction into an ordeal. Harsh conditions are not conducive to the amenities and graces of life. Communists, unsparing of themselves, are not chary about being ruthless with others. Jealousy and envy have not been exorcised by the Revolution—nor crimes of sex and passion, and today, infuriated by the terrors of the Nazis, the most amiable Russians are filled with a consuming hatred of the invaders.

But all this does not invalidate the portrait in general of the Soviet people in this article. At the end of a scathing chapter on their faults and sins, Sir Maurice Baring declares them the most lovable of people—that of all mankind next to his own countrymen he would prefer to live among them.

Freedom and the Future

FROM THE WAYS IN WHICH AMERICANS and Russians are alike, one might well pass on to certain differences. While individualistic Americans think of freedom largely in personal terms, the more social-minded Russians think of freedom collectively—for groups, races, the whole nation. They hold that real freedom is possible only on the basis of certain economic rights and security. To everyone regardless of sex or race they would assure a job, a living, education—the satisfaction of utilizing his capacity to the full, of participating in building the good society.

This is the gist of the Soviet concept of freedom. It means the presence of opportunity—freedom *for* something. To Americans it means more traditionally the absence of restraints—freedom *from* something—the right to say and do and go as

one pleases. We don't like censors, secret police, purges, arbitrary arrests, officials prying into our affairs or pushing us about. Neither do Russians like these things. No people have a keener sense of their own worth and personality. None more relish giving voice to their ideas and feelings.

During collectivization, I was in a village where a commissar from Moscow was trying to persuade the peasants to set up a radio loudspeaker. As a final argument he said, "Put in the loudspeaker and you won't have to take my word as to what Stalin and Kalinin are saying in Moscow. You will be able to hear for yourselves."

"Yes, Comrade-talker," interrupted an old *muzhik*. "We will be able to hear what they are saying in Moscow. But will this new contraption talk backwards? Will they be able to hear in Moscow what we are saying in the village?"

At that time they were saying plenty about everything from taxes to arbitrary acts of communists—regardless of consequences. No crossroads group of American farmers could more thoroughly enjoy giving vent to their grievances. That is one reason why the Russians in 1936 so enthusiastically hailed the new constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech and all the other civil liberties up to "secrecy of correspondence."

Good, say the critics, but in Soviet Russia these rights are most honored in the breach. Even so. It has been said that "Democracy is the luxury of opulent and secure nations." Russia is neither. Soon after the constitution was launched for public discussion, Soviet leaders became aware that the long dreaded fascist assault was not far off. To get ready for it at top speed became their prime concern. To it was sacrificed everything, from consumer goods to many of these half emerged liberties. The government proceeded by summary measures and shortcut decrees.

At the same time it sought to obtain the mandate and approval of the people through countless meetings in every shop, office, farm and factory. In this it succeeded. As Russians accepted—grudgingly to be sure—a moratorium upon the goods that were to flow from the giant industrial plants to their homes, so they did on many of the democratic processes and civil liberties that were to issue from the new constitution. That moratorium probably will last as long as the feeling of national danger and insecurity lasts. Quite otherwise will be the situation if there is good and secure peace. Then unless one holds that dictatorship can never yield to democracy or that freedom is incompatible with a highly socialized state, there are no weighty reasons why the constitution should not be put into full effect.

Democrats in the Making

THEIR BEST GUARANTEE IS THE CHARACTER of the Russian people themselves. They study the constitution in all schools from primary to the new theological seminaries. They sing the songs of freedom. They read enormous editions of the works of the

great humanitarians and liberals. They carry deep roots in themselves the democratic traditions of the old *mir*—the village commune. In the local soviets, the collective farms and people's courts, they exercise a large measure of control over matters directly affecting their daily lives. So they do in the "general meeting" in every factory and institution, with its free-for-all discussions; in the 30,000 self-governing producers' cooperatives owned and run by the members themselves. So they are doing while the war of deliverance is on in the guerrilla bands in which tens of thousands of volunteers, under leaders of their own choosing, engage in a death struggle with the Nazis. These are all schools of democracy in which the people are acquiring its technique and disciplines. The Russians are fundamentally a democratic people.

"In the long run," says *The New York Times* in an editorial on "Our Friends, the Russians," "governments must take their character from the character of the people." How long will that run be? The three generations that Lenin once predicted it would take Russia to achieve a full fledged democracy? Or will Russia once again surprise the world by a rapid evolution in the direction of Western concepts and practice?

Cannon and Muses
(Continued from page 93)

the stage, dramatized by the author. Here, too, love for a woman is integrated with loyalty to the state and the resolve to fight to the end.

Joseph Utkin, a delicate lyricist, cannot use his right hand any longer: the fingers were shot away by German shrapnel. But from his hospital cot he dictated powerful verses, in which tenderness for his motherland mingles with implacable hatred of the invader. This is true of most Soviet poets today: they sing both love and wrath. The stronger their love for the country and for the kind of life they have worked so hard to build, the more intense is their hatred of the aggressor who seeks to impose degradation and slavery.

One of the noblest poets, Nikolai Tikhonov, has found the meaning of this war for the poet in these words:

"This is not an ordinary war that ends in discussions at a peace conference about two or three provinces and several carloads of gold indemnity. No, the destiny of mankind is involved, the question of what kind of a world will emerge from under the ruins, of what man will do and how he will live on this earth, and first of all how the Soviet man will live on Soviet earth." Tikhonov lived in Leningrad throughout its siege and, in an unheated room, by the light of a little kerosene lamp, he wrote his "Leningrad Stories" and his poems on the Kirov plant that have endeared him to all Russia.

Along with hundreds of lyrics and songs,

the war has produced its epics. Thus Tvardovsky's "Vasily Tyorkin" recounts with rollicking humor the adventures of a typical private, so typical that already there have appeared numerous imitations and additions. The partisans have naturally furnished many themes. Margarita Aliger has described in moving verse the martyrdom of Zoya, a partisan school girl tortured and executed by the Nazis.

The "Ruthless"

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SOVIET ART AND the war are illustrated by the tank "Ruthless." This tank was built with money do-

nated by four poets and three painters who thus converted their Stalin Prizes. A poem and a cartoon were engraved outside and inside the tank. The officers and crew of the "Ruthless" were inspired by its dedication and have performed heroic deeds, reporting from time to time to the laureates about their exploits and the number of bullet and shell holes in the tank's armor. In their latest report, they lamented the fact that a German shell had damaged the engraved cartoon and torn off one of Hitler's legs.

The cannon have not silenced the Soviet muses.



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American Production—Russian Front

(Continued from page 59)

formly assigned high priority ratings. As a matter of fact, since the summer of 1942, every item in the whole Soviet program has been given a position at the very top of the regular rating band. No other similar program, domestic or foreign, has been accorded such across-the-board treatment. Except for certain special, super-urgent single purpose domestic projects, the Soviet program has constantly enjoyed priority rating as high as any in the land.

But with all this, Russian items did not have entirely smooth sailing. For many weeks, despite everything that could be done, the actual flow of goods into the USSR was slow. Every month saw an increase in deliveries, but total shipments, when viewed against the background of established goals, seemed discouragingly small.

In addition, with Pearl Harbor and the multiplication of our own needs for war materials, it was not always possible to give Soviet orders the preferred treatment desired. On occasion, Russian items had to be temporarily set aside so that urgent domestic military items could go ahead; sometimes requests had to be denied or postponed simply because of the lack of materials or fabricating facilities; and frequently

delivery schedules specified by Soviet representatives could not be met.

By the end of the first quarter of 1942, however, the situation had considerably improved. Monthly shipments of raw materials, chemicals, and most military stores began to attain the rate called for by the protocol.

At the same time, substantial progress began to be made toward completion of long run industrial equipment.

This acceleration, which became more marked during the second quarter of 1942, made possible fulfillment by June 30, 1942, of the majority of the commitments which had been made at Moscow. In a number of cases, however, the increase in deliveries during the last months of the protocol period was not sufficient to overcome earlier deficits, and we failed to meet promised goals.

To some extent these failures were offset by the fact that large quantities of materials and equipment not requested or promised at Moscow were supplied; but despite this, no one within the American government was entirely satisfied with our performance under the first protocol.

This is not to imply that our aid during the nine-month period was not of sizable

proportions. Actually, in the case of a variety of items of the utmost significance, we produced and shipped quantities of decisive importance. Trucks will serve as illustration.

In the nine months from October 1, 1941 to June 30, 1942, tens of thousands of trucks, together with hundreds of thousands of tires and replacement parts were shipped to the USSR or were moved to dockside to await shipment. If the transportation difficulties faced by Soviet armies during this critical period are recalled—the vast distances, the destruction of railways, the necessity of rapid movement—the vital role played by these trucks will be appreciated.

Under the Second Protocol

TOWARD THE CLOSE OF THE FIRST PROTOCOL period, the President decided that a new supply agreement should be offered the USSR for the twelve months from July 1, 1942 to June 30, 1943. This second protocol was negotiated in Washington during the summer of 1942. In it, the United States, though not able to accept all Soviet requests, promised shipments far greater than those agreed to at Moscow.

Performance against this second agreement was eminently satisfactory. From the first, monthly deliveries from factory of most items were up to, or above, the rate promised. Long before June 30, 1943 materials and equipment were flowing from

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mills and plants far in excess of the capacity of available vessels, and of Russian ports and railways to handle their movement at the other end. With the exception of a few extremely critical materials which were promised only in limited quantities, and of certain obvious military items, more of every type material and equipment desired by the USSR was available for shipment at any given moment during the protocol year than could possibly be moved out of this country and into the Soviet Union.

In the case of a number of items, the excess was so great that it was necessary, with full Russian agreement, to cut back production. Even so, stocks of many items equal to several months shipping requirements accumulated.

Allowing for changes in Soviet specifications, production commitments for direct military items were fulfilled 100 percent or better.

The same was true of raw materials and chemicals, except where production was retarded, with Russian agreement, because of excessive stocks. Production of industrial equipment mounted to almost twice the minimum guaranteed in the protocol. Food and petroleum were made available well in excess of promised quantities. In addition, as under the first protocol, a great many products not included in the agreement were shipped as extra-protocol items.

And Now the Third

LAST SPRING, A THIRD PROTOCOL PROGRAM, running from July 1, 1943 to June 30, 1944 was agreed upon with the Russian government. In this, materials and equipment were offered the USSR in such quantities that it was necessary for the Soviet government to eliminate a substantial percentage in order that the total tonnage could be brought within reasonable shipping expectations.

Reports on performance during the first six months of the third protocol year show that now, as during the second period, there is being made available every month more of practically every type item included than can be moved to the USSR. This applies to industrial equipment and most military stores, as well as to raw materials, chemicals, food and petroleum. Undue accumulations of stocks, however, are prevented through production and diversion controls. Complete success for the program thus seems a virtual certainty.

By and large, then, the American people have fulfilled the commitment to give "every possible assistance" to the USSR.

How much this assistance has contributed to the heroic and successful struggle waged by the Russian armies is a question which cannot now be answered. Shipments of supplies from our shores have been enormous—just how enormous cannot for obvious reasons be told in detail at this time—but enormous as they have been, they

have amounted to only a fraction of the total quantity of materials which the USSR has poured into its fight with Germany.

However, it should not be forgotten that our supplies have gone to fill in the strategic marginal gap between Russian production and Russian requirements. The machine tools and other equipment which we have furnished may have been a decisive factor in making it possible for the industrial establishments of the East to take up the slack caused by the losses in the West.

Our aluminum and steel have without question greatly aided the maintenance of a Russian air force capable of battling the *Lufswaffe* out of the Russian skies. Our trucks and scout cars, our communications equipment, our tanks, planes, and guns, our brass and steel for shells, our railway materials and rolling stock, and our food and petroleum conceivably may have been the weight that tipped the scales and made possible the Russian armies' turning from the defensive to the offensive.

At the present time, however, the question of the amount of credit which we should receive for our contributions to the Russian cause is of little moment. What is of real importance is the fact that, whenever possible, we have met Russian requests fully and quickly, and the fact that the Russian people, in turn, have presented the United Nations with great and decisive victories over the common enemy.

Russia's Western Front

(Continued from page 66)

the postulate with which to begin, and borders were to be viewed from the angle of military strategy.

Happily, Messrs. Eden, Molotov, and Hull had no inclination to put the boundaries cart before the collective security horse. They recognized that the paramount intelligent self-interest of their respective countries required a durable peace.

"Questions relating to boundaries," said Mr. Hull in his subsequent address to the American Congress, "must, by their very nature, be left in abeyance until the termination of hostilities. . . . Many of the problems which are difficult today will, as time goes on, undoubtedly become more possible of satisfactory solution through frank and friendly discussion."

And again: "There will no longer be need for spheres of influence, for alliances, for balance of power, or any other of the special arrangements through which, in the unhappy past, the nations strove to safeguard their security or to promote their interests."

The precedent breaking invitation to the American Secretary of State to appear before the United States Congress on his return, and the enthusiastic reception accorded him, give hope that this time the United States will throw its weight into winning the peace no less than the war.

Our Choice and Russia's Decision

SO IT IS THAT TWO ALTERNATIVE ROADS stretch today before the nations of the world. There is, first, the familiar route of isolation. Time and again, its alluring mirage of self-sufficiency has repudiated the expectations of all who have traveled it. There is, second, the collective security route, easier to plan than to construct, which runs on terrain heretofore explored largely in the minds and hearts of men. Its roadbed can only be laid in the mutual confidence of the peoples of Britain, the United States, Russia, and China; and, after them, of all the peoples of the world.

It was not sufficient for Eden, Molotov, and Hull to have sensed this at Moscow. Nor sufficient for Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt to have believed in it at Teheran. To be carried out, there must be the world over a similar understanding of mutuality of interest. Land-locked Russia, for example, has always needed ice free ports. Soviet Russia also has need of American technical skills and capital goods with which to develop her raw materials and make creative use of her manpower. Thus, it is essential that the American people come to recognize that a resurgent nationalism in the USSR has abolished the Comintern and now looks to collective security as more important to its future than communist propaganda outside its borders.

So long as Soviet foreign policy was predicated on fear of capitalist attack, that

fear necessitated military preparedness. It entailed the costly maintenance of a huge army, a war economy, the strengthening of military frontiers, and the extension of western boundaries. The Russian folk know what this cost them in the scarcity of consumer goods. Russian leaders are aware of the sacrifice required in terms of lowered standards of living for their people. To the extent that the Soviet Union receives adequate assurance of freedom from fear of aggression, her insistence upon territorial claims will diminish—and also her insistence upon spheres of influence or strategic bases beyond her western borders.

Public opinion in the United States, as well as Britain, can furnish the underpinnings for Russia's decision. The collective security road is closed to the lone traveler. That fork may lead to durable peace, but the Soviet Union cannot travel it unless the United States heads the same way.

Soviet Middle East

(Continued from page 78)

one of the oldest in Moscow, and after an all-day inspection declared flatly that the carding, spinning and weave shed left much to be desired, but that the printing department was "first class." "They were making excellent 14-color print goods," he now recalls, "for export to Persia and Turkey." Later he was taken to a new mill at Ivanovo-Voznesensk, one of the first modern installations built under the Soviets. The inspection over, his hosts led him to a conference room, its long table set with caviar, pickled herring, black bread, tea and vodka. "Now what do you advise, Mr. Allen?" he was asked.

"Frankly," he responded, "the machinery is of the latest English design obtainable and your reinforced concrete air-conditioned plant ranks with the best in the world. But as yet your workers are insufficiently trained to operate the machines properly. Yet I feel certain you have a great future in textiles."

There were other no less cordial conferences during his brief stay, including one at which delegates from the cotton industry of Central Asia were present. As a result, a one year contract was negotiated and his concern sent from America four technical experts in spinning, weaving and finishing to advise on improvements in operations and output and, no less, quality. The arrangement was renewed for a second year, after which it expired with both parties on the best of terms. Such a short term contract for technical aid was the usual procedure by which American engineers collaborated in the following decade.

Hugh Rodman, an engineer employed by the Universal Oil Products, has given his appraisal of how things stood in the oil refining industry ten years later. In 1939, he assisted in installing a refinery at Saratov on the Volga. "When a plant is built in the USSR," he writes, ". . . shipments are often lost on the way, and tracing is almost impossible. . . . The red

tape is a veritable mental barbed wire entanglement. . . . Hand tools, unless imported, are very poor in quality and design, and much credit must be given to the Russian skilled workman for his ability to do a creditable job with seemingly worthless ones. This is not true of the handling of mechanized tools. Caterpillar tractors, Diesel shovels, engine drivers, air compressors, and welding machines are idle many more hours each day than they are running."

Wartime Soviet production has led a American engineer to modify an earlier dour estimate that it would take twenty generations for the Russians to gain industrial proficiency. Now he puts it at five generations—a not too flattering gauge of present performance, but certainly encouraging as to the rate of progress to date!

In contrast to these views, engineers of the United Engineering and Foundry Co., report that although the Zaporozhe rolling mill as built had an estimated capacity of 600,000 tons a year, it produced 720,000 under Soviet operation.

In the opinion of S. A. Trone, whose perspective goes back to the Tsarist regime, Soviet engineers and workmen are, in the very process of mastering their industrial resources, learning things we could not teach them—nor could anyone else.

Another engineer points out that in industries which are well advanced, notably shortwave radio and synthetic rubber, the Russians have developed much from which we in turn can profit.

That American-Russian industrial collaboration is not envisaged as a one-way street is evident from the provision for the mutual exchange of patents made in the technical aid agreements concluded by the respective Russian industries with the General Electric Co., and with the Radio Corporation of America which has been assisting Soviet television to develop.

Wartime in Russia's Middle East

WRITING IN *The New York Times* IN early January of her recent visit to the American West Coast, Anne O'Hare McCormick says: "To the dazed and jostled visitor from the Atlantic shore it looks as if a super-movie producer had changed the set overnight and gathered everybody into the lot—armies in uniform from all parts of the land, the local population plus the Okies, the superannuated from their retirement, the housewives from their pink bungalows, even the movie stars from their courses—and put them all to work in a picture of total war. The road from Los Angeles to San Diego runs through an almost continuous encampment. . . ."

Russia's Middle East, like all arsenals in wartime, is closed to tourists today; but eyewitness reports in the Soviet press have something of Mrs. McCormick's zest and edge, in spite of the fact that, for the most part, life is made up of grim struggle, lightened only by the Russian flair for communal drama and by the gleam of hope for the future. (Continued on page 140)

RACE RIOTS OR RACE UNITY

which shall it be, America?

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With the vast migration in 1941 and after, literally millions of newcomers have had to be housed, fed, transported to work, entertained in their spare time. In Sverdlovsk, where I saw the first streetcars ten years ago, the municipal transport system has been extended by fifteen miles.

Local food stores were inadequate to feed the army of new industrial workers, whose first winter must have been one of terrible privation. But in Sverdlovsk today as in Novosibirsk, Semipalatinsk, and other centers, every vacant lot is a victory garden and vegetables are grown in plots reaching out from the towns into the Siberian taiga.

Johnny Appleseed Up to Date

THERE ARE AUXILIARY FARMS ALSO, LIKE the 500-acre truck garden which was developed around the Kirov machine tool plant, after it had been evacuated to the east from Leningrad. This farm began in 1941 without even seeds or implements. Today fresh vegetables are raised in abundance and the herd of cows, the flock of chickens, the piggery and bee-hives produce fresh milk, eggs, pork and honey. "Johnny Appleseed," who seeded fruit trees in advance of our Midwest settlements, would have gloried in the 10,000 tons of lend-lease seeds shipped from the USA as well as the 3,000,000 pounds in "seedkits" distributed by Russian War Relief.

American gifts of clothing have also been highly appreciated. Even a button becomes a problem at times in the new industrial centers. However, light industry is being expanded—as in Chelyabinsk, for example, where shoe output during the war has increased six times over, and in Magnitogorsk, which has a shoe factory and two clothing mills. Children's shoes are being produced by the conveyor system in the Urals today, as are workmen's durable shoes with pressed wood soles.

The influx of new workers naturally enough created a housing crisis and heroic efforts are being made to meet it. Russian architects today look to the prefabricated standard three-apartment house, such as is built for American industrial workers. Yet the pressure for new housing facilities is so great that workers are given credit with which to erect their own houses and advised on how to go about it. One method described suggests the use of surface clays and pitch as building materials, seldom used before in Siberia where forests abound. Blocks are made of pulverized soil mixed with a tarry substance, tamped in a mold and dried for ten days until they are hard and black as ebony. The walls are insulated inside with birch bark and faced on the outside with stucco or whitewash. Ornamental scrollwork of wood is placed over windows and gables of these new Siberian cabins rising from the earth to shelter these twentieth century pioneers.

The Melting Samovar

RUSSIA'S ASIATIC HINTERLAND WAS A place of exile before 1917. With the war it has become a promised land of refuge to millions of new citizens. Thus Soviet

Uzbekistan alone has taken in three million refugees from enemy occupied areas, a 50 percent increase over its pre-war population of 6,300,000.

Today White Russian Jews live among Uzbek Moslems in Tashkent. Donbas coal miners work alongside the Kirghiz herdsmen who left their flocks to enter the Karaganda mines. Azov fishermen ply their trade among the Nentsi of the Siberian Far North. The Shor-Kizhi people, an ancient Tiurkic tribe, send their sons to work in the iron mines of the Kuznets basin.

At the same time Tadjiks, Kazakhs, and Turkomen are among the 1,500 scientific workers in the various republics. Turkmenian and Kirghizian branches of the All-Union Academy of Sciences were established during the present war.

The roster of 6,000 women workers employed at the Karaganda coal mines includes such familiar names as Anne, Lucy, Lena, Nadya, and Fatima. The "fifteen-year-olders" is the name of a famous brigade of youngsters today at the Kirov plant.

Russian and American experience is thus coming closer together. Hitherto, minority peoples have been more or less self-contained in areas designated as territories and republics. Now, their streams melt, fuse. Nor is it all, by any means, a dour tale.

Let us take a swing around the main centers of Russia's Middle East and see how things stood in 1943 as reported in the Russian press. In Sverdlovsk (wartime population 750,000) you could have seen performances of Gladkov's "Long, Long Ago," at the Central Theater of the Red Army. This had been evacuated from Moscow early in the war. Among the workmen at the Nizhni-Tagil iron and steel works you would have found Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Tadjiks, former herdsmen from Central Asia who heeded the call of the Ural industries. In their free hours they gather in their *Chaikhan*, (Tadjik tea house) to enjoy native music and hear their bards sing folk songs.

At Krasnoufimsk you could have met the students of the Kharkov Technical Institute of Machine-Building; at Magnitogorsk, those of the Leningrad Armored Tank Officers College.

In Novosibirsk (wartime population 800,000) you would have seen with a great sense of realism the new play, "Invasion," presented at the evacuated Leningrad Theater of the Drama. You could have taken a steamboat trip down the river Ob to visit the Crimean fishermen now living there; or gone by rail to the Stalinsk mills to see performances given by a song and dance ensemble, a company of one hundred evacuated Estonian actors. You might by coincidence have been entertained by the Railway Workers Song and Dance Ensemble which toured for twenty-one months through all the war centers of the East.

A "must" on your schedule would have been the restored panorama of the great Crimean war of the 1850's, which was evacuated to Novosibirsk during the siege of Sevastopol.

Swinging around to Semipalatinsk you

would have wanted to see the evacuated Bolshevik Ukraine clothing mills as well as the play "Front" performed by the Ukrainian Academic Theater. Had you taken a look at the locomotive when it stopped at some wayside crossing along the "Turk-Sib" Railway, you would have found it battle-scarred from bombing, shelling, and machine gun fire. For it, too, was an evacuee from the Donbas front in 1942.

At Tashkent (wartime population 900,000) music lovers would have been delighted to visit the Leningrad conservatory, which celebrated its eightieth jubilee in 1943, safely domiciled in the capital of Uzbekistan. You might have wound up the tour with a banquet here, consuming sea food produced now by the Balaklava fish cannery at its new home along Lake Aral and partaking of champagne made by the Kharkov winery at its new cellars in grape-rich Central Asia.

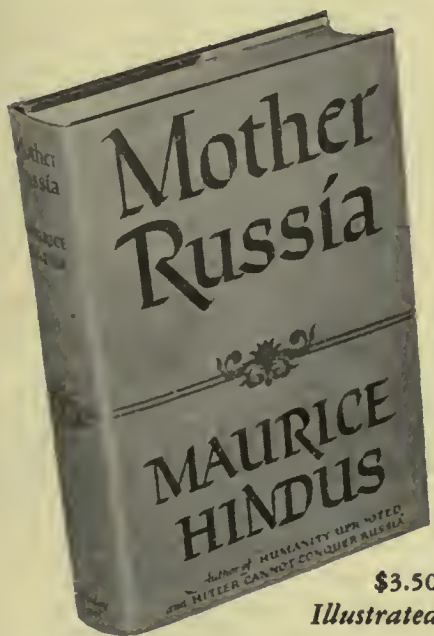
Unquestionably, with the reoccupation of the Ukraine, thousands will return there, but equally without question, vast numbers of evacuated people will have taken root in the Middle East to remain and contribute to its further progress. For here a great slogan holds in reverse—that of Stalingrad's defenders: "For us there is no land beyond the Volga."

Collaboration

ONE THING THAT STANDS OUT IN THE PAST record of our relations with the USSR is the living tradition of collaboration. I have given examples drawn from the Soviet Middle East. But the case does not rest there, although it is hard to make selections from among Americans who have collaborated with Russians. Thus the American geneticist H. J. Muller helped found Soviet research in this field by importing the vinegar fly *Drosophila* in 1921. Ethel Ely Pattison brought the first grapefruit trees to Russia in the late 1920's. Among industrialists, Charles R. Crane, the Chicago manufacturer, stands out, with his twenty-six trips before and after the Revolution and his vigorous backing of creative moves for better understanding.

Among the engineers, surely the famous Colonel Hugh L. Cooper should be included; and S. A. Trone, General Electric's distinguished Russian-born engineer, who is now assisting the Chinese to industrialize. So too, Charles E. Stuart, close friend of General George C. Marshall, a mining engineer who helped install modern machinery in the Donbas; Leon S. Moisseiff, the Latvian-born engineer who, before he assisted the Soviet Commissariat of Transportation, was a consulting engineer on the George Washington Bridge. Also John Calder, the Detroit contractor who aided in the development of Soviet automotive plants; Harold Ware, the American engineer who brought the first tractors to Russia; Frank E. Dickie, the American who helped the Russians establish their aluminum industry; and Alcan Hirsch, whose work in the new Soviet chemical industry is described in his book, "Industrialized Russia." (Continued on page 142)

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American engineers contributed what Mr. Trone so aptly calls: "The machine, a wonderful machine, conscientiously made for the most part by men who did not mix in politics." And once on the ground they contributed an equally valuable American "Knowhow." In the early 1930's they numbered above a thousand, these engineers; by 1940 they were counted in tens. There were also an unknown number of skilled craftsmen who never returned to the United States. Just as American engineers fifteen years ago furnished the blueprints for the builders of the Dnieper Dam, so today Russian engineers are furnishing the blueprints for special machinery made in the USA to equip Soviet plants.

The fact that Americans could contribute on such a scale, even prior to recognition of the Soviet Union by the American government in 1933, is evidence of common industrial interests that were in advance of diplomacy. Likewise today, when between the United States and Russia there is no formal treaty of alliance, forms of collaboration dictated by the war are proceeding through lend-lease, Russian War Relief, and other agencies. Moreover, if the Soviets no longer need American engineers *per se*, they do need and will need what lend-lease officials call "billions of dollars" worth of industrial equipment. And as Secretary of State Hull has said, "There are immense areas of common interest." Prior to the war there was an exhibition organized in Moscow where the products of American industry were on display in showrooms visited by prospective Russian buyers. This will no doubt be resumed. It is hoped in official Washington circles that a continuous American-Russian Industrial Exhibition can be arranged here.

Balance Sheet

HOW CAN ONE EVALUATE THE PAST AMERICAN contribution to Russia's industrialization in the Middle East much less in the USSR as a whole? Not in dollars and cents although all the contract engineers were paid off in full. Nor in any kind of prerogatives of control—for the Russian industries are nationalized. The evaluation must lie both in the fact that it has been the Soviet policy to introduce the very best of modern tools and techniques and that American mass production industry had the most to offer such a stupendous country. The give and take has been mutual.

During the banquet at the Teheran conference in December, Marshal Stalin raised his glass in a toast, saying: "Without American machines, the United Nations could never have won the war."

Although the Zaporozhe rolling mill was the first to be shipped complete out of the USA, it was not the only such mill sent abroad before the war. Another, almost identical one was installed at Ebbw Vale, Wales; a third at Shimonoseki in Japan, and two more in Soviet Russia. After the Battle of Britain and Stalingrad, need one ask whether the shipment of the Zaporozhe rolling mill or similar equipment to Russia or to Britain proved a more worthwhile

investment in the long run than similar machine tools sold to potential Axis partners? They strengthened the forces for freedom and helped to lay the basis for long enduring friendship among the United Nations.

Where East Meets West

(Continued from page 81)

in its carrying capacity. It has brought ships from the outside world at least once a year. But still relatively few ships make their way along the entire northern coast in the short three-month navigation season. Many more ply between Vladivostok and the mouth of the Lena than pass eastward from Archangel around the hump of the Taimyr Peninsula. But it is the latter run that would be needed to replace the Trans-Siberian Railway.

Statistics for recent years are, of course, unavailable, but it is perfectly obvious that there is no substitute for the Trans-Siberian to supply the Soviet East in time of emergency except BAM, and that is probably not yet complete.

What the Far East Produces

THAT IS WHY THE SOVIETS HAVE FORCED economic development in the Far East way out of proportion to the population and the discovered resources. In the old days, only the obvious and accessible were produced—gold from the Lena and Aldan; furs from Yakut and the north generally; oil and coal from Sakhalin; fish from the Pacific; lumber. But today virtually everything is produced in some measure east of Baikal.

Coal and iron ore, tin, molybdenum, tungsten, and salt are mined; heavy industry has been built up in Ulan Ude, Petrovsk, Komsomolsk, Khabarovsk, and Vladivostok. Airplanes are assembled, ships are launched, oil is refined, textiles are woven, sugar beets processed. Again, lacking statistics, it is only possible to guess and that guess would be that, for peacetime purposes, the Soviet Far East can supply itself almost completely with consumer goods, including food and light industrial products. It can repair and build its own cargo ships. It can assemble its cars, trucks, and planes and manufacture some of its railway rolling stock. But the Trans-Siberian must still haul in the heavy industrial equipment for new enterprises and for war.

On the other hand, the Soviet Far East has its export surpluses, too. In large measure these remain the old standbys. With 4,500,000 people, 2.4 percent of the Soviet population, the Far East produced before the war 30 percent of the USSR gold and 30 percent of the fish. In peace, it might have an oil surplus and it did have a large lumber and fur surplus. The section east of Baikal supplies industries far to the west with some of the rarer minerals, including tin, tungsten and molybdenum, in exchange for the manufactured goods and machinery it must bring in from Siberia. In wartime, of course, the Far East has had to rely on

its own machine shops to a large extent.

As Bastion and Neighbor

TODAY, THEN, THIS PIONEER LAND, SO LIKE Alaska and the Canadian Northwest, has been built up with modern industry and modern agriculture, albeit on a scale dictated by its sparse population rather than by its resource potentialities. It has all the elements of a well-rounded economy, capable of self-expansion in a peacetime economy. It has, moreover, been on the alert for over ten years, frequently fighting to keep its borders intact and at times repulsing major assaults as at the heights of Changkufeng in 1938.

As a military base, however, the Soviet Far East remains an outpost that must be fed and supplied from outside in any long conflict. Its thin line of settlement along the very frontier is vulnerable to sudden attack and its lifeline in danger of being cut. It is no wonder that the Special Red Banner Far Eastern Armies hold such a unique place in the Soviet defense establishment, and were long regarded as the pick of the Red Army. Today we know that some of their noted commanders are fighting in the west, but it would be hard to believe that the Soviets would risk moving any substantial part of their strength away from that explosive frontier.

For Americans, the Soviet Far East has in the past been an unknown region, famed only for its Siberian tigers and its crabmeat. But looking ahead to the peace years, it may once again, as in centuries past, become very close to us. The plane from Chicago to China may stop in Petropavlovsk or in Yakutsk. Tours to Alaska may include side trips to visit the volcano of Kamchatka. It is certain that shipping, at least to Vladivostok, will increase decidedly over prewar years if for no other reason than to carry goods to build further the industries laid down in the Soviet East.

Whatever the Soviet East may come to mean to the average American, it has already assumed a vital interest to specialists who are now trying to open up Alaska. To mention but a few of the questions common to the two areas: Arctic flying; weather forecasting for the northern Pacific; construction on perpetually frozen soil; road building and railroading on frozen soil; North Pacific fisheries; Arctic shipping; use of icebreakers; Arctic agriculture.

Scientists and technicians of the two countries are already in consultation on many of these questions and, for the future, the simultaneous development of the two similar regions will be mutually beneficial and stimulating.

USSR as an Eastern Power

BUT FOR AMERICA, AS FOR THE REST OF the world, the principal interest in the Soviet Far East is that it is where East meets West again. During the first World War, the Russian Far East was a virtual wilderness inhabited by a few hardy pioneers struggling to make a living. The strength of Russia was separated from the



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Far East by thousands of miles of undeveloped territory, fed only by a single-track line that did not even reach the Pacific through Russian territory. Russia was impotent to defend her eastern territory from Japanese encroachment, and it took until 1925 with the aid of diplomatic pressure from the Western Powers to force Japan to evacuate Sakhalin. Soviet Russia did not sit at Versailles nor at the Washington conference that settled the fate of the Pacific.

Today, not only is the USSR a first rank power in Europe, but thanks to its development of Siberia, Central Asia, and the Soviet Far East, it can pull its full weight in Asia. This is attested in the present war by the size of the counterbalancing armies which Japan feels it necessary to maintain in Manchuria. Though the center of Soviet industrial strength now lies in the Urals, it is still far to the west of Baikal. Nonetheless, enough of that strength has been thrust out to make Russia's Far Eastern bastion an integral and essential part of the economic and military power of the Soviet Union.

Under the Soviet Rainbow

(Continued from page 98)

cause where schools were established their language of instruction was Russian—an often hated tongue to the racial groups.

The Soviet regime reversed this. Teachers began to teach in the national language of each race. If there were enough Jewish pupils to constitute a class or school in a Russian or Ukrainian or Tartar region a class or school was opened for them in Yiddish. Just as Russians were no longer able to impose the Russian language on Ukrainians or Georgians, so the Ukrainians could not impose Ukrainian on Germans, Poles or Jews nor could Georgians impose Georgian on Russian or Armenian or Turkic inhabitants of Georgia.

Some nationalities were so backward that they possessed no written language or grammar. Soviet scientists evolved these for them. Literacy in some races was particularly low because they used the complicated, cursive Arabic script. The Soviet government substituted the simple Latin alphabet for this script and the result was a sharp rise in literacy in the Caucasus and Central Asia. By creating a script-gulf between the Turco-Turanian peoples of the Soviet Union and their kin abroad, this innovation, incidentally, was calculated to weaken the Pan-Turanian movement.

Moreover, through the industrialization and modernization of the country, Bolshevism served to Europeanize Russia. The grant of culture to the eastern nationalities was a further westernizing influence. In the primitive hills of the Caucasus I once met a young Ossetian who had learned the Latin alphabet. I showed him an American magazine and he slowly spelled out the syllables, although he could not understand the words. This feat gave him the sense of having performed a miracle. He said, "I have jumped across an ocean and

touched America."

He felt as if he had risen into interplanetary space on the vehicle of language.

"None of my ancestors back to birth of the earth," he said, "could ever read his own language. Now I can read yours."

In my fourteen years in the Soviet Union, I traveled a good deal among the national minorities because there the creative processes released by the Revolution were most exciting. A few hours' trip took one from the home of one race to the home of a very different race bound to its neighbor by the new and common experience of constant growth and flowering.

Daring and Consistency

LITERACY PLUS, OF COURSE, DYNAMIC Soviet politics, helped to break the influence of religion—especially of the Moslem and Buddhist churches—in the retarded regions of the minorities. The emphasis of scientific teaching in Soviet schools and, in general, the rationalistic nature of communist theory served to further undermine religion.

Moscow performed a daring act when it granted a separate individuality to each race. For by so doing it might have created fissiparous, centrifugal tendencies and broken up the federal union. But the inordinate centralism of Soviet economics, politics and administration, as well as the spread of atheism and the loyalty of communists to Moscow, counteracted the separatist trends.

It is impossible to assume that Stalin would give up Soviet centralism in the midst of a war that requires the highest concentration of political authority and military organization. Moscow's decision to accord the sixteen constituent Soviet republics the right to maintain their own armies and to have their diplomatic representatives abroad was published just as the Red Army touched Estonian soil and when the Soviet penetration into Poland began to develop. It is logical to suppose, therefore, that Stalin hoped his promise of separate armies and separate foreign representation would weaken the resistance of Baltic nationalists to what they might otherwise regard as the total extinction of their countries. The same promise may stimulate the desire of Balkan peoples to solve their problems by merging with the Soviet Union.

Occasionally, Soviet minorities have given Moscow plenty of trouble. Ukrainians or Georgians or Armenians have been accused of wishing to expand their nationalism to a point where it might lead to secession.

The Ukrainians were thus charged with dreaming of an independent Greater Ukraine embracing the Ukrainians of the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia. Such designs were branded as "bourgeois" and those accused of harboring them were liquidated. In several instances, the number of liquidated Ukrainians was large. But in view of Russia's pre-revolutionary past and the variety of social, political, economic and cultural

levels, the unity which the Soviet Union achieved has been truly remarkable.

Freedom under Moscow pleased the racial minorities which had been irked by Russian supremacy.

Racial Peace

ALL THE MINORITIES HAVE FORGED AHEAD very rapidly in cultural attainments and economic development. There has also been much intermarriage between races. Peoples that were anathema to one another and traditional enemies—like the Armenians and the Tartars, the Ukrainians and the Jews—have intermarried in considerable numbers. Racial divisions mattered less because the full expression of racial personality was unimpeded by the Soviet government. No one "superior" race made the others race-conscious. In Samarkand I once asked an Uzbek woman whether the child she had by her Russian husband would be an Uzbek or a Russian.

"He will be a Soviet citizen," she answered.

In his book, "The Soviets," Albert Rhys Williams describes Tsarist policy as "'One Tsar, One Religion, One Language,' or, in the more abstract formula, Autocracy, Orthodoxy, and Nationalism—meaning by the last the culture, customs and institutions of the Great Russians." This is a profound truth. Not only Russian nationalism but monarchy and the Orthodox Church conflicted with Bolshevism; it was no accident that the Soviet regime opposed all three.

Another factor contributed to racial peace within the Soviet Union: total employment and the elimination of an exploiting class. Beginning in 1928, on the eve of the introduction of the First Five-Year Plan, unemployment ceased; later, indeed, manpower shortage became the rule. In this circumstance, no one could feel that another person was keeping him out of work. Moreover, given the Soviet monopoly of domestic trade, no middleman exists who can be blamed for high prices, for cheating in weights and measures, for cornering the market. I think this condition has helped to diminish anti-Semitism and to improve relations between the many Soviet races and the Armenians and Tartars who formerly bulked large in retail business.

Religion counts for very little to the new generation of Soviet Jews educated by the Revolution—and that means all Jews thirty-six years old or younger. They have had no Hebrew education and they do not yearn for Palestine. Anti-Semitism is too weak to reinforce their Jewishness or to make them want to be less Jewish. I have talked to Jewish parents in the Ukraine who did not send their children to the government - encouraged Yiddish - language schools on the ground that pupils who acquired their knowledge in Yiddish would be handicapped in using it among non-Jews—say as teachers, physicians, or agriculturists. For this practical reason, many Jews prefer Ukrainian schools to Jewish schools and, elsewhere in the Soviet Union, Jews frequently attend Russian-language schools.

(Continued on page 146)

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Neighbors Across the Arctic

(Continued from page 88)

When Lenin died in 1924, Alexei Rykov became Prime Minister not because he was most fitted for the position but because he was a Russian whereas Boris Kamenev, who might have met the requirements better, was a Jew; and Stalin, whose power could have given him the job, was a Georgian. But I remember how apologetically communists, then, explained this by the backwardness of the Russians.

In 1924, I visited Soviet Georgia together with a German newspaperman. Georgian officials entertained us in a huge wine cellar in the wild mountains of Kakhetia. General Tchaikovsky, a Russian commanding a cavalry regiment stationed in that area, was also present. A Georgian filled his ram's horn with wine and spoke a toast to "our three guests." Tchaikovsky remarked that there were only two guests. "A Russian is always a guest in Georgia," the official replied. Even as late as 1936, I encountered resentment in the Caucasus against the presence of officials who were Russian. Such instances were exceptions.

Gulfs widened by fear and hatred are bridged by tolerance.

The Nub of the Question

SOVIET CITIZENS HAVE A REMARKABLE blind spot for differences of race, religion, color, and place of birth. They like foreigners even when they fear to associate with them. Our American Negroes are special favorites in Soviet society. In Soviet factories, offices, social gatherings, racial distinctions seem to pass unnoticed.

The Soviet policy of equal opportunity for all nationalities was practical and logical. It offended no one and satisfied everyone except perhaps some Great Russian chauvinists and a few extreme anti-Bolshevik nationalists among the minorities. It made administration of far-off areas easy and it accelerated progress throughout the land. It had everything to recommend it. Its concrete advantages and benefits might recommend it to other countries.

The Soviet policy towards national minorities had a particularly interesting effect on the teaching of history in the Soviet Union. Russian history before the Revolution celebrated the works of monarchs, princes, generals who had ruthlessly conquered the territories inhabited by the national minorities; it glorified the classes that had exploited the common people. It was, above all, the history of Russians. Russia's racial stepchildren had no part in it. The Tsar's imperialistic dream about the Balkans was disguised as the "Little Father's" tender concern for "Brother Slavs." For all these reasons, the Bolsheviks rewrote the history books and showed the past in a very unfavorable light, a light which reflected the abhorrence which all good Soviet citizens—and especially the racial minorities—felt towards the deeds of the Tsarist regime. This is the nub of the entire race question in the Soviet Union.

The Bolsheviks were able to establish racial peace at home because they broke with the past. That is also the key to world peace. There is no peace in the past.

River, with the Tungus-Evenki and Nentsi who live along the Yenisei, with the Chuckchi who live north of Kamchatka—with all the twenty-six northern minorities who people the Soviet Arctic and the settlers who might come among them in increasing numbers. Only so could the Soviet Union bring within its social, cultural and economic patterns a vast hinterland that for years had been closed by fear and ignorance.

The northern sea route was opened for commercial traffic in 1935. I had the good fortune to join, part way, one of the freighters that opened it, the *Anadyr*, which sailed from Vladivostok on the Pacific, north through Bering Strait and past Alaska, west through the Arctic Ocean across the tops of Asia and Europe, to Murmansk on the Atlantic. Today freighters are said to be using parts of the route, traveling from Murmansk and Archangel to the Yenisei and back, and from Vladivostok to the mouth of the Lena and back. Almost all these Arctic voyages are made in convoy, led by an icebreaker, with airplanes scouting for the best routes and radio giving directions.

In its early years, the Northern Sea Route Administration was in charge of all activities in the Soviet Arctic. Now it has been constituted as a transport organization. It continues the development of coal mining in order to fuel the Arctic convoys but its earlier cultural, medical and civil functions have been taken over by local soviets, or by Arctic branches of the Soviet government at Moscow.

Let me bring landward developments down to two place names on the map.

Igarka, a Woman's Town

AS MOSCOW LOOKED AT IT, IGARKA, WHICH is north of the Arctic Circle, meant a protected harbor on the Yenisei, outlet for Siberian lumber. Ships come even from South Africa to take out the pine and larch lying uncut for centuries around Lake Baikal. As the early leaders of the Northern Sea Route Administration looked at it, Igarka was the most important colonization scheme in opening the northern sea route. As the people looked at it—15,000 of them when I was there in the mid-Thirties—Igarka was the most exciting place in the North, with its foreign seamen and an English section of the local newspaper.

As I looked at it, Igarka was a woman's town. The mayor was a woman. The chief agriculturalist, who was raising potatoes, cabbage and especially kohlrabi (found to have more vitamin C than lemons) was a woman. The weather bureau experts were women. The radio operators were often women; so were many of the stevedores, winchmen, teachers, reporters, sawmill operators—even a ship captain.

The Soviets were paying double wages and giving longer vacations to men and

women going out to work north of the 62nd parallel. I once asked an engineer if he didn't feel this was feeding old prejudices about the uninhabitable north. He shook his head. "Our leaders are realists," he said. "Life is harder up here and we must give workers greater incentives. The adventurers would come anyway, but Igarka needs engineers, scientists, specialists who would prefer to live in Moscow. Enthusiasm brings some; but money brings others. This place needs all the workers it can find for years and years to come."

Yakutsk—from Exile to Boom City

YAKUTSK IS NOT BRAND NEW LIKE IGARKA, but is overlaid with traditions and landmarks of an old and hated place of exile. Your first impression of this ancient city is musty—with its log houses and courtyard fences, its dust and horses, its history-laden roads and reindeer.

But the streets today have revolutionary names printed in both Russian and Yakut. The community boasts most of the features of a modern municipality: office buildings, theaters, movie houses, schools, pedagogical institutes, a broadcasting studio, factories, hospitals, a fire department, a famous museum, and the public library, with its 550,000 volumes that impressed Wendell Willkie.

A favorite "snack" in Yakutsk, sold in little pushcarts at the street corners, was Eskimo pie!

I lived for several months in Yakutsk, visiting native Yakuts in their farms and homes and fur-factories. As in Alaska, education is compulsory and illiteracy is rapidly being wiped out. Hospitals have been built to combat the two worst health problems in the Yakut Republic, tuberculosis and trachoma. I was at a meeting at Zhigansk just south of the Arctic Ocean one evening when one of the Yakuts spoke to his people. "Every year," he said, "conditions of life, of food, of housing, of culture grow better among our hunters." Soviet-like, he estimated that "better" at "112 percent!"

Afterward there were elections for seven members to sit on the dais. Two of these were women. I remember especially a handsome, small Tungus-Evenki woman with bronze skin and straight, jet black hair. She wore a modern green skirt, a tan blouse, a brown sweater, a white kerchief on her head—and horsehide boots on her feet. She carried her baby in her arms, while she took an enthusiastic part in discussing industrialization, mechanization, the choice of delegates to be sent to Moscow.

The Soviet program emphasizes what is called "culture through trade." The administrative leader in Yakutsk described how this worked. "The hunters bring us their furs," he said. "We pay high prices and some of them receive 6,000 rubles a year. Then we have to plan how to get them to spend that money well. So we bring in cultural goods like phonographs, radios, books and electrical appliances. When one hunter buys a phonograph, he

invites his friends in to listen. Then the friends want phonographs too, and off they go to hunt the harder. The more goods we bring in, the more these northern people want to buy. The more furs they bring in, the more they raise their standard of life." Fifteen kilometers from the city, Yakuts had formed a collective truck and dairy farm where they raised and sold cabbages, garlic, and potatoes; also, cucumbers, which the Yakuts, like the Russians, adore. Six hundred cows were housed in barns, clean and freshly painted as a Wisconsin dairy. "It's quite cultural," I told the chief of the Russians love so much. He beamed with delight, "That's just what it is. Before the Revolution, we Yakuts had no windows in our homes. Now our cattle have windows in their barns."

Neighbors in the Arctic

ARCTIC PILOTS AND ARCTIC SETTLERS HAVE made the vision of the Arctic explorers real. Our purchase of Alaska in 1867 brought the United States physically closer to Russia than to any other European or Asiatic power. In pointing this out in a recent address, Secretary Ickes recalled that in his first message to Congress, Andrew Jackson had said, "In Russia, the United States has always found a steadfast friend"; and a generation later the people of Russia "gave loyal support to Abraham Lincoln" during the most harrowing crisis in our history.

On both sides of the Pole the white space at the top of the map is being filled in with known rivers, with airlines and strategic ports. Air routes have been flung not along the well traversed shipping lanes, but along the Great Circle routes, those curved lines on a flat map which, like the straight line in geometry, mark the shortest distances between any two points on the globe.

The shortest route between Washington and Chungking lies not across America and the wide expanse of the Pacific but through Northwestern Canada, Alaska, and Northeastern Siberia. Great circles shrink the distance between our own capital and the capitals of other Allies in Moscow and London. The route between Chicago and Shanghai is 4,300 miles shorter via Alaska than via San Francisco and Hawaii. Passenger planes flying from New York through Edmonton to Fairbanks and then across the frontiers of the North, will help stretch the tent ropes of friendship, commerce, and international understanding.

Charles I. Stanton, administrator of the Civil Aeronautics Administration, writing on "Transition to Peace," in a recent "Sky-Roads" exhibit of global maps, declared that: "Since 1939, Alaska has acquired as fine a set of airways and airports as any part of the United States. The Canadian system is so closely meshed with our domestic network and the Alaska extension that the three virtually constitute one system north of the Gulf and the Rio Grande. This will become a continental system when Mexico and the Central American republics join it, as we are told they plan to do. It may well

be extended south from the Canal Zone to Cape Horn to become a hemispheric system embracing all of our Good Neighbors."

The time is not distant when that same network may be extended across the Bering Sea through Asia, Europe, and back to America. When the Yakuts put a record on their phonograph and play "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?" you know that music, as well as airplanes and radio, are linking the peoples of the world.

Every now and then someone asks, "What are we fighting this war for anyway?" I am simplifying the answer, I know, but not unduly, when I say that one of the most

tangible answers lies in the North. We are fighting the war so that we may have that freedom which permits the American and Soviet Eskimos of the Diomed Islands to travel on foreign soil without fear or suspicion. We are fighting the war so that the barbaric doctrines of race superiority, of human slavery, of master and satellite nations, may be as unknown everywhere as they are unknown on these peaceful Arctic islands. We are fighting the war for the happiness, the freedom, the dignity and joy in life which is the heritage of every child born on either side of those three and a half miles of water that separate the Diomedes.

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Stumbling Blocks and Stepping Stones

(Continued from page 124)

sition is that free elections were held in these regions, and the people voted overwhelmingly for membership in the USSR. The answer to that is that the plebiscites were held under Russian auspices and no plebiscite organized by one of the interested parties is ever convincing to anyone but the interested party. I do not suppose anyone really knows the sentiment of these people, although there are lots of experts who think they do. I have been in these regions at one time or another and I have talked with many of the people there and all of those I talked with were anti-Russian. They were anti-Red Russian, anti-White Russian, anti-every kind of Russian. But they were also anti-other things. The Ukrainians were anti-Polish and many others were anti-their-own-government.

My own guess is that they would prefer to be independent and have their independence guaranteed by the United States and Great Britain. There are three reasons, however, why, to my mind, this preference may never be realized.

The Red Armies rather than the Anglo-American forces will move in as the Germans are driven out of these areas. Moscow will feel it cannot repudiate the plebiscites held under its auspices without seeming to reflect on its own honesty and fair dealing. The Russian people and government seem completely convinced that, regardless of what we think, the sentiment of the people in these areas and the security of the Soviet Union require the inclusion of these regions.

Outlook for Borderlands

AND SO, WITH THE GREATEST ADMIRATION and respect for these peoples, I am forced to the conclusion that their separation from Russia depends on a balance of forces that no longer exists in Eastern Europe—one that could be restored only by a war in which the Soviet Union is defeated. That is a chore that neither the United States nor Britain nor anyone else is likely just now to undertake. Membership in the Soviet Union means loss of such independence as a small nation of three or four million may enjoy in the world of today, but it means no loss of nationality nor economic exploitation by an allegedly superior race.

This change of status will be made easier by the right just given to all Soviet Republics to have their own foreign relations and army formations. This right will probably mean no more than the same right means to the Republics of Cuba and Panama, in relation to the United States; but that is something. Soviet Russia unquestionably expects to benefit by this move, but not as the Nazis suggest by dominating postwar conferences, because international issues are not settled by counting conference noses. She expects to improve her relations and increase her prestige with neighboring peoples.

As to Russia's further territorial ambi-

tions, I am sure that Stalin and his collaborators will be greatly interested in the establishment of friendly governments in the countries that border on Russia, but I do not believe that interest will be pushed to the point of trying to coerce Finland, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Iran to vote on the question of joining the Soviet Union. Russia needs security and this war has shown with costly emphasis that security cannot be won by territorial expansion.

Nor can it be obtained by a *cordon sanitaire*, whether it be a Russian *cordon* against Europe or a European *cordon* against Russia, but only in a collective system in which Russia is accepted by the great powers as an equal. The formula for such a relationship has been given in the Teheran "Declaration of the Three Powers Concerning Iran" of December 1, 1943, by which the USSR, the USA, and Great Britain in effect guarantee the "independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran," her membership in the postwar collective system, and economic aid. Such a declaration about the other states I have mentioned would contribute greatly to good relations.

III. IMPERIALISM

TO THE PEOPLES OF ASIA, THIS IS A WAR of emancipation. They want to get the Japanese militarists off their backs, but if the articulate Asians correctly interpret their peoples, they do not intend to bow those backs again to Europeans, to remain the providers of raw materials for European machines, and the consumers of the cheap products of European factories.

The difficulty is that although they are learning fast the Western technology, they have not yet learned as much as the Japanese. They are not able either to rid themselves of Japanese rule without the aid of Europeans (including, of course, the United States and the British Dominions) nor to rid themselves afterward of dependence on the West once the Japanese have been reduced to their proper size. The dilemma of the Eastern peoples is that they want to control their own political and economic destinies, but cannot without Western help.

As the price of that help, the Westerners may insist on regaining the privileged position they occupied before the Japanese moved in. Such a situation could turn into a very serious stumbling block to good relations with the Soviet Republic. What has taken place in Russia will make that clear.

To go back to 1912, a Tsarist governor-general rejected a proposal to build textile factories in Turkestan in Asiatic Russia on the ground that they would compete with the textile industries of Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Moscow in European Russia. That same year, the Imperial Ministry of War rejected a proposal to give military training to the non-Russian people of Central Asia and Siberia on the ground that it would "not make the non-Russians loyal to Russia

but will teach them how to use firearms."

The world knows now that not only Turkestan but the lands of the Kirghiz, the Bashkirs, and other non-Russian peoples have been industrialized by the Soviets; and from these factories have come great quantities of essential military supplies. Furthermore, the men and women of the non-Russian nationalities have learned both loyalty to Russia and how to use firearms so well that they have been signally honored for their part in the defense of Moscow and Stalingrad.

These Eastern peoples of the USSR have not been indifferent in Russia's crisis, much less have they hoped for a Soviet defeat as a chance to free themselves. They have done as the Filipinos did unto us. They have fought beside the Russians, as equals and comrades in arms, in the defense of the Soviet land against the champions of race superiority.

A non-communist Russian, G. Fedotov, writing on Soviet policy, observes that Eastern peoples, familiar with absolutisms, even terror, accepted the old Russian authority without too much difficulty. The Soviet Russians have brought them something vastly more attractive—the intoxicating feeling of national and racial equality with the white races and an easy communion with the technology of the West.

Touchstone of the East

WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO ASSUME THAT this general line will be Russia's attitude toward Asia after the defeat of Japan. We have to decide what our line will be. If, by any bad luck, the United States should accept the advice of some of our citizens and attempt to become the heirs to the older imperialisms in Asia, we can count on seeing reenacted on a vastly larger scale what happened after World War I. Then the revolutionary China of Sun Yat-sen, rebuffed by America and Great Britain, turned to Russia. Then (in Dr. Sun's famous account) to save his child, the Republic, he clutched at the Russian straw, while England and America jeered and warned him not to clutch. "I know it is a straw," said Dr. Sun, "but better that, than nothing." Russia is no longer a straw.

But there is an alternative course. It is significant that Americans at Bataan received from the Filipinos a demonstration of loyalty comparable to that of the Eastern peoples for the Russians. American policy toward the Philippines differs in many ways from Soviet policy in Asiatic Russia. What is important to stress is that the fundamental principle—that of preparation for self-government—is the same. We may feel that their system of a communist political monopoly is not our idea of self-government. They may believe that our economic policy is not their idea of economic freedom. But we both believe that the Eastern peoples can, with our help, learn to govern themselves and manage their affairs.

On that belief a lot of old stumbling blocks can be used as foundation in building a road to justice and peace in Asia.



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Our Ally—Soviet Russia

(Continued from page 119)

the right to wear epaulettes and decorations, have been introduced. In other words, there has been recognition of service and rank, as opposed to the impractical idea of universal equality.

This is only one phase of Soviet evolution. Henceforth, Soviet ambassadors will wear a diplomatic uniform resplendent with gold lace. Soviet marshals wear golden stars with diamond trimmings. There has been established a Soviet school of officers, named after Suvorov, the general of Catherine the Empress; a Suvorov decoration, and another decoration named for Kutuzov, the general of Tsar Alexander I against Napoleon. And a new Order of Victory, made of platinum and jewels, worth fifteen thousand dollars, to rank with the Congressional Medal or the English Victoria Cross, as an emblem of valor. That shows how the pendulum swings.

In addition there has been a definite rapprochement, a pact of friendship and recognition, between the Soviet atheist State and the Orthodox Church of Russia. When Stalin received in the Kremlin the Church leaders and allowed them to assemble the Holy Synod to elect a Patriarch, it did not mean that the Bolshevik Kremlin admitted the authority of the Orthodox Church of Russia, but it *did* mean that Stalin recognized the value of the Orthodox Church of Russia as a foreign political force—in Bulgaria, Serbia, Rumania, and Greece—and as a unifying factor in the USSR itself.

Soviet Russia Amid Her Peers

THE WHEEL TURNS, AND WHAT WAS ZERO can come again to the top. Russia today is a Great Power, and now demands equality with the other two Great Powers of the world, the United States of America and the British Commonwealth—after Germany and Japan are beaten. The Russians, I think, have abandoned their first fanatical impulse to impose their ideas and their methods upon the Western powers. They have before them a tremendous and most difficult task of national reconstruction. Their richest areas, industrial and agricultural, have been devastated by the German invaders. Their task of reconstruction is terrific and requires our help.

There is the key to Soviet Russian policy in making the peace and in the future world. Immediately, they will need foreign help for reconstruction. But above all they will need peace. They will know that the United States will be the strongest force in the world in production of steel and ships, tanks and airplanes, even of manpower. It will be to their interest to cooperate with the United States, because—if for no other reason—they and the United States want peace for development of their own resources.

The promise of the Moscow and Teheran conferences may fail, perhaps, of achievement. Difficulties may arise, and the friend-

ship which they betoken between the USSR and the USA may be spoiled. There is still a wide deep gap between the individualist system of the United States and the collectivist system of the USSR. Nevertheless there are no causes of fundamental conflict between the two countries, and every word of the Moscow protocol should be carefully studied, from the resolute clarity of its earlier passages to the biblical solemnity of its final call for vengeance. Well might the American Secretaries of War and Navy describe it as a United Nations' victory more notable than any battle.

In addition to the basic statement of the Moscow protocol, that the three great powers involved would fight the war together to a finish and stand together in framing peace and postwar reconstruction—a statement which confounded the hopes of enemies and answered the doubts of friends—it specifically recognized the claims of China and, by implication, as Chinese spokesmen promptly noted, threw light upon Russia's future attitude towards Japan.

But above all—and here lies its prime historic significance—it involved the recognition by the United States and Britain of Russia's passage from the larval state of revolutionary pariah, through an indeterminate cocoon period of half-friend, half-foe, to full acceptance as an Ally and great power.

Soviet Health Lines

(Continued from page 111)

main comparable to kindred services in the USA. It should be brought out, however, that prior to the war practically no city or industrial center, no village or collective farm in the USSR, was unprovided for.

This may be hard to believe by people living in a country in which hundreds of counties are without such facilities—many even without hospitals and some without a doctor. Moreover, except in the larger cities and in comparatively few counties, we have yet to make free medical and hospital service available in the USA.

TB in the USSR

OF THE TUBERCULOSIS SERVICE, MY OWN experience gives me a special right to speak. In addition to clinics that are a part of every health center and general hospital, and aside from a network of modern sanatoria throughout the Union, there are special tuberculosis institutes in all the larger cities for diagnosis and treatment. These are equipped with modern scientific facilities, and usually include a "Day and Night Sanitorium" where workers may be kept under continuous observation and treatment. That is—while pursuing their regular occupations, after they resume them or after they take up new occupations for which they have been trained.

Moreover, each factory and collective farm has its clinic and serves as a center for "case finding." Cases that are suspect or doubtful are sent to a nearby institute

or to a special tuberculosis clinic for more thorough diagnosis. The case record begins with the initial examination and is carried by the patient from clinic to sanatorium and back again to the home clinic when the patient is ready to resume his work.

I commend the tuberculosis service of the Soviet Union to special consideration and study by those of my colleagues who struggle with case finding and have been worrying about rehabilitation and special training for convalescents for forty years.

The "Sports Doctors"

Fizicheskaya kultura SOUNDS PRETTY close to "physical culture," but their meanings do not altogether coincide. This falls outside the Commissariat of Public Health, and is supervised by a special division of the medical profession called "Sports Doctors." The program—abbreviated to *Fizkultura*—is available to practically every citizen of the Soviet Union. Its slogan is: "Ready for Labor and Defense."

Dr. Percy M. Dawson of Duke University, who has studied *Fizkultura* on its native heath, points out that this "readiness" is chiefly but not entirely physical. The aim, as he defines it, is that "the physique of the Soviet citizen, shall be such that, unfatigued by labor, he will have enough energy left to be ready for cultural and political activity and for play. He should, also, be ready to lend himself without too much further training to the arduous life of campaigning."

Dr. Dawson cites the midwinter military campaign of the Red Army and the Soviet exploration of the Arctic and attributes not a little of their success to Soviet winter sports such as skiing and skating.

American-Soviet Interplay

WHETHER OR NOT WE IN THIS COUNTRY go in for "Sports Doctors"—obviously health leaders, here and in Russia, have much to learn from each other. To quote Surgeon General Parran again:

"Among the recent contributions of Soviet medicine can be mentioned pioneer work on transfusion of blood, and blood banks; transplantation of cornea, nerves, and other tissues . . . and the sero-therapy of gas gangrene. . . . Soviet medicine has also had large experience in extensive public health projects; in the prevention and eradication of malaria, typhus, tularemia, and venereal diseases; in medical education and in the socialization of medicine."

The American-Soviet Medical Society has recently been organized to promote such mutual understanding and exchange. To quote Dr. Walter B. Cannon of the Harvard Medical School, its first president:

". . . The vast sacrifices of our nations, united against the aggressive dictators, lay upon us who watch and work outside the immediate struggle a profound responsibility: that they who have suffered supremely shall not have suffered in vain. . . . Impelling advantages to themselves and to all mankind require the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States to collaborate in this human endeavor.



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"Those Russian Women"

(Continued from page 109)

Red Army has no infantry battalions of Amazons. The greatcoat is no prerequisite to heroic deeds. Look at the cleaning woman, Tanya, who won a decoration when a munitions ship was bombed. Or consider the teachers, the factory workers, the scientists of Leningrad; it takes courage to remain on the job in a city where German and Finnish shells dropped unexpectedly out of the blue and in a schoolyard girls lay "screaming and moaning. Many have been crippled for life; others will never see again."

But there are Soviet women who insist on front line assignments and some of them become snipers, bomber pilots, machine gunners. Many of these have worked in auxiliary services first. The three hundred girl barbers who left for the front last summer hoped to wield tommy guns as well as razors. Women in guerrilla units face the most hardship and danger. Many of them have witnessed Nazi cruelty at firsthand and know what they are fighting.

Notable women fighters have laid down their lives: Nina Onilova, machine gunner; Maria Raskova, aviator; Zoya Kosmodemianskaia, guerrilla fighter. Ludmila Pavlichenko, the famous girl sniper who visited the United States, is fighting on the Dnieper and adding more notches to the 309 on the rifle she used in the defense of Odessa and Sevastopol.

The women of today are not the first heroines their country has produced, but the Soviets are probably right in claiming that their present mass heroism is unequalled. In the nineteenth century there was Vasilissa who led her village to defy Napoleon's troops with pitchforks and axes; Nadezhda Durova who fought in the Russian cavalry. Later came the wives of the Decembrists who suffered a thirty-year exile in the wilderness; Vera Sassulich who shot a notorious chief of police; Vera Figner who endured twenty-five years in the Peter and Paul Fortress; Nadezhda Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, who knew solitary confinement and exile. Of equal stature were the women who marched at their husbands' sides on that famous January 9, 1905, and the women textile workers whose demands in 1917 had such far-reaching consequences.

The Soviets rate highly the courage women displayed in the Revolution. They have continued to need that great courage in the struggles facing them after the Revolution.

Up from the Depths

FOR OVER A QUARTER OF A CENTURY, THE women of the Soviet Union have been striving to give substance to the legal equality which the Revolution brought them. There were two formidable barriers to be hurdled: the women themselves, and the men. Eight out of ten women were peasants. It had taken imagination to proclaim woman man's equal in the Russia of 1917. She was illiterate. Hardly one woman in

five knew how to read and write. She was superstitious and intolerant. She was a stranger to hygiene. She was unskilled, uncultured. She was ignorant of events outside her village. She was worn with disease, child-bearing, an insufficiency of food and an oversufficiency of beatings.

As in other countries, it was mainly the urban women who fought for the liberation of their sex. Take the characterization of a village woman uttered by a peasant in Leo Tolstoy's "Power of Darkness":

"What is a village woman? Just dirt. There are millions of your sisters in Russia and they are all as blind as moles—they know nothing; they have seen nothing and heard nothing. A *muzhik* finds out something either in the beer shop or in the prison if he happens to be there, or when he serves in the army. But who will teach a woman? Only a drunken *muzhik*, when he takes the horse reins to give her a lesson. That is all the teaching she gets."

Her course of instruction was considerably widened after 1917, but think of the depths from which it had to start! Husbands and fathers, brothers and sons, constituted a thick mass of doubting Thomases whose very incredulity put tar under the feet of their wives, their daughters, their sweethearts, who wanted to show them how fast they could run. The official attitude of the Bolsheviks was represented by exceptional men like Lenin, whose faith in women's capacities often exceeded the faith of the women themselves. "Unfortunately,"

(Continued on page 155)

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BACK THE ATTACK BUY WAR BONDS

(Continued from page 152)

observed Lenin in those early years, "it is still true to say of many of our comrades, 'Scratch a communist and find a Philistine.' Of course, you must scratch the sensitive spot—their mentality as regards woman."

While the wheels of industry were rusty, the grain fields neglected, the schools few, women's new rights were mainly on paper.

"Notwithstanding all the liberating laws that have been passed, woman continues to be a domestic slave, because petty housework crushes, strangles, stultifies, and degrades her, chains her to the kitchen and to the nursery."—Lenin said this in 1919 and it continued to be true of the majority of Soviet women for a decade after.

Not until the Five-Year Plans abolished unemployment did Soviet women get to first base. All during the Twenties they had been sitting on the benches.

The Woman's Movement

TO SAY THIS IS NOT TO DISPARAGE THE HERCULEAN efforts of a few literate, articulate women like Alexandra Kollontai and Nadezhda Krupskaya. Kollontai, bob-haired, handsome, forty-five years old, was the first woman commissar. As head of State Welfare she established in 1917 the Institute for the Protection of Women and Children which was to play a major role in women's development. Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, plain of face and indifferent to appearance herself, was not indifferent to the work necessary to improve women's position.

Even before the adoption of the first Five-Year Plan in 1928, Soviet women had succeeded in winning election to local soviets. In the federal body there was a woman for each eleven men elected. In many village soviets the hand that held the gavel was a woman's. They became judges, correspondents for women's newspapers and magazines, trade union heads. They held frequent conferences. At one such conference for women of the East, the delegates came veiled—but they came. There were gains of this kind but begging, prostitution, wife-beating, had not gone. Poverty, it has been said, is the grave of human relationships. In those years home life offered a harsh picture.

The Five-Year Plans gave Russian women their opportunity. A labor shortage after 1930 forced factory managers to take women on and train them. Equal pay for equal work began to have real meaning as women grew more skilled. By 1935, Stalin could pay at a Kremlin reception for outstanding women workers: "I've seen a lot of things in my time. I've known a good many working men and women. But . . . these are a completely new breed of people." Again the official attitude was outrunning the popular conception but the gap was not as great as before.

More Soviet men, also, had come a long way and were impressed by women's accomplishments as they now seized the new opportunities.

Anyone interested in statistics can get a carload of them from the Soviet press every



March 8. That is International Women's Day and a gala occasion for the adding machines and ascending graph lines. Each year more girls in schools, more women graduates of universities, more women in voluntary social work, more women specialists (engineers, doctors, technicians). Each year more women entering industry, more learning to drive tractors; more nurseries, kindergartens, clinics, laundries, school luncheons to make wage earning possible for women with homes and families; more inducements to them through mechanization, incentive pay, maternity leaves, paid vacations, cultural opportunities at work.

Not only more women in the executive posts, but more women elected to the soviets, more women studying civilian defense, more women receiving the Order of Lenin and other awards.

The Household Revolution

No, THESE THINGS WERE NOT PRESENTED to women on a silver platter. They knew the meaning of blood and toil and sweat; but I found them singularly free of tears. From mid-1935 to mid-1937, the final years of the second Five-Year Plan, I was in the Soviet Union on a scholarly mission, and had ample opportunity to see what women were accomplishing; what it was costing them.

Ambitious, with her strong body, and vast energy—made stronger and vaster by sports, free medical care, improved diet—the new Soviet wage earner was able to put in a day of phenomenal activity. In addition to her seven hours in office or factory, she took care of her small apartment, purchased the food for supper, supervised the children's bedtime, visited a beauty parlor. And more besides, for she was likely to inspect a nearby school or market for the soviet, do homework for a course in some technical subject related to her job, visit a theater, attend a lecture.

She also spent some time in grooming her clothes and her person, and in companionship with her husband—all in the face of shortages which made shopping or marketing a formidable venture.

While the Soviet housewife did not have so hectic a day she had many responsibilities outside her home. In the USSR, it is thought that a pay envelope does things for a woman but a good second-best is participation in community activities on a volunteer basis. The latter often leads to the former.

It is relatively easy to protect the woman at work. The loads she can lift, the processes she can carry on without injury are scientifically determined. But at home the problem is more complex. "In family life, more than in any other phase of life, one still meets survivals of the old," said Krupskaya. Not all Soviet men were looking at the new woman with new eyes. To some of them she was still the caterer to their comfort—what if she'd put in a seven-hour work day? Yet under pressure from women's demands, *Pravda* editorials, and their own self-education, Soviet husbands were sharing more fully in the family marketing and other home responsibilities.

Sex and Glamour

THE BURDEN OF UNFAIR SEX RELATIONSHIPS was also slowly lifting as the land of the "yellow ticket" rid itself of prostitution and made tremendous strides against its twin evil, venereal disease. The Soviet woman no longer had to face the humiliation of a lopsided monogamy or the humiliation of an ancient and scorned profession.

Marital ties were steadily growing firmer.

The 1936 law tightening responsibilities as to abortion, divorce, child care was frankly designed "to combat a lightminded attitude toward the family and family obligations." Divorces were made more expensive and, an intimate deterrent, they were re-



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recorded in the individual's "passport," thus documenting his marital record for any woman he wooed to see and ponder. A high rate of financial responsibility for offspring in case of divorce was established, with two years imprisonment for failure to pay. Planned parenthood was based now on birth control and not on abortion. The medical profession—three out of five doctors are women—and women generally had won a victory.

As diligently as she pursued her new economic possibilities, the Soviet woman began to pursue glamour. She had never been Spartan in principle. She had listened eagerly when told that "in Soviet Russia the life of the working woman should be surrounded with the same ease, with the same brightness, with the same hygiene, with the same beauty, which has thus far surrounded only the women of the richer classes." And in her pursuit of glamour she was aided and abetted by a growing cosmetics industry, the retail outlets of which were the most attractive stores in any neighborhood; by a chain of beauty parlors which gave permanents, facials and manicures at prices low enough to suggest subsidy; by free dance and sports and diet instruction that slimmed her traditionally chunky figure.

Her big frustration was clothing. The casual visitor to the Soviet Union had found it hard to believe the stories of woman's progress so long as she wore shabby dresses and clumsy cloth shoes. She did not think highly of them herself and most of the fem-

inine grousing I heard was on this subject. But, even then, most of the women knew that they did not have new hats and dresses because east of the Urals a production defense line was being built which engrossed materials and labor that might have gone into better made garments and more leather shoes.

From War to Postwar

SOVIET WOMEN DID NOT WANT WAR. THEY were supporting the idea of collective security when many women elsewhere were not. They wanted to get along with the absorbing struggle to make their legal rights real. My anticipation is that Soviet women will think that "progress" forced by the war, by their better training and skill, by their assumption of administrative posts, as means to an end—the resumption of a family life that had grown more enjoyable with the years. Not that they contemplate a "back to the kitchen" movement when peace comes. Most of them are convinced that a fuller life is possible when they earn wages, and they expect their family life to be harmonized, as before the war, with their efforts outside the home.

In regions occupied by the Nazis, women have not only had their progress stopped abruptly and harshly but in the years of reconstruction will require careful nurture to undo the physical and psychological harm they have suffered.

The children, too, not in the re-occupied areas alone, will require careful rehabilita-

tion that will absorb much of the postwar energies of Soviet women. In spite of admirable attempts to maintain the medical, pre-school, school and after-school protections built up in peacetime, war is exacting a heavy toll of the young. Juvenile delinquency has not hit the Soviets as hard as it has some of the other United Nations; but what has happened to the younger generation of boys and girls will confirm to some degree their mothers' antipathy to war, an antipathy enhanced by the fact that hardly a Soviet family has escaped death or injury of at least one member.

The reconstruction years undoubtedly will be a difficult period for Soviet women. Housing was inadequate before the war—and now bombs and fire have wrecked thousands of dwelling places. Their clothing was inadequate before the war—and now clothing factories are producing munitions and army uniforms. They may look increasingly to America for consumer goods and to American women for ideas in dressing themselves attractively, in equipping their homes, in caring for their children.

In their forward strides, Soviet women never became boastful or arrogant. I found their outstanding characteristic a willingness to learn. In the cultural and scientific interchange between the United States and the Soviet Union to which doctors, teachers, Arctic experts, and professional workers of all kinds look forward for mutual benefit, the women of the two countries seem certain to play a stirring part.



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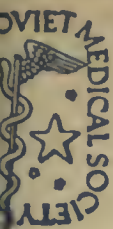
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"American Russian Frontiers"

THE PATTERN OF LAST MONTH'S SPECIAL NUMBER of *Survey Graphic*, ninth in our "Calling America" series, was woven the other way round—as "an American approach to common understanding." Its firsthand appraisals come out at a time when clear-sightedness on this side the Atlantic is crucial.

Turn to our back cover for inklings as to the early response: with Dr. Goebbels and financial editor on the offside; and friendly comment from Mrs. Roosevelt's "My Day" and Mrs. Reid of the *New York Herald Tribune*; from the editorial columns of *The New York Times* and the "First Reader" of the *New York World-Telegram*.

Survey Graphic for March

HERE WE PICK UP STRANDS IN OUR YEAR-LONG skein of inquiry and interpretation. All of them draw on wartime experience that has promise for the postwar future:

Alden Stevens tells of doors thrown open to wounded service men by navy doctors and industrial managers (page 165); Paul de Kruif of what blood plasma holds out for civilians (page 172). . . . On two sides of the Pacific, Laura L. Margolis tells of a backwater of wartime refugees in conquered Shanghai (page 168) and Anne Roller Issler of the freshet of youths and jobs in San Francisco shipyards (page 174). . . . Randall S. Williams offers new dimensions to economic reconstruction (page 178) and Spencer Miller, Jr., traces the traffic arteries that will give gangway to a new London (page 180).

Harry Hansen, in the first of his book readers for us, appraises Gunnar Myrdal's volumes which distill the Carnegie findings on Negroes and their prospects in American life (page 183).

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THESE DATE FROM FEBRUARY 1939, WHEN THE first, with Raymond Swing as special editor, drove home the challenge of Munich "to strengthen our own democracy at home." Their combined circulation now comes to half a million copies.

A reception to the contributors to AMERICAN RUSSIAN FRONTIERS (February 1944) was a feature of the annual meeting of Survey Associates, Inc., on February 23 at the Cosmopolitan Club, New York. It was attended by 300 members and subscribers.

Richard B. Scandrett, Jr., president of Survey Associates, took the chair and the concluding speaker was Albert Rhys Williams, his colleague as special editor. Other speakers were Ruth Gruber, author of "I Went to the Soviet Arctic"; Ernest J. Simmons, director of the

Survey Graphic for March 1944

Cover: Sixteen-year-old sheetmetal worker at Marinship checking pipe for a Maritime Commission tanker

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Survey Midmonthly published on the 15th of the month. Single copies 30c. By subscription—Domestic: year \$3; 2 years \$5. Additional postage per year—Foreign 50c; Canadian 75c.

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Intensive Study of Contemporary Russian Civilization at Cornell University; and Vera Micheles Dean, research director, Foreign Policy Association.

A small informal dinner followed in honor of the authors (a dozen were present), together with Mr. Zimand and the editors of earlier specials in the "Calling America" series—Beulah Amidon (SCHOOLS), Loula D. Lasker (HOMES), Dr. Alain Locke of Howard University (COLOR).

Survey Associates, Inc. (1912-1943)

PROF. JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN, NEWLY ELECTED chairman of the board, presided at our 31st annual meeting. Report was made by Ann Reed Brenner, secretary, of nominations for the 1944-47 term. Reelected: Joseph P. Chamberlain, Blanche Ittleson, Agnes B. Leach, Lowell Shumway. New members: Mrs. Lucius R. Eastman, active in Negro education in the South; Ralph Hayes, director of the New York Community Trust; William W. Lancaster, chairman of the Foreign Policy Association; Justine Wise Polier, justice, Domestic

Relations Court of New York City.

In a brief over-all statement, the editor reviewed the outcome of the fiscal-calendar year 1943—with publishing receipts, membership and contributions yielding a surplus of around \$2,500. This wipes out a deficit of the year before (when we met the brunt of wartime conditions), but leaves an overhanging deficit of roughly \$5,000. Entering into this outcome were net-gains (over 1942) of 10 percent in memberships, joint subscriptions, *Graphic* subscriptions.

A spirited program for *Survey Midmonthly* development has been initiated by an Editorial Advisory Committee. [See *Survey Midmonthly* for February.]

REPORT WAS MADE ON THE RECEIPT OF \$81,700 under the will of Justice Louis D. Brandeis, to be employed in fields of civil liberty and workers education; and on the raising by a special committee (Jacob Billikopf, chairman) of \$5,800 toward a Memorial Fund in honor of Judge Julian W. Mack, for sixteen years chairman of the board of Survey Associates.



Arma Corporation photogra

IN BED—BUT ON A PAYING JOB

His fighting days may be over, but the essential war work he is doing is both therapy and occupational training

GRAPHIC

MAGAZINE of
SOCIAL
INTERPRETATION



PUBLISHED
by
SURVEY ASSOCIATES

Here's Hope for War Wounded

How a war plant and naval hospitals help them find themselves as skilled workers in a bedridden production line.

ALDEN STEVENS

THE IMAGINATION AND THE MANPOWER shortage of a Brooklyn manufacturer are giving new hope to the war wounded today. By parceling out jobs to navy casualties—some of them still bedridden—the Arma Corporation is stepping up production in the plant. Better still, the experiment is lifting the hearts of men who in a sudden searing moment of war lost a leg, or an arm, or the use of muscles—front line fighters who had despaired of ever leading normal lives again.

At the Brooklyn Naval Hospital, and at St. Albans Naval Hospital in Queens, New York, a group of about forty wounded navy men are taking part in this experiment. Navy officials, cooperating closely with the employer, are proving that men with severely injured bodies can become effective, productive citizens. If the small scale experiment proves successful, and there is now little doubt that it will, it holds genuine promise for many thousands of wounded veterans who had thought their working lives were over.

Rebuilding Damaged Muscles

SEAMAN SECOND CLASS RALPH LEIGH (THE men's real names are not being given) was in a savage air raid in Sicily. His body riddled with shrapnel, he spent several weeks in a cast before being shipped back to the United States. Now most of the shrapnel was out, the cast off, and the slow task of rebuilding damaged muscles had begun.

—By the author of "Arms and the People," a vivid, over-all picture of the United States geared for war, which was published soon after Pearl Harbor. Co-author with Roger Burlingame of a book on the tragedy of 1919-20, "Victory Without Peace," to be brought out in March, Mr. Stevens has written frequently for this magazine as well as for other periodicals. He is now working with the Air Transport Command.

Leigh had been in bed at St. Albans for more than three months, and would not be back on his feet for many more weeks. Yet he was already at work on a job, making parts of a complicated piece of electrical equipment for a warship, and being paid for it. Although his fighting days were over, he knew that a useful, well-paid job awaited him in the Brooklyn plant when his recovery was complete.

His task was relatively simple. Sitting up, his tools and material on a large table astride his bed, he explained what he was doing.

"These wires have to fit the terminals on this junction box," he said, deftly clipping a piece of wire from a coil beside him. He stripped off half an inch of insulation, then, using a special tool, crimped a tiny metal connector to the end and tossed the wire into a box. "Now all the final assembler has to do is to slap them on and screw down the terminal nuts."

In the next bed, electrician's mate first class Bill Klein was assembling tiny parts into an intricate little gadget the exact function of which he must not even mention. Klein, originally from the Bronx, had been on an old four-piper in the Atlantic. He had a bad leg injury, but his arms were all right, and because he had had training in electrical work he was able to handle a much more difficult task than that assigned to Leigh. The sub-assemblies he was piecing together, were among the most vital in the whole complicated machine. It is Bill Klein's aim to make this kind of tricky assembling his regular work, though the end product may someday be for peaceful purposes instead of war.

"It Isn't Going to Be So Bad"

IN ANOTHER WARD AT ST. ALBANS, eighteen-year-old Charles Henry Lamont of Cranberry, N. C., polished and fitted small aluminum parts too intricately shaped to be machine-tooled. He had suffered severe burns on his legs and body, was recovering nicely, but had no idea how long it would be before he was discharged. "I think it's great," he said, when asked for his opinion about the project, "an' if they can get enough of us wounded fellows workin' again it ought to do a lot to help the manpowah shawtage."

Not all the men were in bed. Some who were able to walk worked at a long table in another room. One of these was an expoliceman who had left his radio car to join



Arma Corporation photographs

Back at work, though still in Brooklyn Naval Hospital; Commander H. B. Arnold supervising

the navy. He calmly displayed a right hand with the one-joint stubs of four amputated fingers. "Pounding in rivets with this little hammer is doing me a lot of good," he said. "Getting used to the short fingers was hard at first, but I'm learning to get along pretty well now." He looked thoughtfully at what was left of his hand. "It isn't going to be so bad," he said. "I think I'll be able to do almost anything."

And so it went. A Coca-Cola salesman who had given up a profitable Coney Island sales route to join the navy and who now had a badly injured wrist, a young farmer who could scarcely bend his arm at the elbow—men with all sorts of injuries—were doing important work and getting back the use of their muscles at the same time.

Discharged Men First-Class Workers

THE ARMA CORPORATION, WHICH EMPLOYS these men, is an old Brooklyn manufacturing concern which has been making precision equipment for the navy since the first World War. The idea for this project came from Robert F. Nelson, a vice-president of Arma. Nelson is an energetic man with a passion for anything that will increase production. Ordinarily he is calm enough, but when he gets excited, as he does when he talks about his experiment at St. Albans and the Brooklyn Naval Hospital, he has a tendency to raise his naturally staccato voice until it sounds something like a machine gun. He underlines his points by pounding on a table and leaning forward with a gleam in his eye.

In a relatively contemplative mood he recalled the origin of the project.

"I first got the idea," he says, "when we were very hard up for good people. Arma

had only about a thousand employes when this war got started. Now we have nearly eight thousand. It's precise work and it has to be just right. We couldn't get enough skilled workers. We had a few discharged servicemen in the plant by the end of 1942 and they were first-class. More and more were coming back wounded. It looked to me like a good source of manpower. I talked to navy officials—mainly because we happen to work for the navy and don't have many contacts in the army.

"We found that ex-servicemen showed a lot more interest in learning the job and doing it right than most other people we could get. In some cases they were slightly handicapped physically but their greater interest in the work more than made up for that. I went right into the hospitals trying to line up men slated for discharge.

"The convalescents had nothing much to do while they were taking treatments and gradually getting well. I was impressed with their boredom and wondered if we couldn't start some of them off working right where they were."

Nelson talked with Commander H. B. Arnold of the Brooklyn Naval Hospital and other navy officials. He learned that many of the men were doing weaving, printing, metal work, woodcarving, and so on, to give damaged muscles and nerves a chance to get back in shape.

Why Not?

WHY COULDN'T THEY BE DOING SOMETHING more constructive? The answer was that they could but no one had thought of it before.

Nelson was fired with enthusiasm. Navy doctors familiar with the needs of some of the men walked through the Arma plant with production experts. They paid little

attention to what was being made; they just watched the motions Arma employes went through to perform whatever operation they were working on. Always they kept their patients in mind.

One sailor had a bad wrist. He needed a twisting motion to develop flexibility. It was easy to find an operation which involved putting a lot of screws into a small piece of machinery. Using a screwdriver gave just the right movement.

Another patient had an elbow injury and needed a wide swinging motion. Here it was—winding insulation around a complicated series of coils. It had to be done by hand because of the shape of the assembly. Long streamers of the insulating tape had to be pulled through a loop again and again—and each time the arm had to be fully extended and then brought back close to the body.

Another patient with a damaged hand needed finger dexterity. Assembly of a small part was ideal—the worker had to insert small bolts, attach nuts to the opposite ends, and then tighten them.

In short, almost every motion the men needed to develop injured parts was available here.

The Man Comes First

EVERY CASE MUST BE INDIVIDUALLY CONSIDERED, and often the right job is not found at first. A certain amount of trial and error is inevitable. The needs of the men, of course, come first. It is primarily occupational therapy—everything else comes after this. Nothing can be more important than bringing injured bodies back to health and giving peace of mind to men in the hospital beds. Mr. Nelson says frankly that it is a slow job and that so far Arma has not benefited very much as a firm. He is sure the gains to the company will be clear enough in the long run.

"We know we'll be getting the highest type of manpower," he says. "We will have trained them ourselves. Any physical handicap a man may have is far overshadowed by the fact that he's likely to be genuinely enthusiastic about the work he's doing. We hope a lot of these men will develop into good foremen and supervisors. Slight disabilities won't matter if they do. But perhaps most of all, we're getting a better spirit around the plant—because our old employes are so enthusiastic over what is being done—and that pays off in increased production."

When a little group of these navy men were brought around to the plant to look at the finished product for which they are making parts, they got a tremendous welcome. It gives everybody in the place a lift to think about it.

"I was terribly worried about what would happen to me after I got my discharge," one patient said. "I couldn't see that I had any chance of getting a job. Now I've got one, doing work I like. I won't have to tramp the streets looking for work when I'm well."

The first small batch of discharged men

are already working at Arma. Others will follow soon. A few will require brief daily treatments for many months after their hospital discharges, and for these a dispensary with diathermy and other equipment is being set up at the plant. The last stages of their cure can be completed there. Meanwhile, the men still at the hospitals are earning at the regular piece rate for the work they do.

Other Methods Must Still Be Used

OVER AT THE BROOKLYN HOSPITAL, Commander Arnold points out that not all wounded men can benefit by this work and a few should not do it at all. Other, older methods must still be used. Injured legs, for instance, will still be exercised on some such machine as the bicycle saw—which is merely a saw operated by pedals. Some motions are not available in industrial operations. However, there is no doubt in Commander Arnold's mind as to the value of the work.

"There is little carry-over value in most of the old style occupational therapy work," he says. "Weaving, pottery-making, pounding out copper ash trays—all that gives the right motions, all right, but nothing toward vocational rehabilitation. This work in many cases gives the right motions and also gives a man useful training. He's learned to do a job—and Arma assures him a job if he measures up to their standards.

tional therapy. And there will be more space if it is called for.

The Doctor Decides

"THE NEWS IS GETTING AROUND THE HOSPITAL," she says. "At first the doctors in charge took the initiative and prescribed the work for only a few of their patients. Now patients who are on their feet wander around and watch, and then ask me how they can get in on it. I call the doctor in charge of each man and ask whether it seems to him like a good idea. The doctor has to make the decision. And we don't want to expand too fast. It's still experimental. But we know it's going to succeed in many cases."

Ensign Jones emphasizes the fact that the work with Arma is thoroughly integrated into the navy's program for getting wounded men back on their feet physically and at the same time looking after their mental and economic welfare. Many of them, when first brought in, have a frustrated, beaten feeling. "It's all over for me," they sometimes think. The first job is to make them as whole as can be and get their muscles working normally. The Arma work appeals to them much more than weaving or woodworking. It has a point, it leads somewhere, it is clearly useful. They are not "out of it" any more. This is one reason for the enthusiastic response the program has had from the men

depends on their condition, varying from a few minutes to several hours. It is all very flexible, of course, and must be. Maybe it is not the most efficient way of getting parts made, but no one cares about that, least of all Arma. The big thing is what it does for the men concerned.

It is one of those projects that seems almost too good to be true. Everybody wins and nobody loses. The men get the specialized exercise they need and at the same time know that what they are doing is useful. They can look forward to a job as soon as they are discharged. Meanwhile they are earning a little extra money. The navy feels that helping men make this connection is an excellent way to meet part of the nation's obligations to them and at the same time get them back into the community as civilians. The Arma company acquires top-notch personnel and increased production even while the men are still in the hospitals.

Something Big Is Started

WITH ONLY ONE COMPANY SPONSORING THE project, just a few men can benefit. But nearly every factory today is doing some sort of war work, and army and navy hospitals have been established all over the country. There are thousands of plants near enough to a hospital to make cooperation practicable, and while obviously not every plant does work adaptable to the



Hands badly cut by flying glass learn intricate assembling



An injured wrist gets flexibility on essential war work

here's a tremendous incentive here. The men get excited about the work. They now they're making parts of important war machinery, and they know their parts are just exactly as good as those made at the factory."

Ensign Harriet Jones, who has had a thorough training in occupational therapy, is in charge at St. Albans. The fact that she is attractive does not make the men any less enthusiastic about the work. She is obviously popular, and is in dead earnest about the work she is doing. She thinks there is nothing more important. The navy officially shares her enthusiasm, and a new wing is being added at St. Albans to be occupied entirely by men needing occupa-

tion themselves, an important reason.

Every day an Arma representative calls at the hospitals bringing a truckload of new material. He gives patient instruction to every worker, and sometimes considerable training is necessary. Most of the men start on something very simple—like cutting wire and crimping on the connectors. As their condition improves, they may be moved on to other more complicated operations. Several, under the instructor's watchful eye, are already piecing together elaborate sub-assemblies involving a great deal of skill in any factory. Periodically the finished pieces are loaded onto the Arma truck and taken back to the plant.

The length of time men work each day

needs of convalescing servicemen, there are a great many that could fit into the pattern Arma has originated.

Everyone concerned with the pilot project at Brooklyn and St. Albans—most of all, the men themselves—are convinced that something really big has started here. This is not the answer to every wounded man's problem, but if enough factories and shops which need first-class manpower, and want to help, will start similar projects even if these take only a few men each, many thousands of the country's wounded will find their place again. It will be a tremendous stride toward normal, happy, useful lives for men who have given so much for their country.

Race Against Time in Shanghai

In the uncertain months before internment, two Americans brought new courage and first lessons in democracy to thousands stranded at a way station in their exile.

LAURA L. MARGOLIS

MANY AMERICANS HAVE BEEN CAUGHT IN war zones since Pearl Harbor. Few, so far as I know, have had my experience in being allowed to go on with their own work even though they were enemy aliens. For I recently returned on the "Gripsholm" from two and a half years in Shanghai, where, before I was put in a Japanese internment camp, I spent fourteen months helping to house and feed thousands of Central European refugees.

It was in May 1941 that I went to Shanghai, sent by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) to see what could be done for 20,000 anti-Nazi refugees there, some 8,000 of them destitute and on relief. My equipment—if anything can be called "equipment" for such a task—was my professional training, and my experience in welfare agencies here and among German refugees stranded in Cuba.

In Shanghai, I found the refugees concentrated in Hongkew, a part of the International Settlement, which since 1937 has been under Japanese jurisdiction. The area was badly bombed by the Japanese invaders, and when I arrived a large section was still a mass of ruins.

The five camps sheltering approximately 2,500 men, women, and children are in the very heart of the refugee area. Based on a feeling that the refugees were only in Shanghai temporarily, no effort had ever been made to improve the housing conditions.

The camps were improvised from buildings that survived the bombardment, two schools, a barracks once used by White Russian troops, a warehouse, and the ruins of five bombed houses rebuilt on the plan of a Chinese compound to accommodate about 1,000 people. This compound was the only housing which even attempted to give some measure of family privacy. The dormitories in the other camps were terribly overcrowded, with double decker beds, and men, women, and children all thrown together. The sanitary conditions were deplorable. In the old barracks, for example, there were two antiquated toilets for 400 people. It was a shock to me to see these people living in such poverty and squalor.

The Open Door of Shanghai

SHANGHAI HAD BEEN A GENEROUS HAVEN for years. Long before Pearl Harbor, even before the invasion of Poland, the city gave refuge to thousands of Central Europeans fleeing from Hitler's persecution. They found there the refugees of twenty years earlier, 50,000 White Russians, some 10,000 of them Jews, who came from Tsarist Rus-

sia after the Bolshevik Revolution. They found, too, a few hundred Sephardic (Spanish-Portuguese) Jews, who had lived in Shanghai for several generations.

The Sephardic Jews of Shanghai are for the most part British subjects, educated in England. Some of them are wealthy, a few multi-millionaires. But after Pearl Harbor, they, like the Americans, became enemy aliens in the eyes of the Japanese—their funds frozen, and their liberty precarious.

The White Russians constitute a comfortable middle class group, merchants, brokers, dealers in the import-export trade. In 1917, when these immigrants came, Shanghai still had "frontiers." The story of the struggles and the courage of the Russian émigrés is a familiar one. But the city needed building up, and the Russian migrant soon made a place for himself in a community on the boom.

What the Exiles Found

IT WAS INTO A CITY WITH THESE ESTABLISHED Jewish communities that the anti-Axis refugees streamed from 1938 through November 1941, with the great mass immigration in 1939. In 1939-40, Lloyd-Triestino ran a sort of "ferry service" between Italy and Shanghai, bringing in thousands of refugees a month—Germans, Austrians, a few Czechs — and virtually "dumping" them on the Bund, the long street bordering the waterfront.

Last to come before war closed the door were 1,000 Poles who, with the help of the JDC, had started across Siberia in 1940, and finally reached Japan. In October and November, 1941, well before Pearl Harbor, the Japanese moved to Shanghai all anti-Axis refugees who had reached their islands. Among the Poles were about 500 rabbinical students and their teachers, including the oldest Yeshiva (Hebrew theological seminary) in the world. They had come all the way from Poland as a school, and reached Shanghai with not a single student, teacher or book lost, not a lesson missed. They set up their school immediately, and went quietly on with their work.

When war was declared, there were in all more than 21,000 Jewish refugees in Shanghai. Some had been there only a few weeks, some several years. All had come not to a busy, growing Shanghai, but to a city occupied by a foreign enemy, parts of it in ruins, with foreign trade on the decline and foreign capital pulling out. The refugees were free from religious and political persecution, but the struggle to earn a living which confronted them is probably unparalleled anywhere in the world.

When the influx of refugees first began a group of local Jews (Dutch, British, and long-resident Germans) organized a committee to help them. But the problem grew so rapidly that housing facilities arranged in the International Settlement one week found another thousand stranded newcomers on the Bund the next, asking for shelter. Shanghai has no organized social agencies in the Western sense. Destitute Chinese beg on the streets and in the winter quiet freeze to death. The White Russian and Portuguese communities have small relief organizations to help their own indigenes. There were no other Europeans in need prior to the coming of the refugees.

In desperation the local committee took old Hongkew buildings which had been shelled in 1937, made some hasty repairs, and established "temporary" shelters. The only real solution for the problem, as both the committee and the refugees themselves saw, was to sift this group out of Shanghai into other countries.

Like the housing, the feeding was on a temporary, makeshift basis. The kitchen from which 8,000 persons were receiving one scanty meal daily in the spring of 1941 was a primitive Chinese affair employing 100 refugees to operate it, costing 60 cents in Chinese money (three cents American) per meal per person, of which five sixths was for coal, only one sixth for the food itself. Often in Shanghai's torrential rain the kitchen floor was knee-deep in icy water. With incredible toil and effort, the unwieldy staff managed to prepare the daily dishes of vegetables and a little meat, and to serve to the refugees who lined up, each with his own bowl, to receive his two ladles (about a pint) of hot stew.

Little Vienna in China

IT MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT THE refugees themselves had made every possible effort to reorganize their own lives in Shanghai on a self-supporting basis. Twelve thousand of them had succeeded in doing so, though for many it was an uncertain hand-to-mouth livelihood. Some had left Europe early enough to bring some of their possessions with them. These sold what they had—trinkets, jewelry, pictures, clothing, and so on, to eke out a living in exile. They had reconstructed entire streets in shattered Hongkew, using the very rubble for building material. They had started small businesses of many kinds. Those who had been skilled workers in European cities—leather and metal workers, designers, knitters, tailors, milliners, bakers, confectioners, and so on—set themselves up in little shops or

peddled their goods from door to door. They started delicatessen stores and opened sidewalk cafes. Chusan Road, once a typical Chinese lane, in 1941 looked like a little street in Vienna. It was interesting to see how the things that the skilled refugees made, the services they offered, were absorbed more and more into the life of the country, notably the open air cafes, the delicious Viennese sausages, coffee and pastries, the quilts, knit goods, and gadgets.

The majority of the 8,000 refugees on relief were those who would have been handicapped in the economic struggle even under circumstances more favorable than those of exhausted Shanghai. The destitute were in the main those over forty, without skills, many of them broken in health, some of them with personalities scarred by hardship and hopelessness. There were professional people among them, notably lawyers and some engineers, for whose training there was absolutely no outlet in Shanghai. It never had been possible to provide adequate relief, and without exception they all suffered from malnutrition, some from semi-starvation. Yet many did their best to help themselves, peddling their poor belongings and trying to pick up odd jobs.

The local committee also was operating two hospitals and a small maternity ward. The lack of sanitation and supplies, and of *esprit de corps* among the doctors and nurses, themselves undernourished and hungry, many supplementing their meager wages with other jobs, made these hospitals little more than places to sleep away from the overcrowded camps.

The whole situation was the result of an influx of people for whom no plan had been made; the belief that Shanghai was only a "way station" for them; the large proportion of destitute refugees in need of housing, food, clothes and medical care; the handling of the relief problem by kindly disposed but inexperienced volunteers; last but not least, the waning economy of Shanghai itself.

The JDC Steps In

THE AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION Committee, which had been sending funds to the local committee since 1939, hoped to bring some order out of this chaos, and to help re-emigrate all those who could be rehabilitated. For this reason I was sent to Shanghai, and in November 1941, Manuel Siegel of the JDC overseas staff joined me there. Mr. Siegel and I had worked together in Cuba. He, too, is an American social worker, with experience both in private agencies and in public welfare. We were soon thoroughly familiar with the resources and limitations of Shanghai, and ready to undertake the reorganization of the refugee program.

We found early that the Germans and Austrians were interested only in going to the United States, where they had friends or relatives. Owing to quota restrictions and the scarcity of ships, this was a very complicated undertaking. The JDC was, however, able to send about three hundred Poles to Palestine, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and Burma. But there was not time

before Pearl Harbor to make even a real start in tackling the relocation of the Shanghai refugees.

Realizing that re-emigration, at best, would be a long, slow process, we wanted to build within the Jewish community of Shanghai a strong local committee which would be able to carry on the work. It is never JDC policy to assume responsibility for a community; the agency provides technical advice and financial subsidy in relation to local resources. But the objective always is to turn responsibility over to the community as rapidly as possible.

With the Enemy's Cooperation

ON DECEMBER 8, 1941, THE MONDAY morning when we were to begin the reorganization of the refugee program, we were awakened at 4 A.M. by shell fire. Another Battle of Shanghai was on, simultaneously with the attack on Pearl Harbor. My first conscious thought was, "Now I'm trapped, too. I'll be no use to myself or to the refugees." How I wished I had heeded the warnings of friends and left while I still had the chance. Then I relaxed, and like the Chinese, shrugged my shoulders and said, "*May yu fatsé*" ("There is no way"), the Chinese phrase of resignation.

We learned almost at once that the Japanese did not plan to intern enemy nationals, at least "for the present." That "present"



LAURA L. MARGOLIS

—The only woman member of the overseas staff of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which carries on its work of succor and rescue in Europe, Africa, Latin America, and the Far East. Miss Margolis has had a global career, for she was born in Constantinople, educated in Ohio, and has worked with the JDC in Cuba, the Philippines, and China. A graduate of Western Reserve School of Social Work, she served as supervisor with the Jewish Social Service of Cleveland, and executive secretary of the Buffalo Jewish Welfare Society. She is now on her way to another overseas post.

lasted for the whole of the succeeding year—1942. At the start however, we did not know whether "present" meant one day or one week—one month was about the limit we dared contemplate.

But as long as we were free, we were determined to do something for those who needed our help. The December remittance from the United States had not arrived. Would the Japanese help? Panic reigned in Hongkew. An undernourished, stateless, unprotected group of humans faced starvation. The funds the local committee had on hand would last only until the end of December. Representatives of the committee, predominantly Dutch and British enemy nationals, had approached the Japanese naval officer in charge of refugee affairs. They were coolly received and told that he could not help them. There was only one alternative for us—to try our own luck with the Japanese.

Fortunately, before Pearl Harbor we had established a good relationship with this Japanese officer. Captain I. received Mr. Siegel and me graciously. We told him about the situation in Hongkew, and explained that although money could not be transmitted directly from the United States since our respective countries were at war, nevertheless we had the authorization of the JDC to raise money locally on its credit to be repaid after the war. (This was in accordance with an arrangement made by the JDC before Pearl Harbor for continuation of relief operations in occupied areas.) Furthermore, the Shanghai committee had local currency frozen in the bank which, if released, would enable us to operate at least until we could raise money on our credit; in addition the American Red Cross had promised 5,000 bags of cracked wheat if the Japanese would release them to us.

Much to our surprise, Captain I. agreed to help us with everything we requested, if . . . His condition was that Mr. Siegel and I take over the entire administration of the refugee program. For reasons unknown to us, he refused to cooperate with the existing committee. We had no right to question this decision. We believed we could count on his help if we accepted it—and did. Both the cracked wheat and the frozen funds were released to us after a time, and we were authorized to borrow money locally from neutrals.

We organized a new local committee, made up of French, Swiss, some German Jews long resident in Shanghai, and a few refugees. All the members were approved by Captain I. The committee worked tirelessly with us in reorganizing, financing, and managing the refugee program; took charge when Mr. Siegel and I were interned; and this same committee, with a few changes in personnel, today is the mainstay of the Shanghai refugees.

Uncertainty and Hunger

THE FIRST HALF OF 1942 WAS A TIME OF terrible uncertainty for the refugees. For months it was almost impossible to raise money locally even as a loan. Many of those to whom we normally would have turned



Three refugee tailors try to support themselves with a tiny shop in their dormitory



Gardens, once rubble heaps, near the kitchen



Refugees digging a sewer and drainage ditch



Refugees preparing vegetables for a midday meal for the 8,000 then receiving relief



The old White Russian barracks (middle building) has housed refugees since 1939. Here the JDC workers had their office



Waiting outside the old kitchen for their daily stew. The camps now have a modern kitchen, but food is even scarcer

were, like us, enemy nationals, their funds frozen. Neutrals who had money were so frightened they hesitated to show any interest in the refugees. On January 10, 1942, faced with the likelihood of having to close down, we categorically stopped all relief for 4,000 of the 8,000 refugees then receiving one bowl of stew a day.

We came to the hard decision with great reluctance, and only after canvassing every means of raising more money, or of stretching the little we had. We kept on relief the children, the aged, the sick, and those whose malnutrition was so serious that they were on "special diets." The others made shift as they could—selling any small possessions they had left, seeking help from less destitute friends, "managing" by one expedient or another. They could not have gone on long. Fortunately, they did not have to. This step gained time, then the most essential element in our planning.

Money for a Month

WE KNEW WE HAD TO KEEP GOING EVEN on a very limited scale. Once we closed down, we admitted our inability to handle the problem. That might have resulted in hunger riots and the intervention of the Japanese *Gendarmerie* (government police). After that anything might have followed.

The third week in January when we had just enough money for two more days even of our curtailed operation, an energetic group of the more substantial refugees organized a "quick campaign," and amazed us by raising 30,000 Chinese dollars (about \$1,500). This meant we could go on for six days more.

By the end of January we realized that we could not operate indefinitely on our day-by-day basis. We already had an indebtedness, inherited from the first local committee, of over 100,000 Chinese dollars. We seemed unable to arrange a loan. The refugees had done their utmost. It was essential to bring home the seriousness of the situation to the Shanghai public at large. The only medium was the local press. We had avoided reporters, knowing that publicity might be dangerous. But when, on January 25, 1942, a newspaperman came to us to find out what was happening in Hongkew we decided to "break" the news to the papers.

The next morning headlines appeared, to the annoyance of the Japanese authorities. Mr. Siegel and I learned later that an order had been issued for our arrest which was rescinded through the efforts of a Japanese who felt kindly disposed towards us personally. But the story was also picked up by the local radio; the publicity brought the desired reaction. First individual contributions began to come in, then people offered us loans.

Soon we had money in sight to meet one month's budget and felt comparatively secure. How different all this was from anything we learned in our social work training about "agency planning"! Perhaps what was fundamentally different was the reality—there was no real agency, no real community, absolutely no real basis for long

range planning. We knew only that each day passed was a day gained in the race against time.

Along with the uncertainty about our funds and program, the wartime situation in Shanghai meant a lot of personal uncertainties. Neither Mr. Siegel nor I dared forget for a moment our status as enemy aliens, the probability of eventual internment and, of course, the possibility of actual physical danger. Living conditions were difficult. At first, we were comfortable enough in a Shanghai hotel. After Pearl Harbor, our personal funds, like the JDC funds for relief, no longer came through. For a few weeks, the hotel let us pay our bills with "chits" (promissory notes), but by the first of January we were notified, courteously but firmly, that we must move.

The best accommodations we could find were two unheated rooms in the home of a White Russian family, so far from Hongkew that it meant four hours of travel a day, by tram, rickshaw, bus, and on foot to reach the refugee community. Later, we were able to get rooms in another White Russian home, still without heat and very sketchily furnished, but nearer Hongkew.

Through all our uncertainties and vicissitudes, we somehow managed not only to "keep going," but actually to make some gains. Two that stand out, as I look back, are the metamorphosis of our kitchen, and the achievement of a working democracy in the camps.

The New Kitchen

I HAVE DESCRIBED THE ORIGINAL KITCHEN which was so inefficient that most of the money had to be used for coal. We were lucky enough to attract the interest of a Polish engineer, who had spent many years in China and knew the resources of Shanghai. He drew up plans for a simple, efficient steam kitchen in which a staff of ten to fifteen persons could serve 10,000 meals at one time, at a cost of two cents a meal for fuel. The cost of this kitchen was \$100,000 Chinese (\$5,000 American), minus the essential steam boilers—and steam boilers could not be bought in Shanghai at that time at any price. However, we discovered that a British realty company had four steam boilers, unused for years and stored in a vacant lot. The company was at that time under Japanese supervision.

We presented our plans to the British employe in charge, but he refused to loan us the boilers, holding that if they were so much as mentioned they might be confiscated by the Japanese. This was to overlook the fact that the four huge boilers were lying out in full view! We pointed out what those boilers meant to hungry thousands. Further, we argued, our use of two of them for the duration probably would save them for the realty company. Our friend was not persuaded. Finally, we were so sure we were right that we just went ahead. Through the efforts of some one who had influence with the *Gendarmerie* we got a removal permit for two boilers. Then we calmly gave our indignant British friend a signed statement to the effect that we were

borrowing those boilers for the duration.

The kitchen was built and dedicated to the feeding of starving refugees at a time when we had only enough money to operate from month to month. Many friends tried to discourage us from this project. What was the use of building a kitchen, they argued, when we might not be able to operate it? Put that way, perhaps our scheme did seem unreasonable, but somehow we believed that funds would be forthcoming so long as anyone in Shanghai had any resources at all. There was, of course, the possibility that we might have to turn over our operations to the Japanese; but even should that day come, we reasoned, the refugees would be better fed from a modern, economical kitchen than from the old makeshift. So today, there is a sanitary steam kitchen in the heart of the refugee area. Even though only 5,000 are receiving one meal a day as I write, this is due to limitation of funds and inflation and not to lack of equipment. And in Shanghai, it always will be easier to get money than to get modern efficiency.

Lessons in Self-Government

AND NOW FOR OUR EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRACY in the midst of the Axis. I suppose Americans can never be convinced that the democratic way is not the best way to work with human beings. When we took over the refugee program Mr. Siegel and I found ourselves embarrassingly overstaffed. The committee had 500 employes, running the five refugee camps and working in the kitchen, the hospitals, and in the administrative office which handled all applications for relief, hospitalization, and housing. Most of these employes were, in fact, on a form of work-relief. All were grossly underpaid, even by Shanghai standards. And yet the staff had clung to their jobs because the steady, if meager, wages were "better than nothing."

With the outbreak of the war, these 500 employes were in as precarious a situation as the direct recipients of relief. Late in January 1942 we called a meeting of the staff. We showed by plain arithmetic that it was impossible both to give relief and pay salaries. Further, we set forth what they all knew, that the program was overstaffed. Even if we succeeded in getting funds, efficiency required that the operating force be drastically cut. We promised that we would do everything we could to keep the program going, but we needed the help of the refugees. Since the staff was a section of the refugee population, they must decide whether or not they wanted to work along with us. We could hold out no promise either of pay now or future jobs—it was a case of "taking their chances as we were taking ours."

To maintain close contact between staff and committee, we suggested that they select five of their number as a liaison group, representing the staff and staff interests. We closed this meeting with the suggestion that everyone present owed it to himself to look for another job and that

(Continued on page 190)

Civilians Get Blood Plasma, Too

One state has taken to heart a lesson from the front. In Michigan there is blood plasma available without cost for any man, woman or child who needs it.

PAUL DE KRUIF

LAST YEAR A WORKMAN, HURT IN AN automobile accident in Michigan, was brought to a hospital. His condition called for the prompt use of blood plasma, but the hospital followed the usual routine and first asked him who would guarantee its cost. He furnished the names of the mayor and a banker in his home town. These men were not immediately available by phone—and meanwhile the man went into shock and died.

This tragedy deeply stirred Dr. C. C. Young, director of the Michigan State Health Department Laboratories. The high cost of plasma had created a condition whereby people might die from shock while their credit was being investigated. One unit of plasma—equal to a pint of whole blood—costs about \$30 when commercially produced, and it may take eight or more units to save a life. Marketing at a lower price is excluded by the cost of blood, which must be *bought* from donors.

The Danger of Shock

YET DR. YOUNG KNEW THAT THE collapse called shock is a major cause of death not only in thousands of civilian injuries but after severe surgical operations that seem to have been successful. It delivers the fatal blow in many infections; it ends the lives of many victims of burns; it sometimes kills mothers in long, difficult childbirth; it is feared by surgeons fighting hemorrhage.

Most authorities agree that the mysterious and dreaded condition known as shock is due to a decrease in the volume of the fluid part of the blood, the plasma. Where does it go? A hidden hemorrhage takes place from those tiny tubes, the capillaries, that connect the arteries with the veins. In shock the injury (whatever it may be) works havoc with the filmy walls of the capillaries, the plasma begins to leak out into the surrounding tissues, the heart lacks enough blood to pump and the system becomes starved for oxygen, which the blood normally carries. But if plasma can be replaced in the circulatory system by transfusion, lifesaving miracles can be performed.

Dr. Henry Harkins of Detroit's Henry Ford Hospital reports that the use of blood plasma to prevent shock opens fields of surgery that have been forbidden ground. Many grave operations on the brain and chest were considered impossible by surgeons because of the danger of shock. But plasma, given beforehand, may build the strength of the blood circulation so there is a fighting chance to carry the patient

—By a famous reporter of far-flung battles against disease. For ten years after he took his doctorate from the University of Michigan, Mr. de Kruiif worked as a bacteriologist, first on the Ann Arbor campus, then at the Rockefeller Institute. Since 1925, he has given full time to writing. His books include: "Microbe Hunters" (1926); "Hunger Fighters" (1928); "Men Against Death" (1932); "Why Keep Them Alive?" (1936); "The Fight for Life" (1938); "Health Is Wealth" (1940).

through successfully.

Thanks to the Red Cross blood donor campaign, the wizardry of plasma is saving the lives of thousands wounded in battle. Dr. Young wondered whether it might not be made more available to civilians, too.

Yearly the Michigan State Laboratories distribute over 2,000,000 doses of serums, vaccines and other biological products, free, to doctors for use in guarding the lives of the state's citizens. Why not free plasma? But where could he get the blood for his laboratory to process into the lifesaving fluid?

Then Dr. Young's indignation that there should be commerce in human blood sharpened his eyes to see a huge source, hitherto neglected. In its campaign for blood for fighting men, the American Red Cross had been getting its entire Michigan quota from an area of forty miles around Detroit. Would local chapters of the Red Cross upstate be willing to organize a free

blood donor campaign to meet the needs of Michigan civilians?

The national Red Cross gave vigorous encouragement; the state medical society approved the program; a modest fund for blood processing at the state laboratories was made available; and the response of Michigan's citizens was electric. The local chapters of the Red Cross found and registered donors, organized bleeding clinics in schools and churches, provided volunteer personnel—nurses, nurses' aides, canteen service for blood-givers, motor transport for all who might need it.

The doctors and nurses of the state health department bleeding clinic visited county after county. At each point they organized a smooth-running mass production of the giving of blood, four people being bled simultaneously, 250 giving their blood each week. At each day's end the refrigerated blood is rushed to the laboratories at Lansing. Here takes place the technical job of testing each sample for syphilis, removing the red blood cells, filtering the plasma, and examining for freedom from dangerous microbes.

Then the same plasma is bottled in units of a half pint each. For each county that has given its blood a plasma bank is established, with a credit equal to the amount of plasma donated, minus 10 percent for possible emergency use in disaster by the OCD. The county's plasma is stored in its hospitals, ready for instant use, and free for all who need it in the judgment of their doctors.

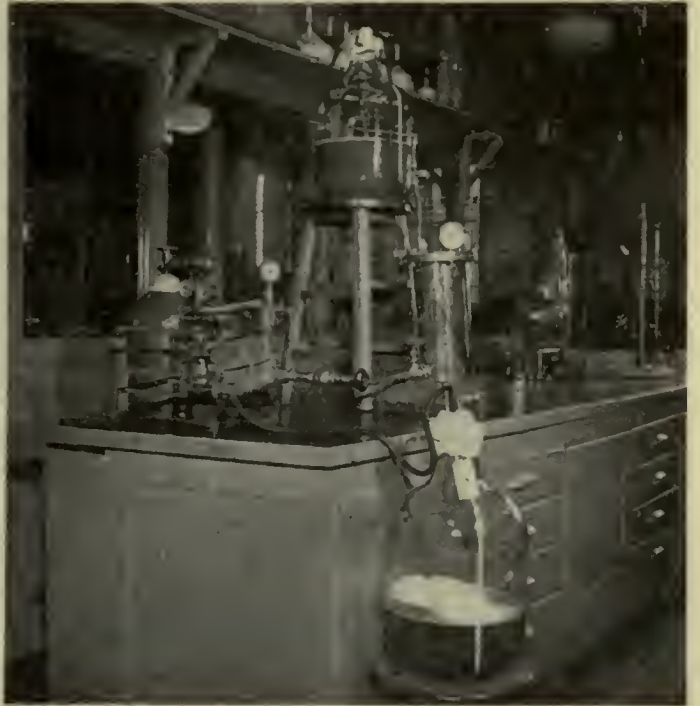
Cooperation in the Fight for Life

THE CAMPAIGN HAD NO SOONER GOT started than a gratifying bottleneck developed. Manufacturers, civic and labor organizations, citizens rich and poor, even the doctors themselves, vied with each other to give their blood. Very soon the state laboratories could not handle a fraction of what people wanted to give. Here was complete democracy; here was the blood of each for the needs of all; here was the highest form of human cooperation applied to the fight for life.

Last fall the bleeding clinics were delivering plasma at the rate of 12,000 units yearly; it was estimated that 50,000 units a year would be needed to save all Michigan lives endangered. To assure plasma for everybody, a new laboratory building, more apparatus, and an expanded staff were required. Leaders in the campaign appealed to Governor Harry F. Kelly, and his instant and vigorous action is now



Preliminary physical examination



Michigan Department of Health photographs

FROM INDIVIDUAL DONOR TO PLASMA SUPPLY

Collecting blood at one of the Michigan clinics (top left)

The test for syphilis in the state laboratories (top right)

Removing red cells from blood previous to pooling (above)

Filtration of plasma to insure its sterility (above right)

making public health history.

Here is the way Governor Kelly looks at human life, when it becomes necessary to measure it in terms of dollars, as in the case of blood plasma. "It will cost \$258,000 the first year, and about \$214,000 a year after that, to provide *all* the plasma needed for all the state's citizens. Dr. Young estimates that free blood plasma will mean a yearly saving of a minimum of 1,000 lives. I'll settle for \$258 apiece to save them."

The Michigan plasma program has been approved in full by the state's budget director, and by committees of both houses of the legislature. By the time you read this, the program of blood plasma for everybody in Michigan will be in full operation. By the year's end no mother in labor, no newborn baby, no workman or motorist gravely injured, no man or woman or child will have to die because blood plasma is too

expensive or is not available. A blood donation by only one percent of Michigan's citizens is enough to provide plasma for everybody.

Beginnings, Elsewhere

THREE OTHER STATES—VERMONT, IOWA, and Texas—have made beginnings in establishing civilian blood banks, according to the U. S. Surgeon General's office. None of the three has gone as far as the statewide Michigan program. The Texas State Health Department has processed 1,500 units of plasma in the past two years, using it only for emergencies and for indigents. Vermont processes blood from volunteer communities, and sells plasma at from \$7.50 to \$10 a unit, except as it is needed by an indigent, or to meet an emergency. Iowa has established blood banks at eight hospitals, with plasma processed by the State Health Department, which then sells it at \$3.50 a

unit. At present, Iowa is processing 75 units a week, and the plasma is free only to the very needy and for civilian defense emergencies.

While many communities are reported by the Surgeon General's office to have plasma service not under state control, interested Michigan health officials have not located any where plasma is free to all who need it. None of the three states—Iowa, Vermont, Texas—has enlisted the vital three-point cooperation of the Red Cross, the State Health Department, and the general public which seems to be the distinctive merit of the Michigan program.

Every state in the nation has a vast reservoir of healthy, unshed blood that citizens will be glad to give when they realize its power to save the lives of scores of thousands. For this new democratic death fight, Michigan has built the working model.

Shipyards and the Boys

Thousands of teen-agers with streamlined training and wartime wages pose problems for themselves and their employers in booming West Coast shipyards

ANNE ROLLER ISSLER

IN THE NEW GOLD RUSH TO THE PACIFIC Coast are many thousands of youngsters under eighteen, most of them boys. Lured like their predecessors in '49 by the ambition to get ahead, they want a chance on the industrial firing line before induction into the armed forces.

In the San Francisco Bay region, where I write, the shipyards absorb the majority of these teen-agers. The four Kaiser yards at Richmond, with their payroll of 90,000, alone employ close to 2,000 young people under eighteen. Of these, only thirteen are girls, all office workers. The California Minors' Emergency War Employment Act expressly forbids "permits for the employment of female minors" in heavy industry, and the few girls in the shipyards are clerical helpers or messengers. Boys must be at least sixteen years of age, and may not work after midnight, nor more than eight hours a day, inclusive of time in school.

Federal Safeguards

THE WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION, IN January 1943, issued a statement of policy opposing the employment of youth under eighteen "except under conditions which adequately safeguard their physical and intellectual development," pointing out that in most cases they can best contribute to the war program by continuing in school. The WMC recognizes, however, that "the demands of the war period will increase the number who in normal times leave school to enter full time employment." For these it stipulates that work be at non-hazardous occupations suited to their strength; that provision be made for meal periods, rest periods, and sanitary facilities; that teen-age young people be employed only "during hours not detrimental to their health or welfare"; and at wages identical with the wages of adults performing similar jobs.

The bay of San Francisco, an inland sea, has an area of 420 square miles and a shoreline a hundred miles around. Here, touching four counties, are the larger shipyards—the Mare Island Navy Yard at Vallejo, and its subsidiary, the U. S. Naval Drydocks at Hunter's Point; the Kaiser Yards at Richmond; Moore's Drydock at Oakland; Marinship at Sausalito; Bethlehem Steel at Alameda and South San Francisco; Bel-Air, Western Pipe and Steel, and Pacific Bridge along the San Francisco waterfront and down the peninsula. The first two are operated by the U. S. Navy; the rest are private corporations under contract to the Maritime Commission.

Most boys have a natural affinity for ships. The wartime migration shipward was inevitable, and it has its positive side. Many people deplore the exodus of youth from school into war industries, yet it must not be forgotten that hundreds of young hopefuls left communities where they had little opportunity for either learning or earning. Instead of interrupting their education, they have put themselves in the way of acquiring more schooling. The San Francisco Continuation School has two large classes of migrant youth, sixteen and seventeen years of age, learning to read and write; and in all the shipyards, untrained minors must enroll in apprenticeship or trainee classes in addition to attending continuation school.

There is anxiety, too, over the lack of parental supervision. These newcomers to the West brought their problems with them, but there seems little doubt that numbers will reach maturity sooner for having broken the home tie early.

Growing-Up Pains

TAKE SAMMIE, SEVENTEEN, SOFT-VOICED, dark of skin, employed at the U. S. Naval Drydocks, Hunter's Point. Sammie lives in one of the dormitories at Navy Point, the housing project on the hill. He is mothered by the nurse at the project infirmary, who has a son of her own. She fusses because he cannot make a decision, even a small one, without "asking my mama"—a loving, intelligent mother, judging by her letters, says the nurse. But to her mind Sammie is old enough to stand on his own feet, "and he'd better learn it."

Take Albert, also seventeen, always wanting to do something dangerous. His mother could not face his desire to get into the Air Force, and in a panic shipped him off to the Mare Island Apprentice School to learn a nice safe trade. But Albert is not interested in safe trades. He courts danger in his car, races the traffic police at eighty miles an hour. A counselor at his housing project, Northside Dormitories, Vallejo, has advised him to take some courses in his chosen field, and

—By a Californian who is field representative of *Survey Graphic* and *Survey Midmonthly*, and West Coast eyes and ears for both magazines. Her home is a prune ranch in Napa Valley; and from there she sent the lively story, published in October 1943, telling about the Mexican good neighbors who crossed the Rio Grande to help with the fruit harvest.

next year when he is of induction age, to try for the Air Force.

Early Plans and Recruiting

THE 1943 DECLARATION OF POLICY BY WMC opposes migration, favoring in its stead the "Four and Four" plan, under which local in-school young people divide their eight-hour day between work and study. This, however, represents an about-face, for while the present migration is largely spontaneous, the first comers were recruited under federal supervision. When the government launched its defense program in the spring of 1940, plans had been made to utilize the facilities of high schools, trade schools, and colleges in the training of defense workers of all ages. As labor pools on the coast were depleted, aircraft industries and shipyards arranged with regional or state offices of the U. S. Employment Service for clearance of trainees from such schools to their plants.

Let us say that on a certain day in 1941 or 1942, Jim Smith, of the recruiting staff of the Henry J. Kaiser Company at Richmond was in the USES office in Cheyenne, Wyo., on a schedule previously worked out. He interviewed skilled workers from local unions and trainees from high school classes in welding, sheet metal work, and the like. From among those willing to go west, the recruiter selected the best trained and best equipped, the company paying transportation.

Large numbers of boys were thus recruited from the Rocky Mountain states, the Great Plains, the Middlewest and the border South, most of them from areas with little to offer the oncoming generation.

As the emergency grew, there was a certain amount of "wildcatting" on the part of employers—recruiting by means of lurid advertisements and other unauthorized means. Agents worked feverishly, every man on his own. Health examinations of candidates were superficial. In the swelling stream of migrants there were epileptics, syphilitics, psychotics, TB's. Families were told they would find houses furnished and ready, and found none at all. Unattached boys arrived dead broke and had to be assisted by social agencies until they received their first pay checks. Such recruiting methods were never favored by WMC, however, and have been largely suppressed by means of controls on advertising and the freezing of workers in critical production areas.

The National Youth Administration played an important part in furnishing young workers to the shipyards and other

war industries, before its liquidation by Congress in July 1943. The NYA placed work on an equal footing with classroom study in the educative process, and its projects and training centers had many young people with experience in production skills and processes. Heretofore it had opposed untrained young people leaving their home localities, but in view of the urgent need for labor on the coast, it set up three well supervised training centers for youthful migrants to California, at Los Angeles, San Luis Obispo, and Richmond.

The NYA Trainees

ON JOBS THESE TRAINEES, HOWEVER, PROVED somewhat disappointing, largely because of inadequate off-hour supervision. Sudden complete freedom and sudden high wages put too much strain on youthful equilibrium. The industries had to give specific training for most occupations; labor turnover was abnormally high; juvenile delinquency sometimes added to the problem.

Dormitory J at Marin City, the housing project serving the Marinship Corporation, is a case in point. It housed some 200 boys from the San Luis Obispo training center, each with a background of 400 hours of intensive training in welding and other shipyard crafts, now earning at Marinship \$50 a week and up. The original plan of NYA to have matrons in all the dormitories had not been carried out. The boys elected their own representatives to the dormitory council, drew up their own rules of conduct. But they were not ready for complete self-government. Boarding school pranks grew into property damage. There was some fighting, some gambling, some petty theft, and much loafing.

The worst offenders were fired, the USO-Travelers Aid, which at Marin City does general social case work, aiding as many as possible to make new plans. Some were too homesick to do anything but "beat it" home; some drifted away; a few were clutched by the law; some were influenced to try work in other shipyards. Those who remained at Marin City have for the most part secured room and board in private homes, where they are treated as members of the family. They seem to enjoy this arrangement.

At the U. S. Naval Drydocks, Hunter's Point, there are still 159 former NYA trainees among 375 minors, the majority of the others being San Francisco boys enrolled in the apprentice school.

"There aren't many NYA's now living in the dormitories," said the nurse at the Navy Point infirmary. "Most of those I knew were well behaved, in close touch with home, and saving money. A couple of twin boys from Louisiana were 'buying mama a house.' An ambitious Negro girl was planning to go to college. Many were depression kids, with health problems that started in the years of undernourishment. There were anemias, chests, cold susceptibles, that sort of thing. A few were verging on delinquency. Boys worship uniforms, and some soldiers were helping a group of our minors to get liquor. The

joint that sold it has since been closed." Pre-employment training as represented by NYA and the trade schools has been wholly superseded by in-plant training on the job. There are shipyard apprentice schools combining regular high school work with apprenticeship in a chosen trade; shipyard trainee schools which teach a single skill but teach it well; the public continuation schools, compulsory under state law for employed sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds not high school graduates; and finally, there is the "Four and Four" (hour) plan. But this is practically out of the picture so far as the shipyards are concerned, being restricted in this part of the country almost entirely to small industries.

At the Hunter's Point Drydocks, I talked with Lieutenant J. R. Redpath, industrial relations officer, and Ensign W. K. Atkinson, public relations officer, about the navy's training program for youth, which a representative of the U. S. Children's Bureau had told me is a model for all shipyards. Later I visited the apprentice school and the trainee school at Mare Island. These are older and larger than the schools at Hunter's Point, but the courses are identical.

Like other U. S. Navy Yards, Mare Island before the war gave periodic civil service tests to young men between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two who wished to complete a four year apprenticeship in one of the following trades: blacksmith, boatbuilder, boilermaker, coppersmith, electrician, joiner, machinist, molder, painter, patternmaker, pipefitter, rigger, sailmaker, sheetmetal worker, shipfitter, shipwright.

Streamlined Training

THEN CAME WORLD WAR II AND THE expansion of the navy, then Pearl Harbor and this country's entry into the war. The civilian employment figure at Mare Island zoomed from about 5,000 to 45,000. Mechanics had to be trained on the job in much less time than four years, so the trainee school was started. Over a period of eight months, it gives intensive training, on one day out of six, in practical phases of the several crafts. The process turns out workmen competent in one or more occupations. It does not produce skilled craftsmen.

Meanwhile the apprentice school, which now takes only boys under eighteen, cut its course from four years to three and added a mechanical aptitudes test to the academic entrance examinations. In January, when I visited Mare Island, there were 1,050 students and a call had just gone out for hundreds more. The boys come in as fourth class apprentices at \$4.64 a day, receiving pay increases of approximately a dollar as they reach each of the three higher classes, top pay being \$7.52. They work four weeks in the shops, where they get job and personal counseling as well as expert vocational training; then they study for a week under navy and Vallejo High School teachers, in the new \$200,000 school building adjacent to the Naval Hospital on Mare Island. They

graduate as journeymen (skilled craftsmen) with high school diplomas.

Under the training officer responsible for these streamlined courses, Commander Simeon L. Owen, U.S.N.R., both the trainee school and the apprentice school wrote their own textbooks and these are widely used elsewhere.

The Kaiser shipyards at Richmond are in the process of organizing apprenticeship training similar to the navy's, the object being to develop a nucleus of skilled workers for Kaiser industries after the war. All minors deemed capable of completing the course will be guided through the several stages of apprenticeship. The rest will attend continuation school eight hours a week, combining state-required courses with the trainee course for their particular occupation.

The Continuation Schools

THE STATE CONTINUATION SCHOOL program in California is very flexible and adapts itself to the needs of the young people it serves. The form and content of such courses as English and history are determined by the previous education and present aims of the students. Most of the courses are extremely practical—woodwork, printing, mechanical drawing, shop mathematics, commercial art, typing, office practice, and various skills and occupations in current demand. The required four hours a week represents a half day at school. A student must attend at least three hours daily, however, if he is unemployed.

In many cases, continuation school requirements are merged with the shipyard training courses. At Moore's Drydock in Oakland, minors attend the Oakland public schools four hours a week for continuation classes, and an additional four hours a week for craft trainee classes in burning, welding and calking, shipfitting, flanging, marine electricity, sheetmetal work, pipefitting, coppersmithing, or machinist work.

How They Live at Navy Point

WHERE FEDERAL HOUSING PROJECTS HAVE been provided, the needs of shipyard youth for food, sleep, health care, and recreation are well met. This is especially true of the projects adjacent to the navy yards at Hunter's Point and Mare Island, both of which I visited.

Navy Point, one of seven large housing projects near the Hunter's Point Drydocks, was built by the San Francisco Housing Authority at a cost of \$451,000. There are seven dormitories, one for older girls and women, six for men and boys. Each dormitory accommodates 72 persons, with both single and double rooms.

The large sunny cafeteria which serves 2,000 well cooked inexpensive meals every twenty-four hours, is being used as a training center for young cooks of the Merchant Marine. Most of the trays, the day I ate there, held the "special lunch"—a well balanced meal with meat, vegetables, salad, dessert, bread and butter, milk or coffee, costing 67 cents.

The eighteen-bed infirmary, typical of

those I found at other housing projects, cares for ambulatory dispensary cases, gives nursing care in most cases not requiring extensive hospitalization, and serves as an isolation ward. It is staffed by the U. S. Public Health Service, but the California Physicians Service shares office facilities for doctor and nurse. CPS provides, in all projects where a sufficient number of tenants sign up, voluntary health insurance on contract at \$2.50 a month for a single person, \$5 for a couple, \$6.25 for a family with children. With the exception of obstetrics, all types of medical care are covered, all insured persons cared for, either at home or in a hospital. Most of the dormitory youngsters have contracts. One girl signed up when she arrived, suffered an acute attack of appendicitis a few hours later, was seen by the CPS doctor and rushed to a San Francisco hospital for operation. A maximum of twenty-one days of hospitalization for each illness is allowed by the contract. This includes laboratory service and outside specialists as they are required.

Recreation has been as fully provided as health care. The recreation center at Navy Point, cheaply constructed like all these temporary buildings, has five large

rooms—lounge, library, game room, club room, and multi-use room. Activities are under the direction of a full time trained woman employe of the San Francisco Recreation Department. The services of agencies of the Group Work and Recreation Council of the San Francisco Community Chest are available also, under a unique plan providing an employed secretary jointly responsible to all agencies of the Council.

Protestant services are held Sundays in the lounge, while at the foot of the hill near the cove, Our Lady of Lourdes, an attractive small church, ministers to Catholics.

Northside Dormitories

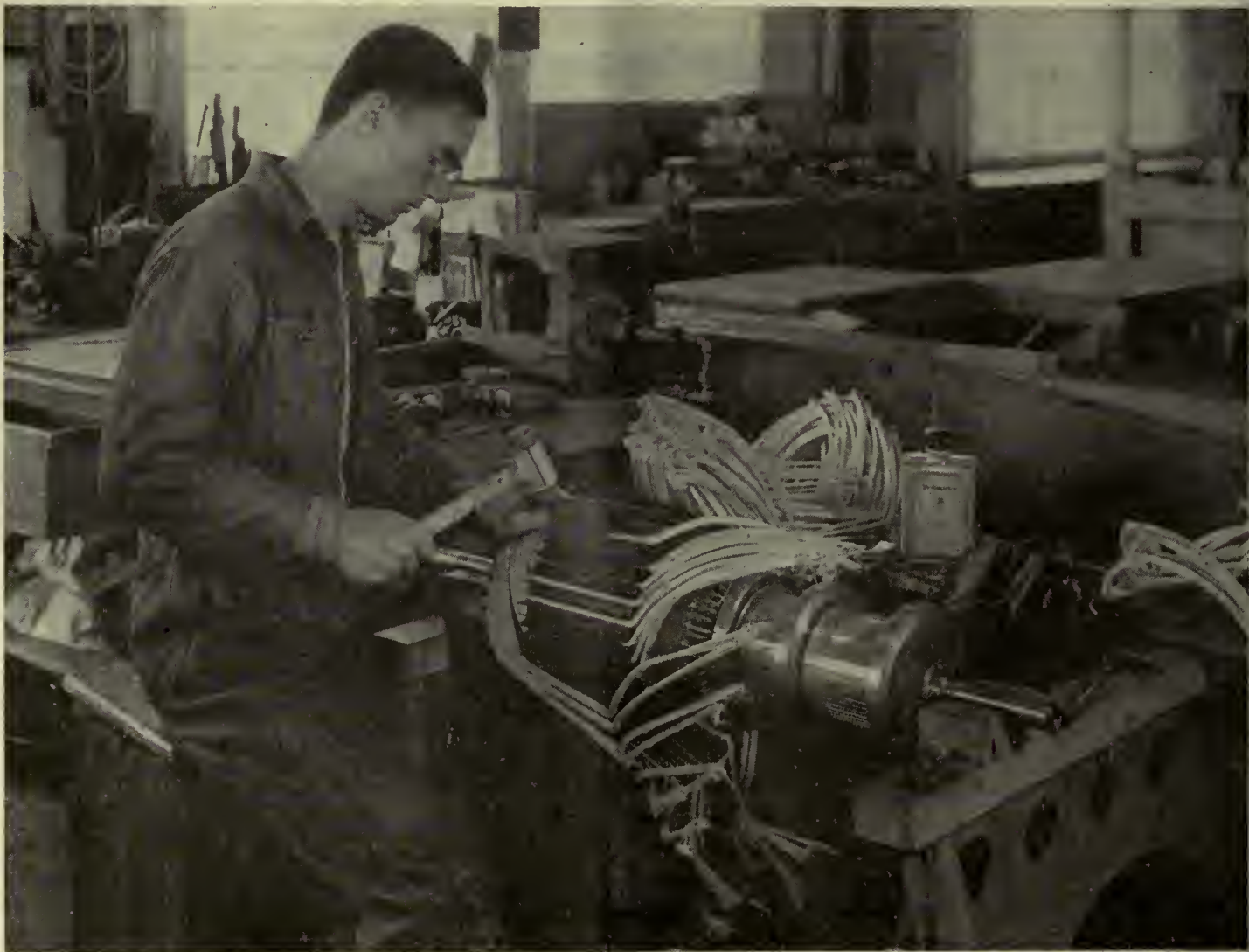
VALLEJO, A BOOM TOWN WHERE THE POPULATION has jumped from 30,000 to nearly 101,000, has several war housing projects, among them Northside Dormitories. The Mare Island Navy Yard, considering itself obligated to provide off-island care for minor employes, requested the Vallejo Housing Authority to set aside two of the six dormitories here, for boys in the apprentice school who live too far from home to commute. Day and night house-mothers are on duty in the office, serving

all six dormitories. The other four are occupied by women workers between the ages of eighteen and fifty.

Here again are a large cafeteria, an infirmary under the U. S. Public Health Service and CPS, and a recreation building.

The project service adviser, a woman with a son of her own, does a lot of counseling in addition to supervising recreation. She encourages the boys to make suggestions for their good times and to assume as much leadership as they will. Sometimes their recreation projects have "merit system" tags—the boys' behavior records must be above par or they cannot join in the fun. The aim is to have something interesting going on every night and special week-end events—parties, hikes, excursions, club activities, impromptu singing, a newspaper, boat and model plane building, classes in crafts, lectures, dances and athletics.

Practically all the hundred boys in Northside Dormitories are far from their families, but in close touch by mail. There is a certain amount of hazing of newcomers, of showing off one's maturity by smoking and making a hit with the girls. A minority at first feel too sophisticated for the recreation activities and seek their own



U. S. Navy photograph

An apprentice in a navy yard shop. Under wartime streamlining he can gain a trade and a high school diploma in 27 months

Later most of them come to the service adviser and explain that they are ready to settle down. How young they really are was demonstrated by the many conferences on what to buy their families for Christmas. Two boys from southern California decided on a bottle of perfume for their respective mothers, price \$10 an ounce, and then had to hitch-hike home for the holiday because they had spent all their money.

Two thirds of the boys at Northside Dormitories are on swing shift. 4 P.M. to midnight, and these are at a disadvantage with regard to recreation. They get in soon after midnight, sometimes after an altercation with the police over curfew, and they want their playtime between 1 and 3 A.M., when the other tenants are trying to sleep.

The Boys Who Work for Kaiser

THE KAISER YARDS AT RICHMOND DISCOURAGE minors from working swing by permitting them only forty hours a week, so that in spite of their higher wage scale they earn little more than if they worked a forty-four hour week on the day shift. Yard I, which was employing 761 boys under eighteen in January when I was there, had reduced the number on the swing shift to 150.

Here there is a definite feeling that the health hazard of night work is too great for boys in their teens. Nearly all employees belong to the Kaiser Health Plan, which is in operation here in place of the California Physicians Service. They pay 50 cents a week for full medical, surgical and hospital care, at home, in first aid stations, in the Richmond Field Hospital, or in the Permanente Foundation Hospital in Oakland.

Practically all the boys in the four yards live at Richmond Dormitories or Canal Dormitories, but about five hundred are entirely on their own.

Unfortunately, the recreation building adjacent to the dormitories is still under construction. The facilities of the San Francisco, Berkeley and Oakland YMCA's are being used for swimming, wrestling, boxing, basketball, and the like, but not many of the boys have participated.

I talked with the youth coordinator for Yard I, a young man with a background of Scouting and "Y," who interviews each minor at the time of hiring, tries to gain his confidence and to know him as an individual. Handicapped as the coordinator is by the unfinished recreation building, he tries to arrange leisure time programs in cooperation with the morale and recreation department of the Kaiser Company. Richmond has quadrupled in size since the war, and he described its facilities as not much better than San Francisco's in '49.

"Some of the boys," he said, "are down-right problem children, and all of them need guidance. One boy, earning \$62.40 a week, had saved only \$35 in eight months. I planned a program with him to save \$25 out of each week's wages, which still leaves him \$20 for spending money after he has paid board and room."



A small town truck driver, age 17, is now a machinist's helper in the tanker shipyard

This boy was living with a private family at \$15 a week. In a dormitory, with meals at the cafeteria, weekly expenses run to a maximum of \$25—still reasonable enough considering the wage scale. Boys enter the yards as helpers at 95 cents an hour. Under the trainee program they get \$1.05, \$1.10, \$1.15, \$1.20 as they advance.

Could they not, I wondered, pay a little more for dormitory accommodations, the added amount going toward the salary of a housemother? This would eliminate the problem in supervision, raised by the housing authorities—"Too much overhead." It would make it possible for the dormitories to provide adult guidance and oversight, and at the same time cut down the boys' spending money, which now seems too lavish for their own good.

Catch As Catch Can

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF MARIN CITY, there are no housing projects serving the private shipyards around the bay. Housing bureaus, inside and outside the yards, assist the employees, where possible, to find accommodations in private homes. In

San Francisco, a really bad housing situation exists, with hundreds of migrant youths living in cheap rooming houses in undesirable neighborhoods and completely on their own.

"Those not in navy or other dormitories live catch as catch can," said a counselor at the San Francisco Continuation School, "mostly in flophouses of the lower Mission district, many in alleys. And the majority are such trusting, unsophisticated kids that they're open to special danger. There's something darn appealing about them—they're doing wonders for continuation school. They're quiet, but chummy and companionable, most of them with a religious upbringing. They come from every state in the Union, with Texas, Oklahoma, Colorado, New Mexico, Arkansas, and Missouri predominating. Roughly 30 percent are entirely on their own. Of these, I should say half are capable of taking care of themselves without getting into jams—providing they do not fall accidentally into the hands of the wrong persons. Among the other half are runaways from home or from juvenile in-

(Continued on page 187)

American Postwar Potentials

A reply to the increasingly urgent question: by what plans and procedures can we keep peacetime production and employment at today's \$180,000,000,000 level?

RANDALL S. WILLIAMS

IN THE CACOPHONY OF SCHEMES AND dreams for the postwar economy of America, two themes predominate:

First, private business must absorb into peacetime enterprise most of the thirty million engaged in war work and assume the responsibility for maintaining employment for a labor force of fifty-five or sixty million individuals. To do this will require extensive planning by industry.

Second, government (federal, state and local) must stand ready to provide jobs for all. If private enterprise fails to offer enough jobs, full employment will be maintained through public works. The business cycle will be smoothed out by filling up the "troughs" of depression with public works.

The Baruch-Hancock report of February 18 incorporates both of these approaches and implies that private enterprise, supplemented by public works, will carry the country to "prosperity—sound and lasting." The report is concerned principally with policies for the immediate period of demobilization. But the covering letter emphasizes that if "governmental direction disappears" and "markets become free," peace will bring "security" for the future and an "adventure" in prosperity; however, a public works program should be ready in case it is needed to fill in the "valley of unemployment."

Means Must Be Found

WHETHER POSTWAR PLANNERS LAY emphasis on private industry or on public works there is rather general agreement that the means must be found of assuring regular employment for all. Americans will not tolerate for long a condition where 15,000,000 or even 5,000,000 or 2,000,000 men and women who want to work can't find jobs. "Freedom from want" has been set up alongside "freedom of speech" as one of the basic human rights. In the words of Secretary of State Cordell Hull:

"Liberty is more than a matter of political rights, indispensable as those rights are. We have learned from bitter experience that to be truly free, men must have, as well, economic freedom and economic security—the assurance for all alike of an opportunity to work as free men in the company of free men; to obtain through work the material and spiritual means of life; to advance through the exercise of ability, initiative, and enterprise; to make provision against the hazards of human existence."

What are the chances that private indus-

—By an economist in the bureau of planning and statistics of the War Production Board. A graduate of the Harvard Business School, Mr. Williams was for ten years head of the research department of a firm of New York investment counsellors.

try, supplemented by public works, can carry us to these goals? Can full employment be maintained by the policies now being discussed? Or are our economic experts just whistling and scratching the surface?

Industry Can Do Little

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE PAST TWENTY-five years yields clear and distressing evidence on the contribution toward regularity of employment to be expected from industry. Industry operated rather completely on its own after World War I. What was delivered? Two years of inflation followed by a severe depression with millions out of jobs in 1920 and 1921. In the next eight years the economic machinery ran at a reasonable level accompanied, in the later years, by the speculative orgy of 1926-29.

This was succeeded in the 1930's by the worst depression the United States or any country ever has known. The small businessman and the big corporation were as powerless in altering the tide of economic activity as the 15,000,000 workers thrown out of their jobs. The phenomenon of alternating periods of depression and prosperity, which has persisted with increasing magnitude and severity in the twentieth century, has baffled industry, government, and economists alike and it would be folly to deceive ourselves that postwar planning by industry can make more than a modest contribution to this major problem.

What about public works? Does the experience of the past decade suggest that they can be used to regularize employment by "filling up the troughs" of the business cycle?

Experience with Public Works

PUBLIC WORKS WERE TRIED IN THE UNITED States from 1933 to 1939 with a view to "priming the pump" of private economic activity and thus reducing unemployment and overcoming the depression. The program failed by a wide margin to eliminate unemployment. Even in 1937, the most active year of business in the 1933-1939 period, there was an average of 7,000,000 jobless workers.

The \$10,000,000,000 spent on federal

works from 1933 to 1938 was insignificant in proportion to the national economic activity in those years—less than 2 percent of gross national income. One reason for the failure of the public works mechanism was the impossibility of developing enough projects that did not compete with private enterprise and, therefore, fell within the legitimate sphere of governmental activity.

In the past few years, government agencies have made an intensive study of public works. The results are summarized in the so-called "shelf" of public works compiled by the National Resources Planning Board. The total amounts to only \$7,700,000,000. Since it would require several years to complete these projects, the maximum annual outlay certainly would not exceed \$3,000,000,000. The value of goods and services produced in the United States fluctuated, in billions of dollars, from 99 in 1929 to 55 in 1932, to 88 in 1937, to 152 in 1942 and probably to more than 180 in 1943. An annual expenditure of \$3,000,000,000 for public works obviously cannot fill up the "troughs" of fluctuations such as these.

The Need for Planning

BUT IS THE OUTLOOK HOPELESS? MUST WE inevitably be drawn into another major depression and possibly see the overthrow of our democratic institutions? It is clear that any attempt really to deal with this problem will require planned action and a readiness to experiment. Unfortunately, the display of such qualities by government is not politically attractive when industry is operating at top speed and everybody has a job. We grasp at any remedy when flat on our backs, but we are unwilling to consider preventive measures if they threaten to rock the boat when business is good. However, there is some hope of steering the economy away from depression only if agreement can be reached on how to do it.

We are not concerned here with the problem of immediate conversion from war to peace. That is a hurdle which should be cleared successfully if the demobilization process is adjusted to the rate of absorption by private industry and steps are taken to assure as favorable a climate as possible for the functioning of private enterprise. The stored-up shortages of goods are so large and there is so much purchasing power in the form of War Savings Bonds and cash that a high rate of temporary activity seems assured, perhaps after a minor interruption.

This article will attempt to suggest

program for maintaining *indefinitely* a high rate of postwar business activity and avoiding *permanently* major depressions.

The Wartime Picture

FINAL FIGURES FOR 1943 PROBABLY WILL show goods and services produced in the United States with a value of more than \$180,000,000,000, according to estimates of the Department of Commerce. That is more than twice the value of goods and services produced in the United States in 1939—\$89,000,000,000. Of the 1943 production, \$90,000,000,000 consisted of war goods and services—airplanes, tanks, battle-ships, and so on. The balance of \$90,000,000,000 was made up almost entirely of consumption goods and services—food, clothing, housing expenses, medical care, and government services such as education, fire and police protection. The war virtually suspended activity in two important areas which in peacetime constitute important segments of our production economy. First, the manufacture of consumer durable goods such as automobiles, washing machines, and refrigerators is "out." Second, capital activity such as the construction of factories, roads, and schools is "out" except for strictly war operations.

After the war, activity in these two fields will be resumed. If we were successful in maintaining the national output at the \$180,000,000,000 level, then the \$90,000,000,000 of 1943 war activity, less an amount necessary for the maintenance of whatever peacetime military establishment is judged necessary would be converted into: *consumer durable goods; capital activity; consumption goods and services.*

If this conversion can be achieved, the standard of living of the average American will be at least 50 percent higher than it was in 1939 and by far the highest ever achieved in any country at any time. This would be a truly phenomenal accomplishment, bringing the equivalent of a "raise" in real pay, as measured by goods and services, of at least 50 percent to every family in the country and raising the living standard of the lowest third of the nation's population to a comfortable level.

Postwar Objectives

IF THE MEANS CAN BE DEVELOPED OF achieving three major policy objectives, the economic machinery of America can fulfill this potentiality after the war. These three objectives are:

1. To flatten out the fulfillment of war-accumulated demands for consumer durable goods such as automobiles, washing machines, and refrigerators, over a period of years so that activity in these industries will bear a relation to total activity that can be sustained. If the accumulated purchases are concentrated in the two or three years following the war, then the contraction of activity in these industries, when it comes, will exert a powerful force for depression and unemployment. This trap must be avoided by flattening out activity in these industries.

2. To smooth out private and public ac-

tivity such as expenditure for new commercial and industrial buildings, public works, factory reconversion, and so on. Left unrestrained, stored-up demands in these fields will be bunched in the year or two following the war and bring about contraction in employment when this activity is finished, thus reinforcing and supplementing the tendency toward depression contributed by contraction in consumer durable goods activity.

3. To increase expenditures for consumer goods and services, such as food, clothing and medical care, both over what they are now under a war economy and also over what they ever have been in the past. Consumption must be deliberately directed so that it will absorb all the nation's production ability not allocated to consumer durable goods and capital activity.

Let us consider steps which might be taken to achieve these objectives within the framework of free private enterprise and economic democracy.

Consumer Demands

THE FIRST OBJECTIVE IS TO FLATTEN OUT demand for consumer durable goods. The nature of the problem can be illustrated by considering the situation in automobiles. At the end of the war, the accumulated demand for new motor cars and trucks in the United States may amount to 15,000,000 vehicles. It is physically possible that to meet this business, automobile manufacturers might turn out 7,500,000 cars and trucks each year for two years. Then what? With demand cut back to a replacement basis of not more than 4,000,000 cars a year, there might be as many as 1,000,000 men thrown out of work. With this pattern repeated in other industries, unemployment would soon set in motion the spiral of deflation and depression.

There are powerful tools available to check such a cycle of high durable goods activity followed by depression. A large proportion of consumer durable goods is purchased on the instalment plan. The size of the down payment required and the length of the pay-off period have a substantial influence on demand. During the war the Federal Reserve Board has gained experience in controlling the demand for consumer durable goods through the regulation of instalment terms. The relatively modest restrictions imposed have been of substantial assistance in curbing demand. Probably much more stringent measures will be necessary to hold back postwar demand.

In automobiles, for example, it may be necessary to require as much as a 50 percent down payment with a six months pay-off period. The imposition and enforcement of terms such as these would be a potent instrument in restraining the volume of durable goods activity. Contrariwise, the lifting of restrictions would serve to draw out demand when such a policy appeared to be in the general interest.

Luxury taxes, too, could be used to restrict or expand activity. A tax of \$200 on a new automobile, for instance, would have

a substantial effect on demand.

If instalment terms and taxes proved inadequate for the task, then a modified form of rationing might be developed.

In the light of the war experience, there is little question that the means are available for making effective a policy of flattening out activity in these durable goods industries.

Capital Demands

BY THE END OF THE WAR, THERE WILL BE a huge pent-up accumulation of capital activity. Factory reconversion will require large outlays. Plants and equipment will be needed for the manufacture of new products and to carry on processes discovered but not developed during the war. In many fields, normal expansion has been deferred by war priorities. The Bell Telephone system, for example, has delayed construction totaling some \$500,000,000. A similar situation exists with electric utilities and the gas companies. Railroads will need thousands of new freight cars and locomotives to replace rolling stock worn out by war traffic. Release of stored-up demand for capital goods in the United States will be supplemented by a heavy foreign demand for machinery and building materials for the devastated areas of Europe and the East.

The adjustment of federal capital expenditures would be one step toward smoothing out total capital outlays. The construction of post offices, the development of reclamation projects and of federal aid highways could be geared to the over-all policy.

Similarly, it would seem feasible to set up budgetary control of state and municipal expenditures for highways, bridges, public buildings, schools, utilities, and so on. Present war controls permit only such construction as is immediately essential to the public welfare. Comparable controls could be carried into the peace years to prevent the over-concentration of construction in the early postwar period. There would be no real conflict between local interest and national interest in pursuing such a policy.

To smooth out commercial and industrial capital activity presents more formidable difficulties. The priority and raw materials control powers of the War Production Board have served to restrict such activity during the war. But to continue such controls during peace would have an unhealthy effect on private enterprise because, with immense arbitrary power to influence competitive relationship, government would have no clearly defined guides of equity for action. Further, to supervise the capital expenditures of the hundreds of thousands of business enterprises would be administratively impractical.

A group of selective controls might be developed, however, with which it would be possible to influence a good deal of commercial and industrial capital activity.

First, a budgeting system could be set up to control the expansion programs of public utilities. Construction could be restricted, if necessary, to activity immediately es-

(Continued on page 188)

London's "Hell Sent Opportunity"

To counter tremendous night and day raids on Berlin and the Continent, Nazi bombers are again strafing the ancient capital city on the Thames. But today they cannot blot out British blueprints for tomorrow!

SPENCER MILLER, JR.

BY A STRANGE IRONY THE DESTRUCTIVE madness of Hitler has quickened fresh interest in the creative genius of Sir Christopher Wren. When the Luftwaffe left off their wanton destruction in 1941 of the most ancient area of London, centering in St. Paul's Cathedral, 60 percent of that square mile which is called "The City" lay in ruins. Old landmarks had been razed to the ground; London's Book Market, where some five million volumes were stored, had

been fired in another "Burning of the Books," and some of the finest examples of Sir Christopher's architectural triumphs had been destroyed beyond repair. For he had designed many of the other churches within The City, preparing for each a different and distinctive spire which made them objects of architectural pilgrimage.

Nonetheless, with the bombing of structures which had sprung up around the Cathedral itself over the centuries, St. Paul's

once again stands towering and majestic as its great architect originally intended.

The revival of interest in Wren's genius marks in many respects a significant cycle. In 1665, Sir Christopher, formerly a professor of astronomy at Oxford University who but a few years before had turned to the field of architecture, was commissioned by King Charles II to prepare a plan for the remodeling of St. Paul's. Before active consideration could be given to this, however, the Great Fire of 1666 gutted the Cathedral and compelled the more radical revision of design that we know today.

"Annus Mirabilis" Again

SUBSEQUENT TO THAT YEAR OF FIRE, THE Fever, and the Dutch War, Christopher Wren was enlisted as the first city planner for the rebuilding of London itself. His original sketches provided for a series of wide streets, radiating from a central focus. This was a revolutionary conception in his day but difficulties with land ownership with impatient home owners eager to rebuild, and speculative purchases of property hamstrung seventeenth century London in embarking upon his plan.

Now nearly three hundred years later, Britain once again faces the calamity of vast sections of London in ruins. The necessity to rebuild and reconstruct after the bombing has become imperative. Moreover, along with loss in life and the destruction of historic buildings, the bombs razed also some of the worst slums in the East End of London. For a generation efforts had been made without great success to get rid of these blighted areas by an appeal to civic conscience. Today, however, a saddened British people looking out upon the ruins of these slums, have come to consider them as "hell sent" opportunities—to use the phrase of Bishop Noel Baring Hudson, secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Modern city planners have turned back to Wren's noble conception as a challenge to improve on it. Last fall, during my visit to Britain, I climbed to the top of St. Paul's in company with Gerald W. Henderson, sub-librarian and archivist of the Cathedral. We mounted the circular stairs in the southeast tower (one of the many examples of Wren's ingenuity), and from the topmost walk at the base of the dome had a bird's-eye view of the destruction wrought by the "enemies of freedom."

Below were the ruins of what once was one of the crowded business sections of the



British Information Services photograph

Buildings that through the centuries had crowded in upon St. Paul's Cathedral were demolished in the Great Blitz of London. Now St. Paul's again stands out in its majesty

East End. Amid the foundations and the rubble, now tidied up, weeds were growing, giving to it all an appearance of another Pompeii. Beyond, one could get a glimpse once more of the Thames—a view which Wren must have had many times from the same vantage point. At the same time I caught something of the new dreams of a more beautiful London, brought nearer realization by this second disaster.

The Wartime Conception

THE OLD BRITISH CAPITAL WAS ONE OF THE first cities to feel the full weight of bombing terror in World War II. It was the first to crystalize an over-all plan of reconstruction in maps and perspective drawings. The County of London Plan, as it is called, has captured imaginations at home and abroad. Its conception and brilliant execution has been hailed as something truly "worthy of the Londoner's fortitude and of a new renaissance."

As early as 1941, Lord Reith, then Minister of Works, had requested the London County Council under the leadership of Lord Latham to develop local plans in ways which would assist his ministry in carrying out a broad program throughout Britain. What makes the London project one of the most striking examples of city planning in our time is not only the comprehensiveness of its approach and the methods employed, but the mood and perspective in which it was conceived. It is as if out of travail and destruction the British had discovered new insights on how to shape the foundations of a finer civilization—"to do the best things in the worst times and hope them in the most calamitous." Great suffering has evoked great ideas!

The plan has been conceived in the perspective of the long history of the British capital and in the wider vistas of her future. With restraint, yet with quiet confidence in that future, the authors begin their report with these memorable words: "The plan has been prepared during a pause in the development of our ancient capital; a pause, the like of which has perhaps only occurred once before, when she suffered from the two disasters of Plague and Fire."

Team Play of the Londoners

SECOND ONLY IN IMPORTANCE TO THE mood and perspective in which the London Plan was conceived, is the cooperative manner in which it was evolved. American readers will be interested to know that regional surveys and the reports of planning commissions in the United States have been "grist to the mill" of these London planners. The directors in charge invited suggestions from a host of lay persons and acknowledge that "there are so many wishes, ideas and suggestions . . . gathered from persons, authorities, replanners, housing reformers and others, that it is unsafe to point to any one feature and declare it to be original." Fine proof, this, of the validity and creative possibilities of democratizing the planning process. Moreover, many of those associated in this project in

reconstruction had seen active service in grim days of *destruction* as members of Civil Defense Services or Home Guards.

Technical preparation was placed by the London County Council in the hands of its architect J. H. Forshaw, and Patrick Abercrombie, professor of town planning at the University of London. The Macmillan Company (London) brought out the Plan in a bound quarto volume and the approach this revealed was clearly of a sort to enhance its prospects.

"Are we," the authors asked, "to endeavor to retain the old structure of London where desirable and make it workable" or to accept one of two alternative conclusions? The first of these was that "What

—Highway Commissioner of New Jersey and a member of its State Planning Board, Spencer Miller, Jr. on a recent mission to wartime Britain made special studies of road development and city planning. He is even better known to *Survey* readers as the long time director of the Workers Education Bureau of America, and for his service as assistant to the late Thomas Mott Osborne and George W. Kirchwey, wardens of Sing Sing Prison. He helped initiate the New Jersey Constitution Foundation, which has carried on a campaign of adult civic education first under Governor Charles Edison, and now under Governor Walter E. Edge, to recast the hundred year old constitution of the state.

is not blitzed is blighted"—which would mean clearing the entire site of London. The other alternative was the sociological dictum that "London does not require so much replanning as disbanding."

Both conclusions were rejected in favor of grafting a new and vigorous growth on the old stock. "To ignore or scrap these old communities in favor of a new theoretical subdivision," it was held, "would be both academic and too drastic." Their choice made possible respect for the best of existing London, an enhancement of its strongly marked structure and spheres of activity, together with remedy of basic defects. These the planners listed with great definiteness, aided by the findings of a series of statutory commissions:

- Overcrowded and out of date houses.
- Inadequate and badly distributed open spaces.
- Jumbles of houses and industry between road and rail connections.
- Traffic congestion.
- The continued "London sprawl."
- Incoherent architectural development.
- Lack of a coordinated railway system.

Educating the Public

HERE WERE A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF "outs" to challenge even the most resolute and stout-hearted city planner. To deal with them, the London County Council instituted probably the largest number of community, civic, economic, traffic and architectural sur-

veys ever undertaken. These they embodied in a series of charts, profusely colored maps, etchings and perspective drawings that are fascinating. Little wonder that when a public exhibition of them was held at County Hall last July public interest was so great that the period was extended for three weeks. Many of these great maps and charts can still be seen in a large hall at the County Council. Plans had thus followed scientific studies and not preceded them, and as result, accompanied by supporting data, they won enough popular support at the outset to elicit a widespread demand for so bold and comprehensive a scheme.

Since then events have moved rapidly. In November Lord Woolton, who had scored as Minister of Foods, was made Minister of Reconstruction with wide powers. In a recent minute circulated by the Prime Minister all civil servants who were not needed for the war effort were directed to address themselves to postwar planning.

A White Paper on Reconstruction will afford the background for needed reconstruction bills to implement the recommendations of commissions on Land Utilization, Compensation and Betterment.

Housing will undoubtedly receive top priority. The London County Council has completed plans to build 16,522 dwellings during the first postwar year at a cost of £10,000,000, three fourths of them to be apartments, the rest small houses—all in keeping with the general outlines of the Plan.

There are other significant advances. It is anticipated that before the Easter recess, Parliament will pass a bill to implement an earlier White Paper on Educational Reform, which is a new Magna Carta for British education. In the field of social security broached by Sir William Beveridge, another bill to extend provisions for health insurance was introduced last month.

Community—Metropolis—Machine

AS THE PLANNERS ENVISAGED IT, THEIR task was to fashion a London which will continue to serve the three-fold functions of:

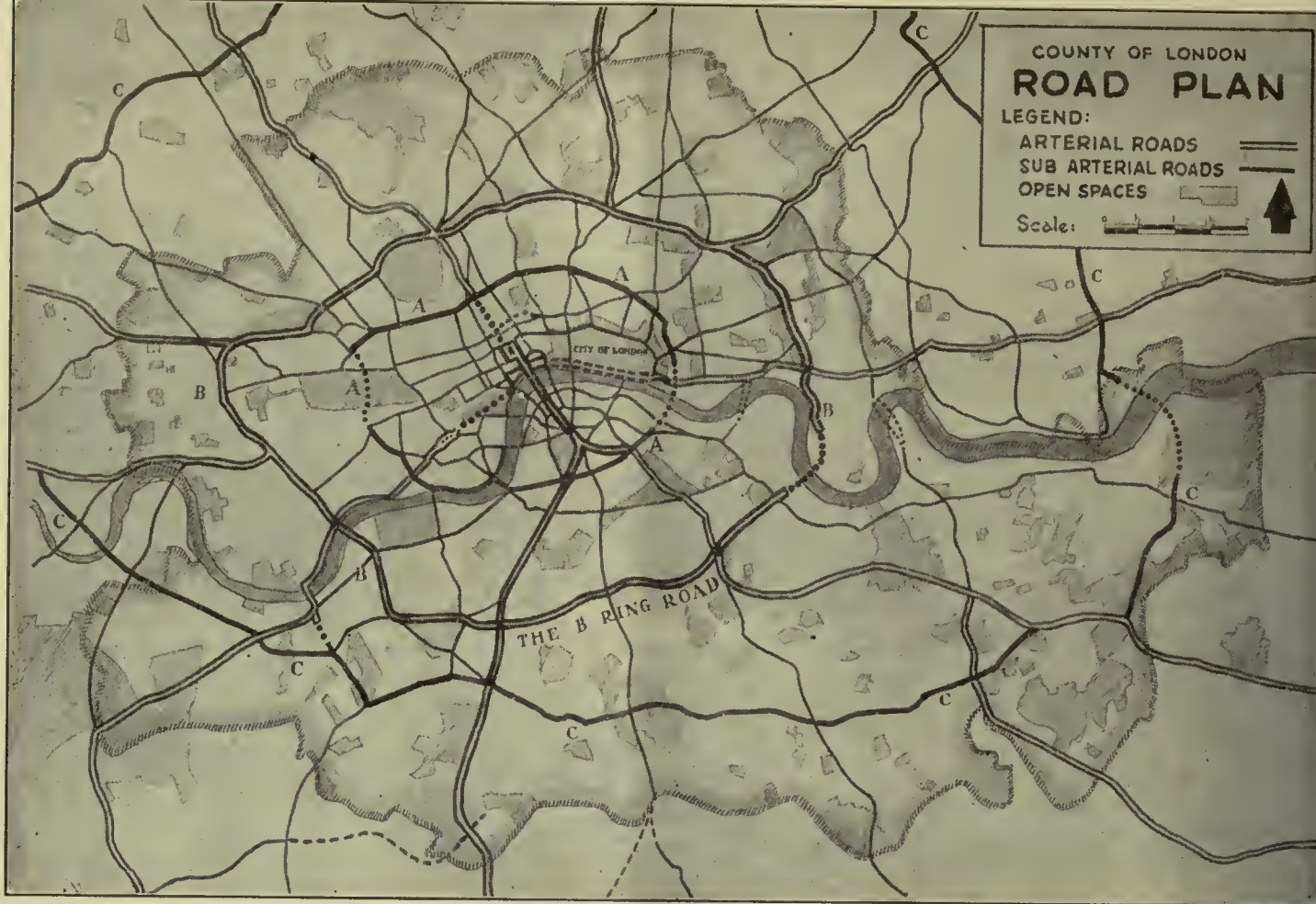
London, the Community—a place where 8,000,000 persons work, dwell and play in normal times.

London, the Metropolis—center of government and capital of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

London, the Machine—as visualized in the web of road, rail and river traffic that serves the urban district.

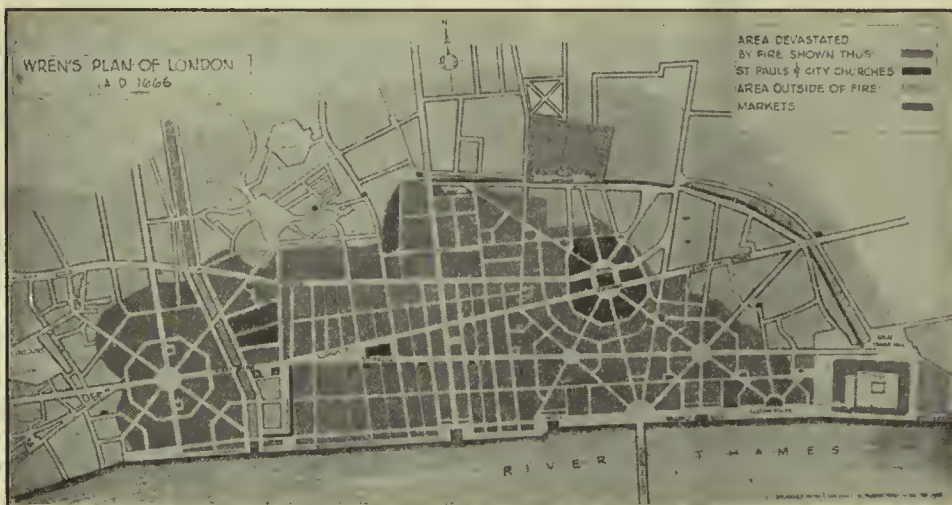
On all these aspects the planners brought to bear not only careful analyses of present deficiencies but daring proposals growing out of their organic approach. Take the communities already referred to which have grown out of separate villages and still in varying degrees retain individuality and local loyalty. Each is assured its own schools, social center, shops and open spaces. At the same time the Plan seeks to fend against blocking through traffic even if this calls for reconstructing satellite areas.

Provision is made also for areas of quiet or precincts as they are called. Typical of



THE SYSTEM OF ROADS FORECAST FOR THE LONDON OF TOMORROW

Three ring roads, A, B, and C; arterial radial roads; main North-South East-West roads. The plan includes overpasses and circles



Sir Christopher Wren's plan for rebuilding London after the Great Fire of 1666

these is the Westminster Precinct located about Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament, and the University Precinct at Bloomsbury, including the British Museum and the new building of London University now the headquarters of the Ministry of Information.

The three functional aspects of London life are naturally closely interrelated and any solution for one is bound to affect the other two. In dealing first with the community as such, civic surveys proved of inestimable value. These led inevitably to

the conclusion that the density of London's population had grown too great for satisfactory human living. Decentralization of population in truth had become indispensable before the war. Here the bombings produced another of the "hell sent" opportunities. For the sake of security nearly one third of the residents of London were evacuated and much industry was dispersed. Moreover, mobility has now be-

*Plans for "The City" itself were not included in the County Plan; those for this old "Square Mile" are to be developed by the City's Corporation.

come a habit among the people of London.

To make the most of their unparalleled opportunity, the planners divided their map into four geographical areas,* each with its own pattern of life: 1. The Central Area, including the West End, Government Center, business, amusements. 2. The ports, the Thames and Leaside Area. 3. The Central Residential Areas. 4. The Suburbs.

Careful studies have led to the conclusion that the density of population for Central London should not exceed 136 per net residential acre. (Some sections, such as Holborn, hitherto have had a density in excess of 400.) In the new Plan the right of the individual to sunlight, play space and the amenities is assured. Density moreover has been based upon persons per square acre—not houses or square feet of housing accommodations. Three standards of 100, 136 and 200 persons per net residential acre are proposed, with different provisions for houses and flats in each zone. With the adoption of this new principle of limitation of population density, it will be necessary to remove not less than 611,000 persons from Central London on the basis of the 1938 census.

But it is not enough merely to disperse populations and industries if the objective is to aid citizens to live satisfactory human lives. The right to leisure is no less fundamental than the right to work.

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"Unfinished Business of Democracy"

HARRY HANSEN

AN AMERICAN DILEMMA: THE NEGRO PROBLEM AND MODERN DEMOCRACY, by Gunnar Myrdal, with the assistance of Richard Sterner and Arnold Rose. A foreword by Frederick P. Keppel. Harper. Two vols., \$7.50

THIS ENCYCLOPEDIA SURVEY OF THE WHOLE problem of the Negro in the United States forms the key volume of a large number of special studies in the subject, of which four already have been published in "The Negro in American Life" series, and thirty-seven are available to students in manuscript. According to the late Frederick P. Keppel, whose wise counsel guided this comprehensive undertaking on behalf of the Carnegie Corporation, it was initiated in this way:

In 1931 Newton D. Baker, a trustee, suggested the need of better information about the Negro to help the corporation plan its work, adding that such a study might have even greater usefulness outside. The board then authorized a thorough examination of the Negro problem, under a foreign director who would come with "a fresh mind, uninfluenced by traditional attitudes or earlier conclusions."

The young Swedish social scientist, Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, was favorably known in the United States and his appointment followed. In September 1938, Dr. Myrdal and his assistant, Richard Sterner, came from Sweden and began work, with the assistance of a large staff of consultants and investigators, many already authorities on special phases of the subject. During nine months of Dr. Myrdal's absence in 1940, Samuel A. Stouffer directed the project; Donald R. Young, Shelby M. Harrison, William F. Ogburn, and Arnold Rose were associated with important editorial duties, but the whole work bears the imprint of Dr. Myrdal's mind and is not a collection or symposium, and the language is also his own.

The Outsider's Fresh Vision

IT IS EVIDENT ON EVERY PAGE THAT DR. Myrdal tackled his assignment with zest and studied his data with great thoroughness. It is not immediately clear that American social scientists would not have accomplished the task with equal fairness and detachment. Indeed, almost from the first day, when Dr. Myrdal began his "exploratory journey through the southern states" with Jackson Davis of the General Education Board as his guide, he had at his side social scientists like Melville J. Herskovits, Charles S. Johnson, Ralph Bunche, Paul Norgren, and Otto Klineberg. No doubt he had no emotional conflicts to over-

come; he could start at the beginning and by interviewing numerous citizens of North and South, both white and Negro, check this information with history and contemporary studies. But it soon becomes evident where the advantage of Dr. Myrdal's foreign background lay. It is in his concern for the white man who, as the child of democracy, acts in an undemocratic manner. Many Americans have concentrated so long on the industrial, educational, economic and biological aspects of the Negro problem that they have disregarded the white American as the other facet of this problem in democracy. It is the Swedish observer who asks, early in the inquiry:

"What do the millions of white people in the South and in the North actually think when, year after year, on the national holidays dedicated to the service of democratic ideals, they read, recite and listen to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution? Do they, or do they not, include Negroes among all men?"

Thus, like James Bryce in "The American Commonwealth" of fifty years before, a foreigner offers us an opportunity to see ourselves in his mirror and to take heart from his conclusions. In a way he represents world opinion. Bryce had great influence on thinking Americans for two reasons: he was an Englishman who found health in republican institutions, and he gave Americans reasons for confidence in democracy when many were troubled by

ANNOUNCEMENT

—Mr. Hansen will contribute the leader to these book pages in the months ahead. His daily comments on books and authors have been a feature of the *New York World Telegram* since 1931, where his reviews are marked at once with warmth and discernment and his approach to American and world affairs is unfailingly liberal.

Iowa-born, Mr. Hansen was a war correspondent, 1914-16, and covered the peace conference for the *Chicago Daily News*. Later he became literary editor of the old *New York World*, reviewed books for *Harper's Magazine* for sixteen years, and gave courses in reviewing and biography at Columbia University. He has written many articles as well as a half dozen books.

political and industrial corruption. Dr. Myrdal, too, turns the light on our capacities as men of democratic faith. He finds white Americans still cherishing ideals of freedom, justice, and equality that stem from the political and moral principles of puritanism and the American Revolution; these he sums up as the American Creed. Sometimes he includes measures of the New Deal, though he rejects the Agricultural Adjustment Act which, he thinks, is ruining the whole cotton economy. But it is his emphasis on the white citizens who, "in solemn moments, try to forget about the Negro as about other worries," that makes his book so valuable to the layman. He accepts no conventions as valid unless they agree with the Creed. He blames environment for most ills and handicaps, rejects all biological theories of race inferiority, questions all statistics, and seeks a rational explanation for every situation.

Major Item in the American Creed

IN ALL HIS INVESTIGATIONS DR. MYRDAL measured actual conditions by reference to "relevant value premises" from the American Creed, which represented the ideal in human relations. Thus, when he began to study the economic aspects, he used three premises: that there is nothing wrong with economic inequality by itself; that no American population group shall be allowed to fall below a certain minimum level of living; and that Negroes shall be awarded equal opportunities.

Equality of opportunity seemed to him the major item in the American Creed; the right to exercise personal liberty came second. Northerners, as individuals, declared they were against economic discrimination, but Dr. Myrdal observed that they accepted certain conventional objections against employing Negroes until government intervention or labor union pressure overcame the objections. Although the Negro was poorly represented in war industries at the start, he gained in employment as the great number of white unemployed was exhausted and today forms the chief labor reserve. Dr. Myrdal finds that the northward migration continues with its "tremendous amelioration" of the Negro's economic status, and that northern Negroes take a superior attitude toward arrivals from the South. He suggests shifting Negro labor to small towns and expects employment opportunities to start a movement to west coast cities.

Since equality of opportunity is the one great need of the Negro, discrimination

comes the "value-loaded term" by which economic disabilities are measured. It is also the key term when Dr. Myrdal comes to social inequality. The right of any citizen to determine his own social contacts is inherent in personal liberty, but that right is violated when another man's liberty is restricted by segregation. Behind social segregation and discrimination lies the white man's fear that decent social relations will lead to intermarriage. Dr. Myrdal ridicules this fear, saying that it is much more likely to occur on the higher levels of intelligence than among the lowest and least educated. The book gives a detailed account of legal and illegal or social sanctions for discrimination in business, politics, and daily contacts. While their effect is to increase the isolation of the Negro, especially in the South where any advantages are offset by intensified separatism, the Negro is making headway.

The Negroes are rising, says the author, most rapidly in the North, but "their rate of rise in the South is not inconsiderable." One result of that rise is the formation of a Negro middle and upper class. Dr. Myrdal sees wealth or higher education essential for an upper class position, with the result that its members, who furnish the leaders in the professions and the arts, are often the most severe critics of less fortunate Negroes. But he warns against thinking of static class levels; the Negro class structure is dynamic and moving upward.

While Dr. Myrdal's conclusions about the South do not differ widely from those of other writers, he offers a brilliant analysis of customs, conventions, and behavior. He rejects the view that the South is fascist: it has no centralization; it agrees solely on "regimentation of the Negro." Although the South has only a "mild liberalism" and lacks nearly every trace of radical thought, its rigid caste system is breaking down, partly through federal intervention; and its attitude on the Negro franchise is "politically untenable for any length of time."

America's Opportunity

DR. MYRDAL'S FINAL WORD IS A FRIENDLY warning. The hopeful tone he uses in commenting on the half-concealed desire of white Americans to deal justly with the Negro is maintained as he points to the vast changes in international affairs which have robbed America of its two ocean protection and confronted it with a global race problem in which other underprivileged peoples still look to it for help. Though the dilemma remains, it offers democratic America a great opportunity for leadership.

The "long gallery of persons" interrogated may have worn the defensive masks of their interests and fears, but they were fundamentally "all good people." They believed in the justice of the American Creed. They were intelligent enough to trust the social sciences, and to believe that, with their help, they might set America back on the democratic track. "If America in actual practice could show the world a progressive trend by which the Negro be-

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(All books ordered through Survey Associates, Inc., will be postpaid)

States, and upon reactionary American businessmen in general, this judgment: "After many years of close association with men of his class it is the writer's considered opinion that they, as a class, are not likely to make any constructive contribution to genuine social reconstruction."

The book is clearly and effectively written and is one of the most useful volumes that has appeared on a very complex subject. The title itself serves to emphasize the fundamental relation of social reconstruction to an enduring peace. The author's practical proposals both for peace and reconstruction are moderate, Christian and, in the best sense of the term, liberal. While his definition of capitalism is pretty severe, he believes that "much good can be salvaged from the capitalistic social order, including a retention of private initiative and the profit system under strict regulation by government." He defends the program of postwar reconstruction recommended by the National Resources Planning Board. Holding that one of the prime causes of World War I, of the great depression, and of the present world conflict was "inequitable distribution of the national income," he believes that full employment and general prosperity can be attained only through an increase in the purchasing power of the consuming masses.

Despite its small number of pages, the book contains a large amount of factual information on all the subjects with which it deals.

JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.
(National Catholic Welfare Conference)
Washington, D.C.

SEE WHAT I MEAN? By Lewis Browne.
Random House. \$2.50.

TO THOSE OF US WHO HAVE BEEN INVOLVED in the battle against the pro-fascist and pro-Nazi forces in the United States, Lewis Browne's novel comes as an especially fresh treatment. Clem Smullet, the racketeering publicity director of the *Los Angeles Crusade*, lives and breathes in this book. He is just the sort of character with whom all of us working against the subversive groups have had contact. John Christian Power—"the Power"—is much like many of the leaders of these anti-democratic groups. He almost believed in himself, and did actually believe in himself as a man of destiny when he talked—oratory being, as H. L. Mencken has said, a form of auto-intoxication.

The picture is very clear. Here you see the crackpots, racketeers, the lunatic fringe (and remember that Gerald L. K. Smith once shouted that the lunatic fringe is about to take over) carrying on their sinister business. Here you see the tricks which are used to get the crowds to attend the subversive meetings.

"See What I Mean?" is also a novel of considerable humor. The whole pro-Nazi, pro-fascist, and pro-Japanese propaganda movement in this country might be very funny and absurd were it not so tragic. However, no reader of this novel should conclude that the subversive movements

are all run by and for racketeers. Connected with them are super-nationalists and 200 percent Americans who somehow or other feel that they are saving the country from the "Internationalists, the Jews, the communists, the interventionists, and Rhodes scholars."

The kind of people described in the book are altogether too numerous in the United States. Hundreds of these groups, committees, and organizations still hold meetings, get out publications; some have radio programs. Even most of those who have been indicted for sedition are still reaching the public. They are anti-British, anti-Russian, anti-Chinese, and invariably anti-Semitic. In the postwar reaction, these people may come to the top of the heap. At least, that is what they are counting on. Therefore Mr. Browne's novel is a very important contribution to the understanding of the kind of enemies that we have in this country. I mean enemies of decent respect for human dignity and personality; enemies of the rights of minority groups; and enemies of the effort to win the war expeditiously and to win a decent peace.

L. M. BIRKHEAD

(Friends of Democracy, Inc.)

LEND-LEASE—Weapon for Victory, by E. R. Stettinius, Jr. Macmillan. \$3.

HERE INDEED IS A BOOK! BEHIND THE rather chilling title is a tale as engrossing and as inspiring as anything that has yet been printed about these lamentable years. The author, himself lend-lease administrator since 1941 and now Under-Secretary of State, commencing his story with the years that led to the shock of Munich, takes us behind the scenes to show how Britain and France at last awakened to the real meaning of the fascist maneuvers and turned to America to help them in their race to prepare for the awful blows that awaited them.

How America, reluctant to participate, nevertheless was forced by the logic of events to build up an immense munitions industry, financed, erected and trained by foreign gold and foreign experts, is set out with admirable clarity. American public opinion gradually caught up with the certain knowledge of State Department officials and high military opinion that it was vital for American safety to support Britain and France, and presently Britain alone, to keep the war from American shores.

In an admirable chapter, Mr. Stettinius describes the inception of the idea of lend-lease and the whirlwind of discussion and argument that preceded its final acceptance by both Houses of Congress. He writes: "It was as if the whole American people were thinking out loud. I felt then, and feel now, that in the process we as a nation cleaned up our thinking about our place in the world. . . ."

From then on the tale is of wholehearted cooperation in all parts of the world—of difficulties tackled and overcome, of literally staggering enterprises planned and executed while the fate of mankind hung in the balance.

Lend-lease and reverse lend-lease built airplane fields in the jungles of Africa; dredged seaports; sent derricks and all equipment, railroad tracks, vehicles and personnel to Persia; organized traffic on the Burma Road; set up training schools in the USA; and sent food to Britain, machine tools to Russia to help them help themselves. Once the dollar sign was removed, the amount of willing cooperation, successful integration, and sheer intelligence that was released makes a tale as inspiring as any in history.

The idea that the United States embarked on a gigantic international charitable en-

terprise when it inaugurated lend-lease could not survive the reading of these chapters. The great merit of the lend-lease plan turns out to be its power in enabling all the United Nations to increase their own ability to contribute.

The author's style is simple and clear. His cheerful serenity makes what could too easily have been a difficult or pompous work a most readable epic. The book is illustrated with photographs, highly colored and dramatic maps, and pictographs. It should be required reading for the thousands of "committee" leaders, postwar planners, clubwomen and men who, under



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CECIL SMITH

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MAINSTREAM, by Hamilton Basso. Reynal & Hitchcock, \$2.50.

MR. MENEFEE REPORTS ON WHAT AMERICA is like, with a minimum of speculation on what makes it that way. Mr. Basso speculates on what makes it that way, with a minimum about what it is like.

Mr. Menefee travelled 15,000 miles in forty-one states, for the Office of Public Opinion Research of Princeton University and incidentally for several newspapers. When he says that the Northeast is working hard and believes in the war, that the South is fighting hard as usual but grousing more than usual, that the Middle West is complacent, he bases his statements on public opinion surveys made by the most scientific methods known at present. But he doesn't stop with this; he draws a vivid and revealing picture of how the country looks and how it has been changed by war—and it is really a different country.

Here are the new towns and cities, the new industries, the millions of uprooted people, the pressing new social problems and the scattered pockets here and there which once were thriving and busy and now are all but abandoned. When the war is over we are going to have to get reacquainted with this country of ours. It is a different place.

It has a different set of problems, too, or rather an aggravated set of problems. Racial tension is not only stronger than ever, but far more complicated. In Boston the Catholics hate the Jews; in the South the whites hate the Negroes; in California the Associated Farmer crowd would rather see the interned Japanese-Americans killed than brought back to the Coast. And everywhere there are cross currents, many of them caused by the workers recruited in one part of the country and taken to another, where they are resented by the old residents perhaps because of their color or religion, more probably because there is fear of a shortage of jobs after the war.

The pre-war isolationists are mostly isolationists still. They are held together by hatred of That Man and by fear and suspicion of Europe, and they want, as they wanted in 1919, no League of Nations and no new-fangled tricks or treaties. Confused after Pearl Harbor, their lines now are reforming; they will not be confused when peace comes.

Here is first class reporting by a man who likes America in spite of the fact that it is hard-boiled, often stupid and prejudiced, is divided and fighting itself. War has stirred up the melting pot more vigorously than it has ever been stirred.

While Mr. Menefee travels—Mr. Basso

browses in America's past. He has written ten perceptive essays about twelve famous Americans: Cotton Mather, contrasted with John Smith; Jefferson, Calhoun, Lincoln, Carnegie, Barnum; Henry Adams, set off against William Jennings Bryan; Huey Long and the two great Roosevelts. These are not biographical sketches, they are psychoanalytic diagrams of how these men came to be what they were.

The essays are loosely tied together by a character of the author's invention, John Applegate, small town druggist. The idea is that all these prominent Americans have exercised a mysterious influence upon Applegate and made him what he is.

Apparently Applegate is Mr. Basso's idea of a representative American. He doesn't read much and he shares the prejudices of some other middle class Americans. He voted for Roosevelt at first but is tired of him now. His daughter is all wrapped up in such interesting facts as that George Washington had false teeth and Thomas Jefferson, the great democratic philosopher, kept slaves. We do not get a very sharp picture of this fellow Applegate and we get the impression that he is sort of a dope. But perhaps that is because so many things have happened in America since Sinclair Lewis wrote "Main Street" and Mr. Applegate does not seem to have heard of any of them. If Mr. Basso has heard of them he fails to say so.

New York

ALDEN STEVENS

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, by J. S. Furnivall. With a Supplement on Training for Native Self-Rule by Bruno Lasker. Institute of Pacific Relations, \$2.

EVERY "COLONIAL" EXPERIENCE OR ENTERPRISE is a laboratory for world society. This equally is true, of course, of every community experience or enterprise anywhere. But lights and shades are deepened when races manage other races in dependencies.

In current years, many books deal with colonial enterprise as social laboratory work. This volume is such a book. Mr. Furnivall's section shows concretely and somewhat narratively the record of formal education in many Far Eastern countries across a hundred years. Mr. Lasker's commentary interprets and illuminates Mr. Furnivall's data.

Schooling in pre-war Europe, even in the United States, did not reach very far into social life or the depths of the individual. But its content belonged to the central tradition of the Western world, and its values, even if transitory, were the values of ruling masses. In the Far East, typically, European-American curricula and values were transposed in whole or in part with a good deal of naiveté, and in almost no coordination with tradition or present social exigency. As a result, while European and American societies at least have tolerated their educational systems, much of Asia, gradually or violently, nullified or rejected these interjected systems.

From this course of events, as from a great many related ones, there grew the

myth that "Oriental" peoples are in their natures static, unreasonable, undynamic.

Meantime, there surged into being the nationalist movements, whose objectives—and whose contents—practically speaking were quite limited; but mass energies poured into them. The most impressive Oriental examples of the pouring of mass energies into nationalist inspirations have been supplied in India and in the Arab world.

Mr. Lasker arrives at the conclusion that the Western world, through schools and otherwise, simply has not known how, and has not greatly tried, to reach the dynamic mainsprings, to release the dynamic capacities, of the Eastern peoples.

From this, the authors pass to a searching for the methods and settings which might make easier the fertilization by the Occident of the dynamic centers of the Orient. Here the treatment is provocative and suggestive rather than concrete. But it brings the reader to the threshold of that which perhaps is the greatest question now and for many years to come.

JOHN COLLIER

(Commissioner of Indian Affairs)

WHERE'S THE MONEY COMING FROM? Problems of Postwar Finance, by Stuart Chase. Twentieth Century Fund, \$1.

"WE SHALL HAVE TO FIND RADICALLY NEW premises from which to think about it all." This quotation from Walter Lippmann Mr. Chase finds in a sense to be the text for his homily on financing the needed productivity for the postwar era—number three in his series on "When the War Ends." The underlying new premise which is here elaborated is that "what is physically possible is financially possible. . . . The only question is whether we have the courage and the common sense to do it."

In the world of professional economists as they face the future, the basic rift is between the Keynes-Hansen school and those who may be referred to as the "balanced budget" school. Mr. Chase is in the former camp and this book tells why, in his usual lucid, chatty style. For preliminary public enlightenment, the first half makes an excursion into the role of money and credit in the present economy; and as a quick substitute for the first year course in economics it will in my opinion serve its purpose excellently.

I have, however, one major reservation about the emphasis in that latter half of the book which looks ahead. Sufficient explicit underscoring is not given to the fact that we live on the productive work of each other. Though we are told that "business should carry the maximum possible load of production and distribution," this point should be repeatedly driven home from various angles. A high material standard of living only reflects a high productivity. What we do not produce we cannot consume. The production of public buildings, roads, swimming pools, and the like has to be in a subordinate relation to the production of direct physical necessities. If one

BACKGROUND MATERIAL OF CURRENT ISSUES

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agrees that "in a compensatory economy, the state is responsible for full employment and social security," then surely in our organized effort as a "state" we have to think of public works not only as shock-absorbers but also in terms of balancing the total flow of productive effort. And this balancing is in part influenced by fiscal policy.

How far the "free market" will assure a balanced flow is the basic point at issue. Mr. Chase brings *Fortune* magazine to his support in contending that we must "ask a more rigorous policing of the free market." High productivity, high employment, and wisely directed productivity are, it would seem, inextricably dependent on each other. How do we get the wise direction? Does "free enterprise" assure it? Do public works assure it? And if both together do not, what else?

I wish Mr. Chase had pressed his analysis further at this point. He suggests that he may do so later in the series.

An interesting aspect of this study is its reliance at critical and contentious points upon quotations from *Fortune's* remarkably astute and forward-looking editorials. How new the premises of tomorrow must be in economic reorientation is suggested by the refreshingly new approach not only of *Fortune* but of *Business Week* and some of the preliminary releases of the Committee on Economic Development. If such expressions of business spokesmen are to produce results, "the only practicable hope of those who want a maximum of free enterprise" is to "enlist the aid of the very

power that has been harassing [the individual] and whose intentions he instinctively distrusts: the power of government." This is another quotation from *Fortune*, a periodical, Mr. Chase avers, which "would raise hell with business-as-usual, as practiced for many years."

This book advances our thinking more substantially than the two previous volumes in the series. It is tougher in its reflections, deeper in its probing. It supplies no facile answers. But it poses the problems by combining realistic facts with the reactions toward them of forward-looking individuals entitled to an opinion. Here is necessary pabulum for the consumers of tomorrow—to say nothing of the producers.

New York

ORDWAY TEAD

Shipyards and the Boys

(Continued from page 177)

stitutions, chronic hitch-hikers, occasional little toughs."

"What do you think should be done about the housing situation?"

"One solution would be to take over a San Francisco hotel, with a good couple as managers, perhaps as a civilian defense project."

Carl Bash, the principal of the continuation school, suggested rooming houses or dormitories built with war emergency funds, suitably located and of course un-

der proper supervision. And as a companion project, club rooms directed by the City Recreation Department with private social agency and volunteer assistance, located in vacant stores or buildings throughout the city and open all day and evening.

Boys on Their Own

"I LIE AWAKE NIGHTS WONDERING WHAT'S happening to some of our kids," he confessed. "It isn't safe to expose a boy with too much money, too much freedom and very little experience to the dangers of this city, and expect him to work out his own immunity. And I don't mean only the boy from a midwest farm, out here alone. Many a boy living with his parents in San Francisco, if he has lots of money and too little parental supervision, is just as much of a problem."

These are not groundless fears. Consider, for example, the country boy who met a "sweet kid" of a prostitute and was rolled for two hundred dollars. Another, more sophisticated, tried to get away with an auto theft and landed in juvenile court. A tough from an eastern city helped run a dope hangout until he and his associates were caught by the police. Two seventeen-year-old shipyard boys, with the aid of five out-of-town girls and two unscrupulous adults, were found operating a "juvenile vice ring" in San Francisco. And these are only a few of the many comparable cases that could be cited.

The chief probation officer, San Francisco Juvenile Court, said the teen-age youth

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with plenty of money and little supervision is still "just a kid," though he is completely emancipated in his own mind. "He lives in a man's world; he says to himself, 'If I'm a man, I'll have an automobile, I'll be a big shot with the girls, I'll round out my social life by drinking.'"

What They Need

MUCH LIKE MR. BASH'S SOLUTION FOR the problem in the city, is the recently released report of the Children's Planning Committee which grew out of the Conference on Children in Wartime, held in San Francisco last fall. It recommends, first, resident clubs for transient youth, with good housing at reasonable rates and "a sort of club life"; second, a varied recreation program for all San Francisco youth, including hobby centers, youth canteens, and night clubs selling soft drinks only.

The majority of our teen-age war workers are a credit to their Uncle Sam and an asset to California. Young though they are, they have the initiative and courage of pioneers. We shall need them in the years to come. But they need, now, better places to live, better chances to play, some measure of adult guidance and supervision.

American Postwar Potentials (Continued from page 179)

essential to the maintenance of service, and large expansion projects not immediately necessary postponed. There would be no problem of government interference with competitive relationships in this industry because nearly all companies occupy a monopoly position in the areas they serve.

Similar controls could be exercised over the railroads by restricting the acquisition of rolling stock and budgeting the rate at which deferred maintenance was made up.

The capital outlay budgets of most large industrial corporations are fairly flexible. In a substantial area these expenditures could be adjusted to a planned national budget without conflict with normal corporate operations. A procedure might be set up covering 500 or 1,000 of the country's largest industrial enterprises. These firms would be required to file in advance their budgets for capital expenditures. Steps then would be taken to prevent over-concentration of spending in the immediate postwar years.

Government action directed along these general lines would be effective without interfering in any essential respect with the basic prerogatives of private management which are essential to the preservation of a capitalist economy.

What is the possibility of accomplishing the third policy objective—expanding consumption so that it will absorb the difference between our total capacity for production and the amount allocated to consumer durable and capital goods? If \$25,000,000,000 were allocated to durable and capital activity and our goal in production capacity set at \$180,000,000,000, then consumption would have to reach \$155,000,

000,000 to make up the difference. Smoothing out the fulfillment of war accumulated shortages of consumer durable goods and capital expenditures will of course slow down the economic machinery and produce unemployment unless means can be found concurrently to increase consumption.

The term consumption as employed here covers expenditures for food, clothing, rent, doctor bills, police and fire services, and so on, as contrasted with expenditures on durable consumer goods such as automobiles and vacuum cleaners or on capital expenditures such as factory construction and highways.

If a family reduces its savings, expenditures must go up, assuming no change in income or price. A parallel situation is involved in considering the national income. Assuming a fixed level of national income, if savings are low, consumption must be high and vice versa. The proportion of total activity devoted to consumption largely depends upon the aggregate volume of savings, including funds saved in banks, bonds purchased, debts liquidated, and insurance premiums paid. At a given level of national income, consumption would be increased if savings were reduced. The key to the problem of increasing consumption, then, is to influence and control the national savings rate.

Many economists urge government work projects for the purpose of assuring the reinvestment of all savings and thus maintaining employment. But instead of straining to devise such projects it would be eminently more sensible to take steps to reduce savings and thus stimulate consumption, so that full employment could be maintained without artificially propping up the volume of capital activity.

Assuming that \$180,000,000,000 of goods and services represents the workable capacity of the nation's economy at the 1943 price level, the postwar objective will be to continue to operate at this level in producing peacetime goods while restricting the proportion of the total output represented by durable and capital goods to an amount which can be sustained. If, for discussion, the amount allocated to durable and investment goods is taken at \$25,000,000,000, there will remain a capacity of \$155,000,000,000 for consumption goods and services. If steps were taken to smooth out the flow of durable and capital goods activity to \$25,000,000,000 a year, it would be necessary concurrently to adopt measures assuring a net volume of savings of the same magnitude. Can this be done?

Establishing New Habits

INDIVIDUAL SAVINGS HABITS ARE RELATIVELY inflexible. They are a compound of customs, hopes and fears that are not susceptible to regulation by edict. However, there is a close relation between the proportion of income saved and the size of income. Families with incomes below \$5,000 a year save little or nothing, whereas families with more than \$5,000 a year save a higher proportion of their incomes and contribute

a major segment of the total quantity of individual savings. A study of incomes and savings for 1935 and 1936 published by the National Resources Planning Board shows that families with incomes over \$5,000 a year, comprising only 2 percent of the total number of families, had savings which represented 77 percent of the total amount saved by all families.

Because of the high proportion of savings in the higher income brackets, it follows that \$100 taken in taxes from high income families will include an amount which otherwise would have been saved, whereas \$100 collected from low income families represents money which otherwise would have been almost entirely spent. Shifting \$1,000,000,000 of taxes from low income to high income families would therefore reduce the volume of savings. A reverse shift in tax sources would increase savings.

After the war an unequalled opportunity will be available for deliberately influencing the savings rate with a minimum of pain. In his budget message of January 13, 1944, President Roosevelt estimated receipts from direct taxes on individuals for the year ending June 30, 1944 at \$19,400,000,000. This compares with receipts of \$3,700,000,000 in the fiscal year 1942. Within a year or two after the war, individual tax collections will certainly be cut back by at least \$10,000,000,000.

The volume of savings will be heavily influenced by the way in which these tax reductions are effected. There will be opportunity to regulate savings volume by directing tax reduction to this specific end. If \$1,000,000,000 a year is removed from the tax burden of families receiving less than \$2,000 a year, it is certain that substantially all of these funds will be added to the stream of expenditure on consumption goods and services and that only an insignificant proportion will be saved. On the other hand, if a tax burden of \$1,000,000,000 is lifted from families in income groups above \$5,000 a year, a substantial proportion of the amount not collected as taxes will be saved.

Control Through Taxation

THUS, THE NATIONAL SAVINGS RATE CAN BE controlled by the way in which war tax schedules are reduced. To effect a maximum reduction in savings, tax rates might have to be maintained in the higher brackets, possibly even increased. Federal consumption taxes such as those on gasoline, amusements, tobacco and liquor might be eliminated or substantially curtailed. State and local sales taxes could be replaced with income taxes.

Concentration of taxation in higher income brackets would be unnecessary if spending were to increase so that the aggregate volume of savings was lower. Thus in addition to influencing the volume of savings by means of tax revision, an educational program could be directed to the expansion of consumption. Some voluntary change in saving habits certainly would follow wide public discussion of the prob-

lem of savings. This could be secured by a campaign using the press, radio, and other advertising media comparable to the War Bond drives.

Restriction of corporate savings by tax measures would also help reduce savings volumes. The undistributed profits tax law of 1936, repealed in 1938, was partly designed for this purpose but proved objectionable in practice because it made no provision for capital needs for legitimate expansion or for restoration of impaired working capital. A tax measure could be drawn which would avoid the undesirable features of that law but which would have the effect of inhibiting corporate savings over and above the amounts necessary for legitimate needs.

Several possible methods could be employed to influence basic savings habits over the longer term. Extension and enlargement of social security benefits, including old age and unemployment insurance and a broad health insurance scheme, would reduce incentives for saving by reducing the risks for which individuals normally save. Savings probably would be reduced if death and gift duties were greatly increased, thus discouraging the accumulation of an estate to pass on to one's heirs. Measures such as these, however, would make themselves felt only over a period of years and are not of immediate importance in considering how to balance savings with durable and investment activity.

A Plan of Action

THE FIRST REQUIREMENT FOR ACTION directed to the three goals here outlined is more information on the functioning of our economy. Despite the avalanche of forms pouring in and out of Washington, there are only the most sketchy data available with respect to savings volume and savings habits of the nation. The Bureau of Labor Statistics conducted a sample survey of savings in 1935 and the Securities and Exchange Commission currently publishes quarterly estimates of total savings. These data are rough and incomplete. To be successful, tax revision directed toward a savings rate which would balance durable and investment activity would have to be founded on a comprehensive knowledge of savings patterns and on current information on savings experience.

A fair start has been made in developing the basic "books" of our national economic position, but so far it is only a beginning. A large corporation would have to close its doors if it had as little knowledge of its current position with respect to sales, income, and expenses as the nation does with respect to the income of its citizens, the sources of this income, expenses, and amounts saved. Great strides have been made in the national income figures compiled by the Department of Commerce, but much of this material is based on shaky estimating techniques, and cannot be presented on the current monthly basis essential for policy decisions influencing savings, and durable and investment

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This special number of SURVEY MIDMONTHLY proposes that delinquency is a fundamental and continuing problem which can be solved only by concerted action now, under wartime conditions. It outlines ways of using the various specialized services that are essential to an overall community plan, and it reports experience from cities and rural areas where planning and action are in effect.

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goods activity.

Also, administrative flexibility would be necessary for success in the policies outlined. Congress would have to assign the required powers to an administrative agency—action for which there is ample precedent. The Federal Reserve Board has been given broad powers for influencing the banking and financial mechanism of the country. The Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Power Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Authority, and the Maritime Commission all exercise administrative powers influencing the operations of the industries concerned.

If taxation is to be used as an effective tool for keeping the savings rate in balance with consumer durable and investment activity, the agency charged with this responsibility would have to be able to adjust tax rates within certain limits in accordance with its own judgment, much as the Federal Reserve Boards adjust interest rates. To this end, Congress might set maximum rates below which taxes could be shifted at the discretion of the agency.

The basic administrative machinery for regulating instalment sales is in operation today. But substantial enlargement of these powers would be required, and general policy control would have to be delegated to the new agency created to maintain economic stabilization. Similarly, the new agency should be responsible for influencing capital activity, although administrative con-

trol might be assigned, where possible, to existing agencies such as the Federal Power Commission, Interstate Commerce Commission, and Maritime Commission.

If positive action is not taken, and if the nation is swept by a "back to normal" movement after the war, the handwriting on the wall is clear—business will move inexorably toward a depression of colossal proportions with all the misery and desperation of large scale unemployment. If this happens again, does anyone believe that private enterprise can survive?

Race Against Time in Shanghai

(Continued from page 171)

we would not consider resignation a sign of disloyalty. The next day every member of the staff but one reported for work.

At the end of each month the staff committee met with Mr. Siegel and me. These were staff conferences under difficulties, with the committee crowded into our cramped little office in the old barracks. The stove always smoked. The air always was foul with odors from unsanitary and inadequate plumbing. The rain—and it rains practically every day in the Shanghai winter—dripped through the cracked ceiling. We usually managed to serve afternoon coffee with sandwiches or cookies, because otherwise the staff committee members were too hungry to think.

Finally we found we had to close the two hospitals because of lack of funds, and we arranged with the Shanghai General Hospital to take the chronic cases. This was the chief reason why, by June 1942, the staff had been reduced from 500 to 100 persons. With a reduced personnel, we were able to work out a salary scale with the staff committee which they considered fair. Salaries were still inadequate, but they were realistic in relation to our limited resources. The problem now was how to operate the camps with fewer paid employees.

Democracy Under Axis Rule

RESIDENTS OF THE CAMPS HAD LACKED interest in them, a situation due, we felt, to the completely undemocratic and dictatorial organization. We were eager to develop leadership among the refugees themselves in preparation for the day when our respite would be ended and they would have to handle their own affairs.

A meeting of the residents in each of the five camps was called and the situation explained to them. We pointed out that the camps in fact belonged to the residents, and that the maintenance, sanitation and administration of these camps should be their responsibility. We asked that they elect their own committee to work with the one staff member we intended to keep in each camp, a camp director who was himself a refugee. In several camps the directors were not suitable persons for the post; but we suggested that the camp committees try first to work with them. Later we promised, they would be permitted to choose new directors if that proved necessary.

It was amazing to watch those semi-starved people suddenly rouse from their lethargy. For weeks the camps buzzed with election activities. Much of the leadership came from the lawyers, who knew how to talk persuasively. Some of the engineers and former merchants were active. A trained nurse who had been an enthusiastic Social Democrat in Germany was particularly successful in organizing and leading his fellows. There were speeches, meetings, and "electioneering." In one camp election activities became so violent that the police actually had to be called in to settle a quarrel. Camp committees were elected and reelected. The people were at first very clumsy in using the techniques of democratic organization, which do not come naturally to those of German background, but they learned, and learned fast.

We met with the representatives of each camp as frequently as our time permitted. Nothing seemed to us more important than to help these refugees develop into a self-conscious group who could direct their own fate. Often it would have been easier for us to issue orders than to try to work out compromises with the various committees: but to us that easiest way was closed by our whole tradition and experience as Americans. And it was like watching a miracle to see the people's response. In the

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most serious crisis which they had faced in all their long and often perilous immigration, they learned to handle their own problems with intelligence and realism.

They developed all sorts of projects within the camps to keep themselves busy and to improve their living conditions. Gardens flourished in 1942. The cracked wheat sacks were washed and made into shorts and aprons. Laundry and mending services were organized. Benefit performances and entertainments became a matter of competition among the camps. One of the camps even built an outdoor dancing pavilion which was rented out to neighborhood groups, mostly White Russians and Chinese, to raise money for shoes.

And so even under Axis rule, these refugees learned to live in a democratic way, a lesson which we hope will stand them in good stead for their future.

Internment

THE SHANGHAI COMMITTEE HAD GAINED experience in over-all responsibility for the refugee program, the refugees themselves had developed resourcefulness and initiative in handling the day-to-day problems of the camps, when Mr. Siegel and I were interned early in February, 1943. We never quite understood that year of freedom. It must be borne in mind, however, that Shanghai itself—its government, utilities, transportation, industry, and so on—all were run by Americans and Britons at the time war with Japan was declared. To change all this overnight, putting in Japanese executives who were wholly unfamiliar with the situation, almost inevitably would have meant complete disorganization. During 1942, the Americans and Britons were allowed to remain in their accustomed jobs, at their usual salaries, but under Japanese supervisors. Life in Shanghai went on, and the Japanese learned the ropes, so to speak, without lost motion.

But of course the 1942 situation, with more than 10,000 enemy nationals (2,000 Americans, 8,000 British, some Dutch and others) at large in the Japanese controlled city, could hardly be expected to go on indefinitely. We all expected internment, or "segregation," as the Japanese prefer to term it. I think none of us was surprised when the order came.

We had about a week's notice, giving us time to buy some furniture, bedding, and food. Mr. Siegel went first, to the all-men's camp. He is still there. About three weeks later I was one in the first group of women summoned for segregation. There were about 1,000 other American and British nationals—men, women, and children—in my "camp" which consisted of two old unused university buildings.

We were as motley a group as the refugees—bankers and bakers, sea captains and business men, journalists, stenographers, missionaries, housewives, dancers, even prostitutes. We included old Shanghai Hands, men who had lived in the Orient for forty-odd years and who had enjoyed their status as "the white man in the East. To the Japanese we were just "enemy



nationals" and were housed and fed alike.

I have always held that given a certain set of circumstances, human beings will react alike. Sometimes the overt expressions differ, with differences in background; but the reaction is the same.

In my years among refugees, I have worked with persons from every walk of life. Hitler did not limit his victims to any one social, economic, cultural, or occupational group. Each anti-Nazi I knew as an exile behaved according to his individual reactions to insecurity, hunger, cold, and the pressures of being hunted and rejected.

I have encountered lying and stealing among refugees. I have seen many instances of selfishness and cruelty, lack of discipline, aggressiveness. At the same time I have seen kindness and unselfishness, fine leadership, self-control, generosity, integrity. I was to see the same human variation in my internment.

Overcrowding, lack of tasty and nourishing food, lack of freedom and privacy, uncongenial work and, above everything else, uncertainty, made my confreres react to this situation exactly as I have seen refugees behave.

When a well-to-do American, who had always been socially secure, had to stand in line for fifteen minutes to get his little bowl of stew he was frankly greedy, very eager to make sure his neighbor did not get more than he. He was hungry and food was limited. He behaved exactly as had a German refugee of similar background in one of the camps.

When a British school teacher had to put on rubber boots and clean the latrines he was grumpy and ungracious. Certainly this chore was not in accordance with his tastes or his usual occupation. He was very rude to his roommates that day. Similarly, an Austrian teacher, when it was his turn for latrine duty in the refugee camp.

At the same time there were the many others in our camp, Americans and Britons, who worked early and late to make life a little easier and more comfortable for us all: there were men and women who were able to "take it" with poise and good humor: there were men and women with power drives which upset the whole community.

Exactly the same thing is true of the refugee groups I have known in New York and Cuba and Shanghai. Yet after all, the internees had one great source of strength and encouragement denied the refugees. As the owners of American or British passports, knowing that they had the protection of the government of the United States or of Great Britain, they were neither alone nor defenseless. They had never in their lives known the insecurity of the stateless, or found themselves "social outcasts" simply because of religious or political conviction.

As I look back upon the 21,000 refugees who still sit in Shanghai, and remember what they have suffered and the way they still struggle for life and opportunity, I can only express my deep respect and humility before their strength and courage.

For the Shanghai refugees, as for all the oppressed people in the world, there is only one hope—the victory of the United Nations.

London's Opportunity

(Continued from page 182)

Leisure means the opportunity for wholesome recreation. This the London planners have recognized. Parks and open spaces are to be provided for all, a minimum of 4 acres per 1,000 persons in the heart of the city. This is more than double what was provided hitherto. There were many authorities who favored 7 acres per 1,000; and for the Green Belt at the outer edge of the metropolis the minimum is put at from 7 to 10.

The principles of postwar planning embodied in the London Plan in truth take on a greater significance the closer one gets down to the concrete proposals. Take those for elbow room as vital to health under modern conditions of life and labor. Nine main types of open spaces are listed, ranging from "amenity parks and parkways" to small play centers near where children live. To assure urban dwellers easier and wider access to the land, a new road system would connect the various park units—along with "green strips" between

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communities and "wedges," as they are called, that have not been built up. This would call for taking over into the public domain a considerable number of private open spaces.

Amenities

AT ONE END OF THE SCALE, GENERAL AND school playing fields would be given more breathing space and the "squares," which add so much to the attractiveness of the city, multiplied. At the other end of the scale there is great popular interest in the recommendation that the site of the old Crystal Palace (destroyed by fire some years ago) should become a great new public park.

The most striking opportunities for recapturing open space lie along the river. The Embankment is known the world over but actually London has done less with the Thames than Paris with its Seine, or Budapest with its Danube—or such harbor cities as Stockholm, Hamburg or Leningrad with their water fronts. London is not in a class with bay cities like San Francisco and Boston, with Chicago and its lake front development, or Atlantic City, if you please, and its beach and boardwalk.

At present there is in fact no really public access to the Thames and less than two and one-half miles of private open space along it. Roughly 29 miles is engrossed by industry, wharves, warehouses and railways. Under the new Plan, every riverside community would have access to the stream, and 12 miles of frontage (or something less than a third of the total) would be made available for amenities.

No project connected with London's future more genuinely reflects the genius of the planners than their constructive treatment of housing. It has been estimated that Britain will have to build not less than four million homes in the ten year period after the war. Along with provisions for housing as a public utility, goes encouragement to private enterprise; along with the eliminating of blighted areas go comprehensive schemes for rehousing on large urban and central sites.

The limitation of density in residential areas will be a conditioning factor throughout. A series of projects have been worked out providing not only for individual homes but for homes with small private gardens, in the less congested areas. In other sections dwellings can be three to five stories high but communal grounds or allotments must be provided. In all plans, the objective is to eliminate those conditions which tend either to create or to perpetuate slums.

Neither old cities nor port cities—and London is both—have been happily cast to meet the pressures of modern traffic by land. Dick Whittington, John Gilpin and their contemporaries would certainly turn and rub their eyes at the system of roads forecast for the London of Tomorrow. The problem has been the subject of a series of studies since a Highway Development Survey of 1937, prepared by Sir Charles Bressey and the late Sir Edwin Lutyens. Street casualties, since the rise of motor cars,

had reached the so-called "battle level" long before the outbreak of World War II. Time lost and wasted in congested thoroughfares came to staggering totals. One estimate indicated that the cost of delays in Central London, within a three-mile radius of Charing Cross, was close to eleven million pounds a year.

"In the past each time we have planned new highways for London," said Sir Henry Mabrey of the Ministry of Transport, "we have come up to a tradition and stopped. The bombing has destroyed many of these traditions overnight and we can plan anew." More, the designers of the new London recognize that the time has arrived not only to plan ahead, but to start building for such objectives as these: Improvement of traffic circulation, segregation of fast long-distance traffic from purely local movement; reduction of accidents; protection of communities from through traffic and provision of alternative routes between them.

The New Roads

THE NEW PLAN CONTEMPLATES THE construction of three ring roads: A—An inner ring with connecting intersections; B—Ranging from 110 feet to 300 feet in width, the main fast road for facilitating the circulation of dock traffic around Central London, connecting markets, marshaling yards and industrial centers; C—Completing the North and South circular roads.

In addition there would be nine arterial radial roads and main North-South East-West roads, with tunnels carrying the traffic beneath street level in the center of the city. Flyovers, or overpasses, are to be constructed at some intersections; roundabouts, or traffic circles, at others. With these, and a series of bridges and tunnels, the whole traffic problem would be greatly aided.

Meanwhile a new plan for parking facilities would remove cars from the streets. Construction of multi-story garages and the use of underground parking are contemplated. Altogether the proposals are so inclusive and stimulating they are bound to arrest the attention of engineers as well as city planners.

The plan includes a thorough relocation of the railways in and through London. It envisages the elimination of unnecessary stations, electrification, removal of viaducts, the development of receiving and distributing centers and possibilities for an air freight service. An analysis of Central London has disclosed that nearly half of the public open space is now in the hands of the railroads. The effort to reduce the number of terminals, the reconstruction of others, with ring roads to link them all, and different levels for electrification, are parts of the program. Another indication of the inclusiveness of the plan, is its provision for main and street markets, so located and connected with rail and highways that transport to and from them will be minimized.

Finally, air blitzed London looks ahead to aerodromes for peace—including the use of the tops of railway stations and terminals

as possible sites. Indeed, hopes are held out for making London the center of the greatest *air and sea port* in the world.

Industrial London

AN INDUSTRIAL SURVEY NOT ONLY GIVES balance to the new Plan, but discloses that London is the largest center of production in all Britain. Surprisingly enough, heavy engineering, with approximately 230,000 employes, leads off the industries in the county, followed in order by clothing and food (including tobacco and drink). A study of trends has been worked out as prelude to allocating sections and zones for both heavy and light industry. Decentralization had set in long before the war; wartime dispersal has supplied leads for peacetime practice; and these will be facilitated as road transport develops.

Meantime many small industries will remain in the metropolis and for these the planners recommend that good sites should be provided. "Otherwise haphazard factory development may continue to the further detriment of the amenity and convenience of London's inhabitants. Unless fairly clear-cut proposals have been formulated by the end of the war a chaotic state will result."

An analysis of one section of the East End is offered as an exhibit—covering the general nature of the area, the extent of bombing damage, what is involved in reconstruction. What has thus been done for a single area should be done widely. East End and West End and Northwest areas, all have to be redesigned and replanned.

Studies have been made also of both density and height zoning, not only in residential areas, but in industrial sections, as this bears on the problem of land use. Similarly provision of a better system of hospitals and schools enters into the canvass. And as a base line, adequate schools at the elementary level so situated that no child will be deprived of easy access.

Unquestionably the cost of the County of London Plan will be great. But the authors drive home that the sum for such a far flung permanent improvement would be commensurate with the cost of the war for a few weeks. At present that cost to Britain is estimated at £14,500,000 a day or £609,000,000 for six weeks. "Against the cost of the plan," they insist, "must be set the great but imponderable saving resulting from coordination and foresight." To quote the late Dwight W. Morrow, "the real cost in building up a community is the cost of non-planning."

"THE REALIZATION OF SOME OF OUR dreams has been made easier," wrote Lord Latham, leader of the London County Council, in the foreword to the report, "by the bitter destruction of many acres of buildings. . . . Most of us cannot expect to see more than the beginnings of these plans, but if we do not make these beginnings . . . we shall have missed one of the great moments of history, and we shall have shown ourselves unworthy of our victory. Therefore, let us begin NOW."

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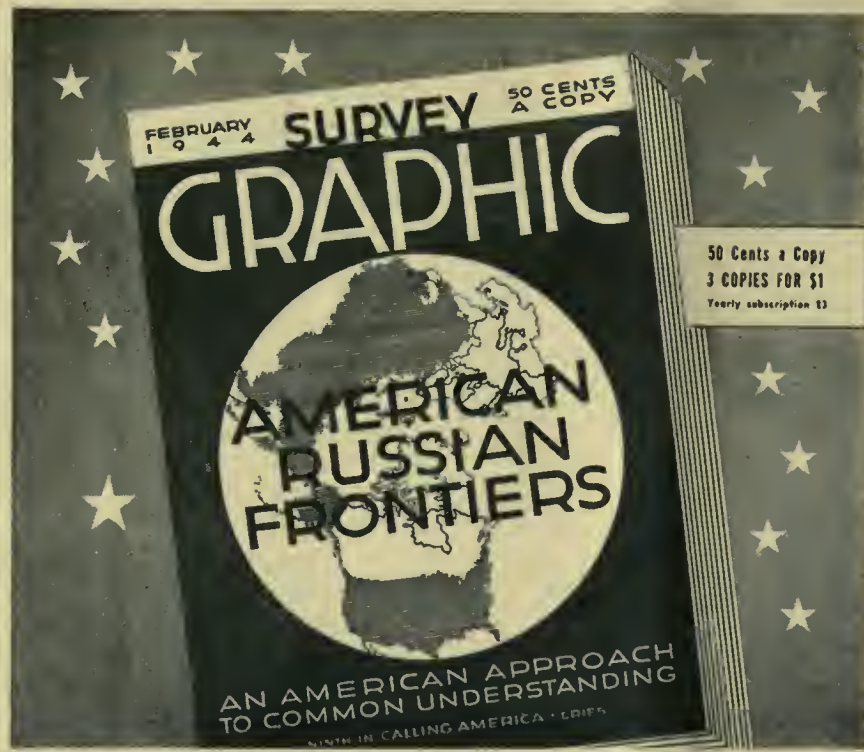
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MEET THE RUSSIANS

A great new fact of the world today is Soviet Russia. We shall have to live next door to Russia and reckon with her for a long while to come. The more we know about her the better for us and for all concerned.

One timely answer to our need for knowledge is the "American-Russian Frontiers" number of *The Survey Graphic*. Here we meet the people of the Soviet Union as they are known to a score of thoughtful Americans who have seen them close up. We are reminded again that the Russians resemble us in many respects. Like us, they are a mixture of races. Like us, they are hardy, hopeful, enthusiastic, self-reliant and hospitable. They are adaptable, self-sacrificing, home-loving. And they are a pioneering people, as we are.

We had our wild West. They have their wild North. In their present national peril their Middle East has saved them, as our Middle West once saved our Union. They possess almost limitless natural resources, as we do. In developing these they are now at about the stage at which we were in 1860.

They have emerged from the age of wood into the age of steel fairly overnight. In industrialization and in spread of popular education they have almost caught up with us in two decades. To accomplish that and at the same time to defend their nation from the savage assault of Germany they have sacrificed every conceivable comfort of life. "To make iron," they say, "we went on iron rations." Millions of them burned their villages before the invader, trekked east in one of the strangest migrations in history, built at least three great Pittsburgh-like districts beyond the Urals, and began life over. The world has barely begun to hear of the hardships they are enduring for the sake of freedom.

Most phases of Russia today are discussed in the account which the *Survey Associates* present to Americans who want knowledge about this great "new" neighbor of ours. She is a nearer neighbor than we may think. The airplane distance across the Pole is short. And in Bering Strait are two islands, one ours, one hers, less than four miles apart.

WHILE THEY LAST—

WITHIN 24 hours after the publication of *American Russian Frontiers* the German short wave radio carried a distorted flash concerning Vice President Wallace's article.

Scores of complimentary letters have reached us already, one of them from Helen Rogers Reid, publisher of the *New York Herald Tribune* who calls it a "beautiful edition" and a "fine publication".

Four early press comments appear here.

We should like nothing better than to have our readers place copies of this special number where they count. Give them to skeptics, teachers, clergymen, librarians, members of discussion groups, service men and women stationed in this country, the young men and women of our land. Distribute a bundle of copies—or as many as you please—and thus extend the educational reach of this *Survey Graphic* special.

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Eleanor Roosevelt in My Day

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"Since after the war there is to be great development in Siberia, we had better study that strange land which has seemed to most of us a frozen and unproductive area. It apparently has many resources which must be developed in the future."

Harry Hansen—Book Critic—New York World-Telegram

"Getting our bearings on Russia is an American necessity now, none of us can afford to overlook the fullest information about Russia and an honest discussion of the issues of the war and peace. This week's special number of *Survey Graphic* is called *American Russian Frontiers* and answers a multitude of questions. It is a friendly interpretation concerned only with a better understanding—not with present arguments or prettifying situations. . . . all the things we ought to know about Russia are discussed here by writers well known for honest, searching work. It looks like a magazine; actually it is a book in paper binding."

Ralph Hendershot—Financial Editor—New York World-Telegram

"*Survey Graphic* is out today with a special number in which 25 men and women . . . offer an 'American approach to understanding' between the United States and Russia. This approach takes as its springboard the fact that Russia's frontiers today are very much like our frontiers of a century ago. . . . While it is true that the likeness is striking in land and timber and mines and other great natural resources, the people and their aims are miles apart. . . . It is likely to take more than toasts with vodka or pratty stories of a common background to convince us that we can afford to be palzy-walzy."

GRAPHIC



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Cartoon by John W. Morley

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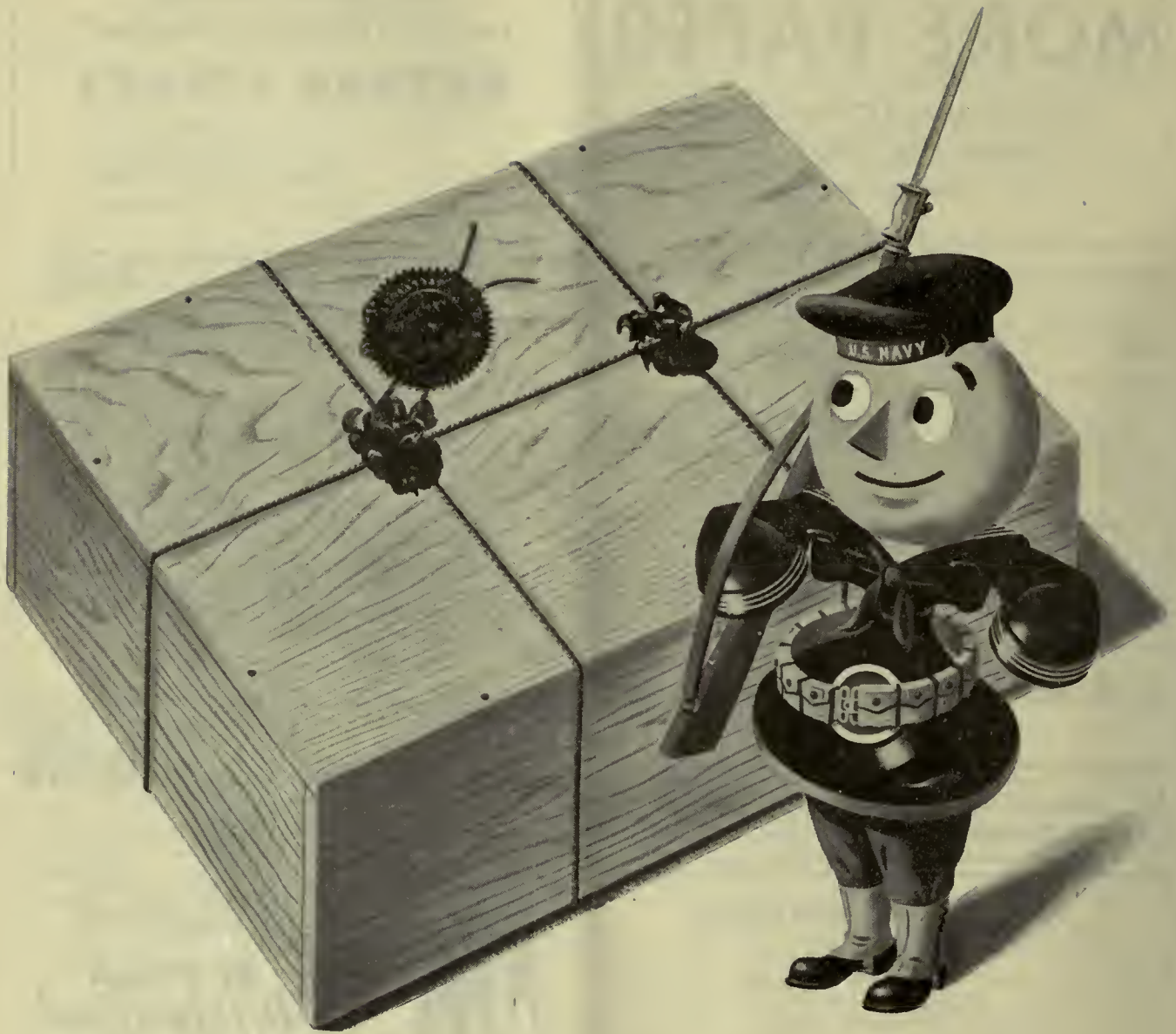
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THREE YEARS AGO—AND THIRTY DAYS AFTER THE National Nutrition Conference for Defense was held in Washington—we brought out a semi-special number of *Survey Graphic*: FOOD FOR A STRONGER AMERICA. This telescoped addresses by Dr. Russell Wilder, M. L. Wilson, Vice-President Wallace, Surgeon General Thomas Parran, M.D., Major General Lewis B. Hershey, Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Assistant Secretary Adolf A. Berle, Jr. (State) and Secretaries Frances Perkins (Labor) and Claude R. Wickard (Agriculture). The conference broke ground in a field of mounting importance in war and reconstruction. Copies and reprints of the issue proved strokes for public awareness.

This month—a month after the Conference on Postwar Housing at Chicago—we are repeating the formula in bringing out another semi-special—CALL OF OUR CITIES—a sheaf of articles telescoped from prescient addresses in the field of urban redevelopment.

Britain Looks Ahead

ONCE AGAIN BRITAIN IS PIONEERING WITH A far-flung plan for postwar housing. Between World Wars I and II, some 5,000,000 new approved homes were built—half of them by public authorities. Now Prime Minister Churchill devotes to housing a good portion of his recent report to the British people.

Pointing out that about 1,000,000 homes have been destroyed or badly damaged by enemy action he said: "This offers a magnificent opportunity for rebuilding and replanning and while we are at it, we had better make a clean sweep of all those areas of which our civilization should be ashamed."

There are three ways, said Mr. Churchill, in which the situation should be attacked:

"The first attack must evidently be made upon houses which are damaged, but which can be reconditioned into proper dwellings. This must go forward during the war. . . .

"The second attack on the housing problem will be made by what are called the prefabricated or emergency houses. . . . All these emergency houses will be publicly owned [and will serve] their purpose of tiding over the return of the fighting men. . . .

"[Finally] we have the program of permanent rebuilding . . . by which we shall have two or three hundred thousand permanent houses built or building by the end of the first two years after the defeat of Germany. For these, 200,000 sites are already owned by the local authorities."

Late and Lamented

THIS ISSUE OF *Survey Graphic* IS LATE IN reaching you. The delay goes back to the triple size special number of *Survey Graphic* in February on "Russian American Frontiers" and the *Survey Midmonthly* special in March on "Juvenile Delinquency." Beyond our control are the wartime pressures on printing and mailing. However, we hope to have both magazines back on their regular schedules shortly; and in the meantime, must lean heavily on your indulgence.

CALL OF OUR CITIES

Semi-special number of *Survey Graphic* on Urban Redevelopment and Postwar Housing
LOULA D. LASKER, Special Editor

Cover: Cartoon by Morley for the National Committee on Housing, Inc.

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AMERICAN RUSSIAN FRONTIERS

"Remarkable contribution . . . factual, exciting."—*Christian Register*.

"An American approach to common understanding," this special number of *Survey Graphic* for February carries articles by Vice-President Wallace, Donald M. Nelson (chm. WPB), Rhys Williams, Richard B. Scandrett, Jr., Edgar Snow, Walter Duranty, and a score of others. The edition is selling out. Write at once if you wish further copies:

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JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

"A comprehensive study."—*New York Times*.

"A challenge to concerted action now and after the war," this special number of *Survey Midmonthly* for March reports practical experience in cities and rural areas, and outlines methods of attack.

The contributors include Katharine F. Lenroot, Austin H. MacCormick, Bradley Buell, Eliot Ness, Kathryn Close, Genevieve Gabower, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck.

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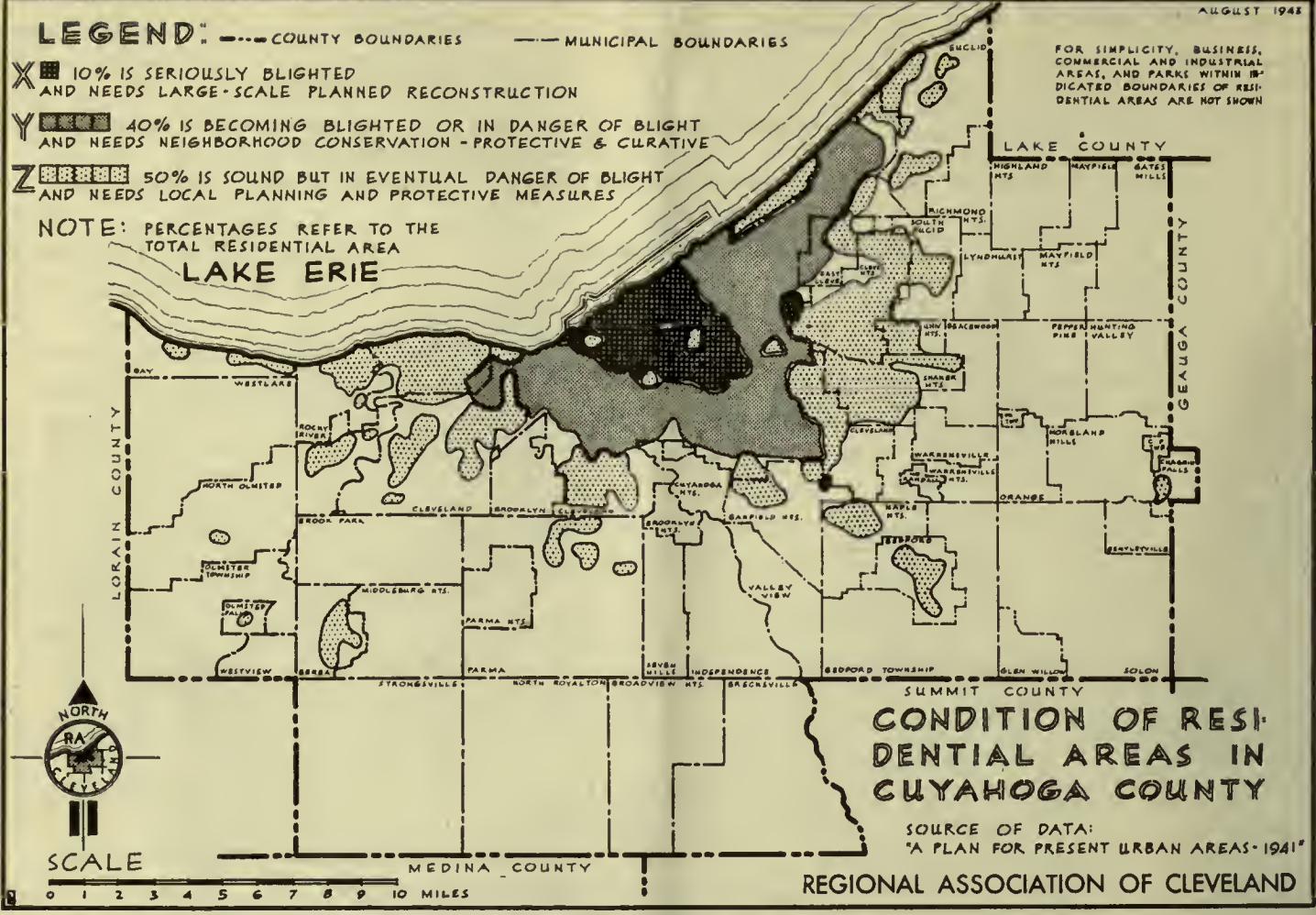
LEGEND: - - - COUNTY BOUNDARIES — MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

- X** 10% IS SERIOUSLY BLIGHTED AND NEEDS LARGE-SCALE PLANNED RECONSTRUCTION
- Y** 40% IS BECOMING BLIGHTED OR IN DANGER OF BLIGHT AND NEEDS NEIGHBORHOOD CONSERVATION - PROTECTIVE & CURATIVE
- Z** 50% IS SOUND BUT IN EVENTUAL DANGER OF BLIGHT AND NEEDS LOCAL PLANNING AND PROTECTIVE MEASURES

NOTE: PERCENTAGES REFER TO THE TOTAL RESIDENTIAL AREA

LAKE ERIE

FOR SIMPLICITY, BUSINESS, COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL AREAS, AND PARKS WITHIN INDICATED BOUNDARIES OF RESIDENTIAL AREAS ARE NOT SHOWN



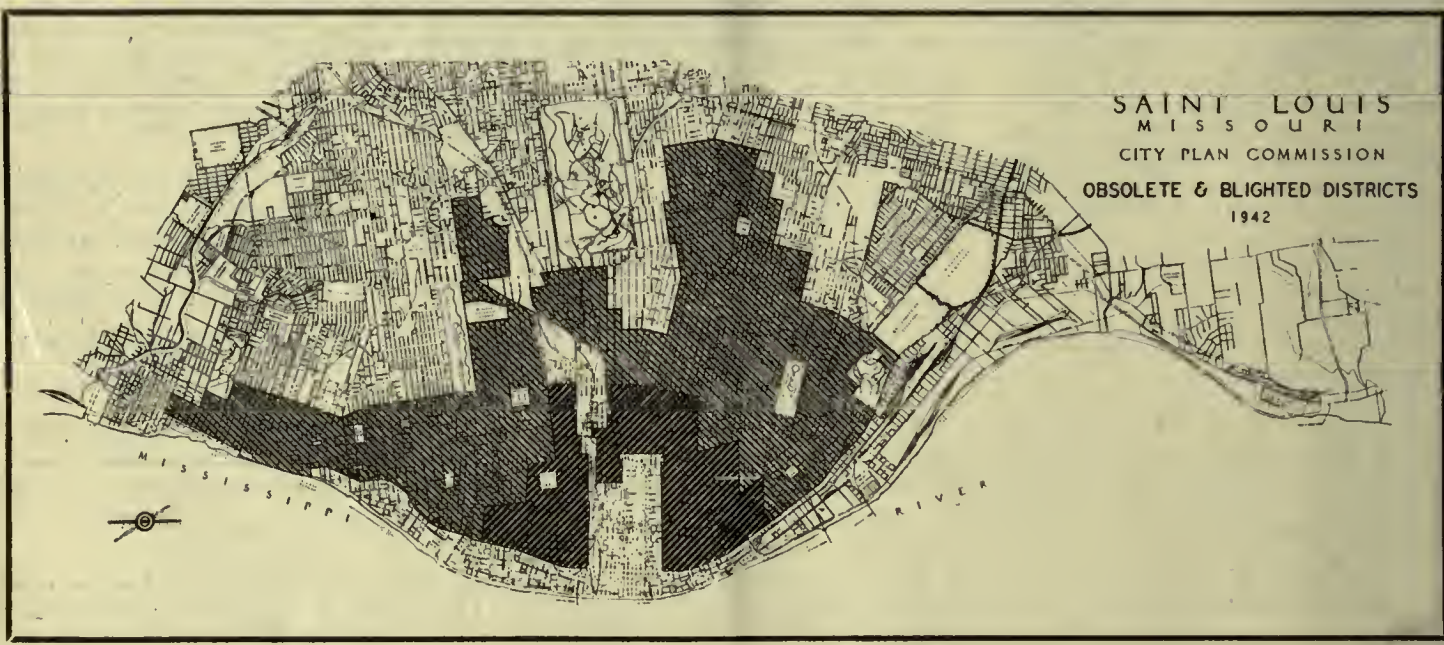
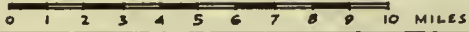
CONDITION OF RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN CUYAHOGA COUNTY

SOURCE OF DATA: "A PLAN FOR PRESENT URBAN AREAS-1941"

REGIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CLEVELAND



SCALE



SAINT LOUIS MISSOURI CITY PLAN COMMISSION OBSOLETE & BLIGHTED DISTRICTS 1942

Two Cities Diagnose Their Ills

Like a number of other large cities, Cleveland and St. Louis have been examining their ailments for a number of years. Thus they have a prescription ready for the postwar period which, if not officially adopted, is at least a guide. The illness follows the same pattern; so does the treatment recommended. Black areas in each map represent obsolete residential districts—slums.

Recommended for these conditions: a major operation — clearance and complete rebuilding in large units, and creation of an environment which will attract more families back into the city. The gray areas are blighted districts, where buildings are rapidly going to seed. These need a number of corrective operations—such as removal of obsolete structures; repair of other buildings; recreational facilities; adoption and enforcement of minimum housing standards; better zoning regulations.

GRAPHIC

MAGAZINE OF
INTERPRETATION



PUBLISHED BY
SURVEY ASSOCIATES

The Call of Our Cities

Blockbusters have not devastated them. Nor have bombs gutted their homes and factories. But we shall need every ounce of initiative and team play to win them back as sites for

The American Way of Life

LOULA D. LASKER

TODAY, UPWARDS OF THREE MILLION NEWCOMERS, crowding our centers of war production, are living in a million new or converted dwellings. Over 300,000 additional "war housing" units are under construction. Two of the chief implements in putting over this vast program have been public finance and private initiative. Thus, of the 830,000 family dwellings, over half have been built and financed by private enterprise largely under federal guarantees. Over a billion dollars has been appropriated for public wartime housing—and that has been put up by private contractors.

So far as public housing is concerned, "ghost" towns should not be an unmanageable postwar problem after World War II. Much of this has been of a demountable or temporary nature and must, under the law, be dismantled within a certain period—except where the locality and the housing administrator (with Congress approving) agree that it should remain.

The Basic Need

THE URGENT, LONG RUN HOUSING PROBLEM in the United States is not, then, these ghost towns—but hundreds of American cities blighted by dry rot at their core. The exodus of families from urban centers out to their rims is nothing new. But with public and private construction stalled for the duration, wear and tear and other forces of disintegration have had their way.

Even before the war, millions of families were living in slums, unable to find or pay for good housing. With cheap land in the outskirts beckoning to postwar developers, the disease of blight will spread while

swollen land values hold the central areas in a vise. Without outside reinforcement, municipalities can no longer play their part as spearheads in our democratic life.

This is what makes the redevelopment of substandard urban areas our Number One Civic Problem in the postwar years. Elbowing it for first place is the need for new team play between public and private housing. This has been achieved in the war era to no small degree—but only after a bitter struggle. The collaboration must carry on and grow, for the American postwar demand for housing will reach new heights. Estimates vary from a million to a million and a half new units needed—annually—for a decade or more.

Both the exigencies and opportunities tugging at the situation gave significance to the Conference on Postwar Housing last month in Chicago sponsored by the National Committee on Housing. Three years ago this committee rendered a kindred pub-

—By the housing editor of Survey Associates who leads off a sheaf of articles which reveal clash and concert, widespread need and stirring opportunity.

These are telescoped from outstanding addresses at the opportune Conference on Postwar Housing held in March in Chicago under the auspices of the National Committee on Housing. One of its directors, Miss Lasker is, also, vice-president of the Citizens Housing Council of New York; chairman of its Housing Week; and a board member of three housing corporations.

lic service in broaching defense—and war housing. The recent conference drew together an even wider span of people interested and expert. There were more than six hundred of them—bankers, builders, realtors, labor leaders, engineers, housing experts, and planners of every ilk. Their interests personified the cast of characters in postwar housing: the millions who will need it in every walk of life, and especially the lowest income families who are most disadvantaged; the cities which need rebuilding on a large scale. The construction industry—manufacturers, builders, skilled trades must gird themselves for the task.

How cities and households, builders and building trades, fare after the war concerns more than themselves. Such a program of enterprise and employment, of public and private investment, may give a massive shove in getting our peace economy into its stride. Mrs. Samuel I. Rosenman of New York has been chairman of the National Committee on Housing since its inception; and in "facing the future" in her opening remarks, she put the issue thus:

"This nation lightly tossed the idea of a two car garage for every family into fairy tale libraries, but it clings hopefully to the idea that every family shall have a sound and comfortable home."

Urban Redevelopment

THE PROSECUTION OF THAT GOAL AND THE redevelopment of vast blighted areas, may become prime movers not only in rehabilitating our cities but in underpinning full employment and prosperity on a national scale.

Such a program, of course, embraces

more than low cost housing. It comprehends housing for all manner of people, for mercantile and manufacturing establishments, for zoning, street plans, open spaces—throwing wide the cramp and clutter of outworn districts to new life and growth.

A *master plan* is hailed as the prerequisite of this new stage of urban adventure. The blueprint for a particular city is a matter for technicians and those familiar with local conditions; but certain general principles have been formulated. Spotty rebuilding will only create new slums.

Redevelopment areas must be sufficiently large to produce a distinct "neighborhood," fitting into the master plan and serviced with what the British call "amenities." *Redevelopment corporations* are put forward to implement them—to clear the land, re-plan it, provide utilities and rebuild. But a formula must be devised to get the site at a price consistent with its new use, for land in slums and blighted areas is generally expensive.

An American Formula

UNFORTUNATELY, IN THE UNITED STATES there are constitutional obstacles to forcing an owner to accept the "use value" for property he owns—as is done in England. What then? Help the private redevelopment corporation with public aid? The cry will be raised: "That smells of bailing out speculators in slum land." It is not as simple as that. Old owners may have paid taxes on high assessments for years. Those who have given the subject most study have been forced to conclude that on one basis or another—fending against abuses but driving toward the common objective—city, state, and nation must cooperate with private capital in land assembly as the first step in urban revival.

Unless the restricted sources of municipal taxation are increased, the possibilities of any sizable financial contribution from the cities themselves are small, as Simeon Leland of the department of economics, University of Chicago, told the conference. Help from the state? In the judgment of Ira S. Robbins, acting commissioner of housing of the state of New York, the states' responsibility for urban redevelopment is primarily in education, planning, and in furnishing the necessary legal tools to municipalities. (Page 207.)

The only remaining reservoir of funds is federal. Don't exclaim, "Is Uncle Sam to be Santa Claus again?" Remember how, in the last analysis, our national budget depends to no small degree on sustained prosperity in our cities. What appears necessary, then, is to devise a method of federal aid least costly and netting the greatest benefits to the country at large. Read Alvin Hansen's keen analysis of four plans currently under discussion (page 204). Read the exuberant espousal of "Incentive Taxation"—the proposal of the National Association of Real Estate Boards—as vigorously put forward by its vice-president,

Herbert Nelson (page 210), and as drastically—and to my mind justifiably—criticized by Hugh Pomeroy (page 211), director of the National Association of Housing Officials.

Enabling legislation has already been passed in nine states to make possible large scale local redevelopment. Note, however, that after three years, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's proposed Stuyvesant Town in New York is the only project that has taken shape. Contested on grounds of racial policy and civic equities, court decisions have thus far upheld it.

Boostraps of Prosperity

DOROTHY ROSENMAN

Chairman, National Committee on Housing

Housing is an accurate barometer of the times. In prosperous days hammers, saws, and assembly jigs supply a waiting market. In dull days they lie idle.

In days of peace we look for housing to be a mighty force to keep this nation pulled up by the bootstraps of prosperity. That task is no light assignment.

At the war's end, we will again be faced by cities ill equipped to shelter a large percentage of their population and to provide the rudiments for successful living. Yet there is plenty of space within our cities if the older parts are rebuilt to fit present requirements.

It is essential that we now appraise the methods of finance, the possibilities of new materials and of new ways of production, so that the glad news of peace will find us prepared to produce the kind of homes that our families will desire, in the locality they wish to live, for the price they can afford to pay.

There are encouraging straws in the wind. Some cities (not enough) are at least beginning to prepare master plans—among others, Cleveland, Chicago, Buffalo, Detroit, St. Louis, Portland. *Fortune* magazine is backing an arresting demonstration in Syracuse, and Boston University has launched a prize contest for all round programs for metropolitan Boston.

Low Income Housing

FOR MILLIONS OF AMERICANS, HOWEVER, THE problem of paying for proper housing will be with them regardless of whether cities are modernized or not. A decade ago, the Wagner act was passed, providing federal aid through local housing authorities for those in the lowest income group for whom private enterprise cannot furnish decent housing at a profit.

In ten years under this federal legislation, some 160,000 family units had been completed or started before Pearl Harbor. Bryn Hovde, president of the National Public Housing Conference (page 205) admits fallibilities in public housing, indicates its strength, then shows how, under the eligibility rules for tenants, public housing does not invade the province of private enterprise.

Elizabeth Wood, executive secretary of the Chicago Housing Authority, said: "Most experts are coming to agree that if a

housing program is to achieve its necessary size, *some* money has to be given to someone if decent houses are to be provided for all income groups. At least until all employers give all employees enough money so they can afford to pay the cost of proper housing or until the time when construction costs are radically reduced." Her statement was not contradicted.

Rehabilitation of old structures had advocates, but opponents seemed to be in the majority. Pointing out that this saved time and labor, Philip Knistern, president of the First Mortgage Corporation, Philadelphia, underscored its service as a stop-gap.

Improved methods of financing were suggested as another approach to reduce costs. The mutual mortgage devised by the Federal Housing Administration is, in the opinion of Ernest M. Fisher of the American Bankers Association, the most promising system.

American Yeast

CAN WE LOOK TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW materials, new techniques, and the prefabricated house to lower costs sufficiently? Carl Boester of the Purdue Research Foundation, told of a study recently made by the Producers Council of a typical \$5,000 prewar house. Breaking this down, the component materials at the factory accounted for \$1,150; labor at the site, \$1,450; leaving the \$2,400 to cover costs of freight, warehousing, wholesaling, retailing, taxes, insurance, architect's fee, profits, and so on.

This would indicate that the advances to date can be expected to produce a better but not necessarily a cheaper house. The data emphasized the need for lighter materials, less costly to transport, and for manufacture close to the site.

The pioneers of prefabricated houses gave amazing reports of the numbers built in the last few years and said the industry is all set to go in a big way. Robert L. Davidson, director of the Pierce Foundation, pointed out that "While there is an attempt to do the old job better, the house is essentially the same we have always known." It is in the production of prefabricated parts that the greatest immediate progress was predicted. Large units—bathrooms are always cited—may shortly be available.

Along immediate horizons, Beardsley Ruml, chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank (page 202), proposed a congressional inquiry to revamp the construction industry. Henry J. Kaiser (page 199) pledged his great genius to the postwar era and sounded the most hopeful note. His "It can be done" was a sort of valedictory to the general undertone of "It must be done."

The need for unity was stressed throughout—and generally acknowledged. To quote National Housing Administrator Blandford, there is all the room in the world for many tools and many modes of thought, provided we keep an eye on "serving the whole housing needs of the American people."

Building the Future

HENRY J. KAISER

By a builder of dams and ships and planes — who told realtors, financiers, the construction trades: "It can be done."

THE BUILDING CYCLE IN THE HISTORY OF American enterprise is unusually long—more than twice the length of the swings from prosperity to depression in industrial production and retail trade. Its course has been carefully studied in this country since the Civil War. Its swings are not less than fifteen years in length, and at least one, which hit a peak in 1905, ran for twenty years. To put this another way:

Building activity has increased over periods from seven to ten years, and then decreased for seven to ten years, like the old story of Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dream—the "seven lean years," and the "seven fat years!"

Building activity declined from the all-time high peak which it attained in the early 1920's, and dropped at an accelerated pace through the year 1932. Then the slow process of recovery began, and it was well on its way upward when the war overtook us. In 1941, residential building in all the non-war areas practically ceased; even repair work and improvements slowed down to a virtual standstill. However, in that same period, war housing set an astonishing record, which ranged from 813 contracts in Wyoming, to more than 200,000 contracts in California, for a grand total in all states of 1,750,000.

Peacetime Housing

EXTRAORDINARY CHANGES ARE NOW IN PROCESS. The palatial dwellings which were built in the luxury areas of our cities and their suburbs are now a drug on the market. A few have been turned into public services, such as schools, orphanages, and places of refuge for the aged, the wounded, and the sick. Some have been torn down, so as to obviate the burden of taxation. Still others stand only as monuments to an epoch when the extremes between poverty and wealth were all too obvious.

We have entered the century of social consciousness when the rights of all are recognized—a fact for which we may well give thanks. The progressive spirit of America understands that everyone who is willing to work and to save has the right to be decently and comfortably housed. In the light of this truth, it is time to face frankly the fact that a very large number of residential districts are altogether unworthy of the American standard of living.

Furthermore, statistics prepared for the National Committee on Housing should give us grave concern. They show that the median income of our urban population is well under \$2,000 a year. There were also findings of serious import concerning low income housing in the hearings of the

Temporary National Economic Committee in 1938. There is stark reality in the fact that no new homes were built for families earning less than \$1,000 a year; and adequate housing was constructed for only a fraction of one percent of families earning from \$1,000 to \$1,500 annually.

It is not enough to say that this situation is solely the concern of the government. No matter where the responsibility lies, housing must be provided. It must be carefully planned and properly financed. *It can be done.* The task will be accomplished in some part by individual initiative. But the undertaking is so vast that there must be a joint effort in which the federal government, states, municipalities, banks, labor unions, insurance companies, and industry take an active part.

No Flight of Fancy

MAY I DRAW ON PERSONAL EXPERIENCE? Recently we built a complete city in ninety days, in which 35,000 people are housed. Certain of our organizations are planning confidently for another city on a larger scale, which may be located on a beautiful waterfront near one of our industrial operations. This conception came from the mind and spirit of one of our young executives who is operating four shipyards. He calls it his "dream city." In it there will be room for light and air, those basic essentials to healthy, happy living. The broad streets will be lined with trees and flowers; nor will they be marred by any overhead electric installations. From parks and playgrounds will come the laughter of happy children. On athletic fields men and women who have worked all day, on what are often the monotonous routines of technological production, will find recreation in the games which all Americans love to play. In schools designed to stimulate and encourage learning, there will be the advantages that modern education knows how to present. Churches, planned for the dignity and beauty which all worship implies, will provide for that religious freedom which is a tenet of our political faith. Health centers not only will make available preventive and curative medical service, but will offer the facilities and the counsel for prenatal care, childbirth, and the rearing of children. Every home will stand on a plot large enough to encourage gardens.

Within the framework of thoughtful planning, there will be room for individual tastes and choices as to construction, form, line, and color. In the winding boulevards, the circles, and the plazas, there will be that artistry that makes for beauty, and consequently for well-being. And best of all,

this is a realizable ideal. I expect to live to see it, and many others, completed.

Out of the shambles of war in England, Russia, and Europe, there are certain to arise new cities—modern, safe, efficient, and beautiful. Can we afford to be laggards in such a march of progress? Obsolescence, depression, and the advance of technology are joining with new conceptions of social justice and public welfare to render our cities not only old-fashioned, but antiquated.

A great deal of thought is now being given to population trends and their influence upon our social and economic institutions. Unfortunately, the studies present a good deal of contradiction and inconsistency. One research agency states that the population of tomorrow will be older, that the families will have fewer children, and that we may witness a period of static, or even declining birthrate. Such prophecies are sufficiently dubious to merit at least skepticism. If living conditions in America even approximate that which is now potentially possible, our population could show a substantial increase in the next decade.

Things We Know

BUT THERE ARE SOME THINGS OF WHICH WE are certain. The total number of wartime marriages is well above the average marriage rate. Thousands of our fighting men have left their brides at home with their parents. The whole tendency since the depression of the early Thirties has been for families to share their accommodations with their immediate relatives. But when the war is over, there will be a spreading out, with extensive requirements for separate dwellings. The consolidations of households during severe unemployment and wartime is a well known phenomenon.

Another thing we know, to our sorrow, is that a considerable segment of the American people have *never* been decently housed. Their earnings have never been sufficient to provide a dwelling worthy of the American home ideal. If industry has the courage and the resolution to organize, expand, and exploit production so as to raise the income of every willing worker, this housing goal can be accomplished in far less time than we dare to forecast. Many of us are aware that the extent to which we fail to meet this challenge will be a direct invitation to the federal government to take over the job which is fundamentally our own. For we have moved forever into that zone of social responsibility where rights cease to be abstract, and where every responsible citizen can claim his share of that prosperity which is made possible by the very social organization of which we are all a part.

As regards the future, there is an interesting correlation between inadequacy, obsolescence, and the dislocations of war, with the fact that the long term upward swing in building construction was checked at the halfway mark on December 7, 1941. Everything is propitious for a revival of building activity which can well be unparalleled in the history of the United States.

In the interests of being practical, as well as idealistic, it may help to review the essential elements in the upswing of the building cycle: Abundant labor in all degrees of skill; building materials, both traditional and novel; land values which are neither inflated nor depressed; employment at good wage levels; and a general expansion of economic activity. It is a fact that this building cycle is almost irresistible. The upswing is as strong as it is long; nothing but a disaster like war seems to stop it.

Facts in Our Favor

AS TO MEN, SKILL, AND MATERIALS, THERE IS no problem. The old standbys—stone, concrete, steel and wood, lime and plaster—are quite apt to survive all of the innovations. Nevertheless, new adaptations of metals, plastics, and other synthetic substitutes are sure to be employed, and provide improvements which defy imagination. As to the methods of construction, many modern homes will be built with stone, brick, and timber, after the established practices of the building trades. Unquestionably, some houses will be prefabricated and delivered to the building lot ready for assembly; also portable dwellings, easily set up and dismantled, for pioneers and transients seeking new opportunities.

How far these new developments will go, it is not wise to predict. Prefabricated houses might provide as little as 5 per cent of the total during the first five years of peace. But prefabricated units are a different story. In the *Ladies Home Journal* for January of this year, Richard Pratt, the architectural editor, gives us a stirring preview of the possibilities: A bathroom "completely prebuilt and equipped, would come ready to be fitted into its preplanned space and be fully connected within an hour."

Such a room, cast almost in one piece out of plastic, is no idle dream. It is reasonable to suppose that the cost would be cut in two. The same unit construction will in all probability be available in kitchens, laundries, bay windows, sleeping porches, and even garages. The prefabricated unit will enjoy an immense popularity, and the economies will be substantial.

Furthermore, we are assured that there will be no repetition of that drab similarity which characterized the unhappy period when our forebears built block after block of brick and stone shelters. Today our architects, city planners, and builders are not only ready but eager to build for beauty as well as utility.

As regards financing, we have also come a long way toward the ideal of home ownership for literally tens of thousands of families who would have had no hope of achieving it under the conditions which

prevailed in the last century. I need not review the financial agencies which are now available to the common man. If we are wise we will be certain that every-home owner has some equity in his property—the larger, the better.

The dawn of the new world does not mean the indiscriminate scrapping of experience. The building of a home is in some respects comparable to the building of a life. One's heart has to be in it. Into

We Dare Not Fail

HENRY J. KAISER at Chicago

"We are all deeply aware of the needs of our fighting men. We are resolved that they shall have all of the sinews of war. The most gigantic production record in history now assures them on that score. Food, clothing, drugs, blood plasma, armaments, ships, planes, and munitions flow from America in unbelievable volume.

"But this is not enough! These men must know—yes, in the very heat of battle—that they are coming home to opportunity. In this we dare not fail.

"Housing is one of the major prospects for employment. Present requirements, accumulations, and expressed desires, could keep millions employed for years. Can we do it? Will we do it? Do we dare believe **IT CAN BE DONE!**"

the materials there must go the plans and the dreams that give home reality, and throughout the life of the structure there must be that patient and devoted maintenance which is an essential part of the cost, even though it is not reflected in the instalment payments.

Again if we are wise, we will encourage our people to shorten the mortgage period as often as the opportunity appears, for there is something in the full and outright ownership of residential property that gives stability and soundness to the social structure.

An eager America is looking to the organized real estate dealers, the American association of architects, the building trades councils, the associated contractors, the bankers, and the building and loan associations, to come forward with plans for a nationwide building program. Profits, as important as they are in an independent economy, must be secondary to that degree of social vision which will provide a vast volume of employment for the huge army of men who are skilled in the building arts.

Modern American advertising, with its genius for eliciting responses to direct consumer appeals, can separate fact from fancy. Let such advertising be scrupulously honest with the American people. Let us not tell them that one type of construction is as good as another, unless it is a fact. If infra-red heating is not now within reach of the average home owner, let us say so. Many people in their eagerness to have new homes seem to forget that the cost of

the dwelling does not include the cost of land and utilities; nor does it include taxes and upkeep. Perhaps if we hammered such points home, we could save a lot of foreclosures—in which everyone loses.

The true American wants to pay his way. He would like to buy his medical service on a sound insurance basis, making regular provision for the unknown hazard. He would like to pay for the goods and chattels of his everyday life before they are worn out. He would like to choose his own styles in housing, as well as in clothing. He would like to deal frankly with his banker, without approaching with hat in hand. He asks neither subsidy nor special privilege.

We all depend, in a very large measure, on group organizations—the church, the fraternity, the labor union, the trade association. Self interest leads us to pool some of our rights for the benefit of those with whom we are associated. All of us would like to believe that the doctors, the architects, the builders, and the bankers have some interest in our welfare.

Portents in Our Favor

AFTER LISTENING TO MORE OR LESS EXPERT estimates of the number of units of housing which will be required, I made an inquiry which would lend substance to our plans. We asked 91,000 people in our Portland yards twenty-one questions concerning their hopes for the postwar world. More than 80,000 replied. If I am correctly informed, this is the highest percentage of response ever received in so large a poll on any topic. Question No. 8 read as follows: "After the war, what is the first thing for which you will spend your savings?" 26 percent replied that they would buy a new home. Only 6.1 percent said they had no savings and therefore could not plan.

Translate the partial results of this questionnaire into some more concrete figures. In the Portland area, 65,200 war workers want to stay there if they can get jobs. *Of that number 17,000 want to build homes. If they were able to do so, they would create more employment than the 65,000 now enjoy.* This estimate includes not only the actual building but the fabrication of all of the things that are necessary in home construction.

In this factual sample, there was neither padding nor caprice. Multiply it by the workers all over the United States who are accumulating savings out of the war effort, and whose first desire is to own a home. Then, to go back to the building cycle. All the portents are in our favor.

To the unmistakable need, there are now added those factors of hope which are the very substance of the new democracy. Chief among them is the recognition that the great mass of our people should enjoy the national wealth which they help to create. Their desire for homes, and their present accumulations, could accelerate the cycle and bring it to an all-time high in building production. Has American industry, labor, capital, finance, and government ever contemplated a prospect more real and inspiring?



Vanport City, Kaiser dormitory town near Portland

Boychuk Studio photograph

Kaiser-Built

Vanport is the town Henry J. Kaiser needed for his shipyard workers and got built in a few months. A wartime, temporary city, taking care of 35,000 people, it includes many of the conveniences and amenities lacking in larger towns. It has community recreation buildings, schools, playgrounds, a theater, library, health center, and shopping center, as well as an administration building, cafeteria, post-office, fire and police stations, and other community services.



Typical two-story house with fourteen apartments. Grass and shrubs are adding the lived-in look



Henry J. Kaiser Company photographs
Each school has its library, gymnasium and assembly hall



Vanport's branch of the Multnomah County Health Department

Financing the Future

What it would mean to America to stabilize construction. Why not repeat banking history—when a National Monetary Commission ushered in the Federal Reserve System?
—by the treasurer of R. H. Macy and Co. and chairman of the New York Federal Reserve Bank.

BEARDSLEY RUML

NO MATTER WHAT AXE ANY OF US HAS TO grind, he is sure to have something to say about the way housing is related to it. In a plea for morals and religion, the clergyman will point with pride or chagrin at the housing of the people. The physician or public health official finds in it the key to many of his problems. Bankers and insurance men look to housing to provide them with better or worse mortgages and always a good rate of interest. The retailer looks to more and better housing to set higher standards of consumption. In fact, all special interests find a meeting ground here. All will agree that housing is almost as fundamental to our well being as the home itself. But all are busily engaged in tearing the subject apart in order to make some fraction of it serve their more particular and personal interests.

Therefore, as one who has a special interest in a special problem, I do not feel embarrassed or alone. My one special interest is in postwar national fiscal policy—because I am convinced that this has a great deal to do with getting and keeping a high level of employment and production in the years that will follow the war. I believe that a vigorous and understanding interest in better housing on the part of people generally will help the country to a constructive fiscal policy. I believe this because I know that such a policy is indispensable if we are to house the people of this country according to acceptable standards of health and decency which, with efficiency and economy, we all know we can well afford.

Taxes—Work—Livelihood

DRAWING ON SEVERAL SOURCES, I RECENTLY put together "A Postwar National Fiscal Program" to stimulate public discussion. (*The New Republic*, February 28, 1944.) Three of the nine points in that program bear directly on employment and livelihood as these are embedded in public works, building construction, and housing. They are better understood against the background of my first point, which is as follows:

"We want no public spending for its own sake and no projects merely because they support purchasing power in general. Let us base our estimates on the efficient and economical carrying out of worthwhile activities to accomplish our national purposes."

My second point calls for lowering tax rates to where they will balance the budget at an agreed level of high employment.

This means a drastic change in our whole attitude toward federal taxation. It means the whole budget, not a special section that excludes many important financial transactions. "Balancing" means income and outgo that will be, as nearly as possible, neither inflationary nor deflationary in the effect on national income. And I am thinking of a budget of about \$18,000,000,000, outside social security which should be separately financed.

Postwar Budget Levels

WE MUST REALIZE THAT WE WILL MOVE ON to a new budget level after the war and we must have high levels of employment to support it soundly. Opinion today seems to be centering on 55,000,000 workers at a 40-hour week as being a fair standard. This might be a million more or less, depending on a number of assumptions as to what is likely to happen. The figure can hardly be less than 53,000,000 nor more than 57,000,000. In the last few weeks, Paul Hoffman, president of the Studebaker Corporation and chairman of the Committee for Economic Development, and Philip Murray, president of the CIO, have both mentioned goals within this range.

Put in dollar items, the concept of standard high employment calls for a national income (at present price levels) of around \$140,000,000,000. It is against this national income that we should set our tax rates to produce revenue to balance an \$18,000,000,000 budget.

Obviously, under this policy, large immediate reductions in tax rates should be made when war demands are satisfied. Present rates will produce over \$40,000,000,000 at high employment. The question of *what* rates should be reduced and *how much* is an exceedingly delicate political and economic problem. I hesitate to give an example to show what might be done—much less a recommendation. However, if we retain \$3,000,000,000 in income from the major excises (chiefly tobacco and alcohol), the federal tax on corporations could be reduced to 5 percent, and the individual income tax could be reduced substantially—probably as much as one third in the aggregate—and we could still raise \$18,000,000,000, even at present price levels. Such a budget might still be deflationary because of the character of the expenditures contemplated and further reduction of tax rates might well be in order, depending on other fiscal and monetary considerations.

This, then, is the significance of my second point. Such reduction of tax rates

would be a powerful and immediate restorative of normal peacetime demand—which can be counted on to control itself when standard high employment has been attained. It is one of the two giant arms that will lift us to high peacetime production—and will keep us there.

Another point concerns public works planning—not to balance the whole economy, but to help stabilize the construction industry. I want to call your attention particularly to its importance as a means to lower costs in the construction industry, and thereby to increase the availability of housing to people generally. We must not expect too much from a public works program as a general support for high employment—especially if we believe in the policy of no wasteful public expenditures, no spending for its own sake.

Even Out Construction

THE MOST WE CAN EXPECT, AND THIS IS NO small gain, is that public works can be undertaken in such a way as to even out the activities of the construction industry itself, thereby providing a reasonable level of construction throughout the year, and year after year. In that way, public works would be a second giant arm to bring us to high prosperity.

As a long time normal, the suggestion has been made that we might undertake the average rebuilding of our physical plant once a generation. This has the appeal of picturing each generation as turning over to the next generation new modern structures instead of old, outmoded houses, schools, and factories. It has been estimated that such a program would require about 8 percent of the national production and would keep 6,500,000 men employed on and off site; but this figure should only be taken as a preliminary approximation.

It is important to have some such rough standard, both to indicate how far we ought to go in bringing forward the scheduling of public works planned for future years, and to restrain us from avoidable public expenditure at times when private demand is extremely high. It is likely that immediately following the war, and for some years thereafter, we shall have a considerable boom in private residential building. It may well be that this boom, together with industrial demands and public works that cannot be postponed, will be more than sufficient to carry the construction industry to a standard normal. If this should happen, it would be wiser to hold back public works, in spite of the presence of some un-

employment, for it would only make the business outlook worse to set the level of employment in that industry so high that it could not be maintained, a level that would say to all who could hear, "Crisis ahead!"

This stabilization should be attempted regionally as well as for the country as a whole. It will call for planning and scheduling public works in terms of time, money, and geography. On the one hand, the full requirements will not have been met unless the overwhelming majority of the workers in the construction industry are able to spend at least two days at home every week.

On the other hand, reasonably continuous operations within the year and over the years would greatly increase the efficiency of the industry, and any given level of employment would yield a larger and larger product as the years went by. The traditional recurrent idleness of men and equipment in the construction industry has forced, for sheer survival, the adoption of practices which all deplore but which, I feel sure, can be largely eliminated once the industry comes to have confidence in continuity of activity.

Hitherto it has been difficult to justify large expenditures on public works to reinforce the construction industry at a high-stabilized level while that industry is operating under existing restrictive practices. Nor is it likely that the industry will change on its own initiative. In fact, a commitment on the part of the federal government to underpin a high level of construction would tempt into the industry a new following that would leave it on a stabilized level to be sure, but with most elements only partially employed and with costs as high as ever. The industry would still be pricing for idle time, and the government and the public would still not be getting their money's worth.

A Congressional Inquiry

I HAVE FELT FOR SOME TIME THAT SUCH A stabilization program should be preceded by a thorough congressional inquiry into the construction industry, with recommendations that would result in its reorganization. I am thinking of an inquiry of the scope, dignity, and competence of the National Monetary Commission, following which the Federal Reserve System was established. Similarly, there is an opportunity to redraw the pattern of the construction industry so as to give it stability and order, and yield efficiency, modernization, and lower cost construction to consumers.

Stabilized by public works' expenditures and regulated in the public interest, that industry would be very different from what it is today. It would still be competitive, just as the radio or the banks or the airlines are competitive; it is possible that the industry would be even more competitive than it is today. Certainly, earnings of workers would be larger and profits higher. The dominant factors in the industry would turn to innovations and economies as their way of bidding for a larger section of the

construction pie. Lower cost construction means better homes and roomier homes for more people at lower prices. The costs that have gone into the house as waste should be transformed into the home as better living.

The suggestion for a congressional inquiry into the construction industry should not be used as an excuse for delay in the preparation of detailed plans and specifications for federal, state, and municipal public works. If a commission of inquiry should be appointed, its report would be many months in preparation at best. Nor is it likely that action would be taken on such a report after it was issued until there had been much debate, discussion, and popular education. Experience teaches us that the practical circumstances of getting work under way make it desirable to have plenty on hand to do.

The Subdivided Taxpayer

TO THINK CLEARLY ABOUT PUBLIC WORKS, WE must be clear on national, state, and municipal relationships. Sooner or later we shall have to decide what social standards and what public services are the proper concern of what level of government, and arrange our financing accordingly. There is no solution for local tax problems in shifting the burden from real estate to consumption and back again. And, although we must exercise every measure of efficiency and economy in carrying on the worthwhile activities of a municipality, we must not expect too much from mere economy as a means of large scale tax reduction. We must redirect our attention to the problem as a whole.

After all, I am at one time a citizen of the nation, of the state, and of the city. In one way or another I pay all the bills. These are not three levels of government competing for my money in order to serve me; but it is Me divided against Myself, unable to have the things and to do the things I know that, with economy and efficiency, I can well afford.

High statesmanship is required to reintegrate my shattered taxpaying personality and to restore my perspective as to my pluralistic citizenship. And by "me," of course, I mean all of us—Americans of every calling, everywhere. If we can only find out who we are and what we want, I feel sure that we can have and enjoy most of the things we really need.

Security is one of these things. In my series, a further point suggests that the whole social security program be neutralized as far as its fiscal influence is concerned. We all recognize that the attainment of high levels of employment will still leave many individual men and women in need. A modern industrial society with its enormous productive capacity can give a certain minimum protection to the individual citizen against the occasion of unemployment, destitution in old age, accident, and disease. It can assess the burden of this minimum protection with reasonable fairness against the aggregate national production. I do not believe that such humane provision will weaken our energies or our

ambitions, nor do I feel that we require the spectacle of fortuitous human distress to teach us the wisdom of avoiding error and evil.

But whatever provisions are adopted, let us be sure that in financing them we aid rather than hinder the gaining of high employment, which is, after all, the best of all social security for the vast majority of people.

In wartime, there are two difficulties in exploring the future. No one wants to give the impression that peacetime dreams are being permitted to distract thought or energy from the paramount job of speedy and decisive victory.

The second difficulty is that what is intended as analysis may be interpreted as prediction. Suppose I draw a triangle on top of my desk. There are many things we can agree on about that triangle without seeing it. Certainly it is bound to be smaller than the desk top. We know that the sum of its angles will add up to 180°. That the longest side is opposite the widest angle. That if the sides are equal, the angles are equal. Relationships, that is, which follow necessarily from the points and lines and angles that have been true of triangles since the beginning of time.

American Choices

IN THE SAME WAY, WITHOUT PREDICTING what is going to happen, we can draw conclusions as to necessary relationships that must exist in our American economy in the postwar period. For example, here in the United States we must either have 55,000,000 people on payrolls or we shall have so many people looking for work that we shall almost certainly have a problem of mass unemployment. If we have those 55,000,000 people employed, we shall either have a national income of \$140,000,000,000, or we shall have an average work week of less than forty hours, or we shall have a price level lower than it is today. In other words, if we make certain assumptions, certain conclusions inevitably follow.

Thus, contrariwise, if we assume a national income of less than \$140,000,000,000, we must also assume one or more of the following conditions: mass unemployment, an average work week of less than forty hours, or a price level lower than it is today.

What springs from that analysis is not prediction but a practical and arresting fact. That fact is that we can have tolerable social and working conditions in this country only at higher levels of prosperity than we have ever known. These levels can only be reached in the postwar years by the hardest kind of work, the most imaginative planning and cooperation among all concerned.

The problem of our domestic recovery and long term prosperity should no longer be neglected or relegated to the private agencies of agriculture, labor, and business. Much as these agencies must do, they cannot do all, indeed they cannot even do their part, without proper governmental leadership and cooperation.

Urban Redevelopment

Four financing proposals, which strive to cope with the spread of blighted areas in towns and cities—appraised by the special economic adviser to the Federal Reserve Board.

ALVIN H. HANSEN

IT IS GENERALLY RECOGNIZED THAT SLUM and blighted land must be assembled and brought under unified control so that arrangements may be made for carrying out redevelopment in accordance with a master plan. The acquisition and assembly of the land and the making of this comprehensive plan would be undertaken by the municipalities themselves. Part of the land would be used for streets, parks, playgrounds, and public buildings, but most of it would be leased or sold by the municipality to private development companies largely for private housing projects.

On the one hand, municipal debt limitations and other causes make it impossible for the cities to finance the land purchase program without aid from the federal government. (In general, urban land prices have reached fantastic highs.)

On the other hand, urban redevelopment will enhance the revenue producing capacity of the blighted districts, will increase employment, raise the national income, and promote prosperity and well being. A program of urban redevelopment will, moreover, re-invigorate the building construction industry. It is believed by the proponents of the plans here discussed that as the redevelopment progresses, more and more the direct returns from the process will justify the program. Emphasis is especially laid on the indirect benefits accruing to the community as a whole through the revitalization of towns and cities and the general increase in employment and income.

I. Federal Advances

THE PROPOSAL: Federal advances of funds (Thomas and Wagner bills) to the cities enabling them to purchase slum and blighted land for a comprehensive urban redevelopment program.

The revised Thomas bill provides that the cities in no way pledge their faith and credit to repay sums so advanced. Instead, they merely engage to pay over to the federal government net returns (over and above local taxes) on the lease of land to private development companies. These payments from net rentals would continue until the principal sums advanced by the federal government were repaid, plus one percent annually on advances remaining unpaid. To be sure, the net rentals thus paid over might never equal even the sums advanced by the federal government.

The administrator is directed in making an advance to consider broadly the effect of the development program upon the productivity and real income of the community

as a whole, rather than the probable payments from net rentals which any project area may yield. The idea is that the federal government shall be prepared to absorb losses accruing from the difference between the acquisition cost and the use value of the land. While these might be considered at first, it is hoped that over several decades the ultimate loss to the federal government would be slight. The plan might be regarded as fairly good if the sums advanced were repaid without any interest whatever; and highly successful if repaid plus one percent. Clearly, the federal government makes a substantial contribution under this plan even assuming the very best results.

II. Guaranteed Revenue Bonds

THE PROPOSAL: That Urban Land Authorities, organized and controlled by the cities, shall issue bonds amortized over 99 years, fully guaranteed by the federal government.

These long term bonds would be issued to finance only those projects which it is believed would be self-sustaining, that is, would cover interest and amortization charges. Being revenue bonds they would not come within the debt limitation of the city, and presumably would be exempt from federal taxation. The plan contemplates no actual subsidy by the federal government—merely that the government guarantee and the other features indicated would insure a low rate of interest.

Under this program the land acquisition is made on the basis of the expectation of sufficient net rentals (over and above local taxes) to cover the fixed charges on the bonds. There is danger that the areas that could profitably be developed would tend to be suburban in character, leaving in large measure unsolved the problem of slum and blight in interior parts of the cities.

III. Tax Incentive Scheme

THE PROPOSAL: That Urban Land Authorities, organized and controlled by the cities, would issue bonds accorded a special tax privilege which would make them marketable at a very low rate of interest.

The special feature is that federal legislation be passed permitting any individual, in calculating his taxable net income, to deduct a sum (say up to 25 percent) invested in new issues of Urban Land Authority bonds. As an illustration, assume that Mr. A. has an income of \$100,000 and that within the year he has invested \$25,000 in such new issues. If, in addition, he has made charitable gifts of \$15,000, and paid interest on his home mortgage amounting to \$2,000,

his taxable net income would be cut to \$58,000.

It would be expected that such a tax deduction would induce wealthy individuals to buy Urban Land Authority bonds in large volume, and that accordingly the bonds could be placed in the capital market at a very low rate of interest. The interest, moreover, as with all local bond issues, would be exempt from federal income taxation. That the plan would greatly increase the volume of local tax exempt bonds is a point against this proposal. But this is also true of Plans II and IV. (It is not probable, however, that these bonds could be sold on sufficiently favorable terms unless backed by the full faith and credit of the city, bringing them under the statutory debt limitation.)

Whether or not such a plan deserves support depends fundamentally upon one's view of the merits and demerits of this particular method of federal aid. It is likely to cost the federal government more than other methods. Under Plan III, the cost is hidden and could never be accurately ascertained beforehand. While a tax incentive designed to encourage new ventures, new construction and employment, has much to commend it, this plan offers tax relief to financial investors, and at best only indirectly promotes employment and new real investment projects.

It is evident that under all three plans, the federal government would be underwriting an urban redevelopment program and stands a risk of loss. An important question is how much public benefits will flow from the federal support in whatever form provided. Under Plan I (assuming that Congress were willing to go along and make the necessary appropriations as urban redevelopment proceeded), really large results could be expected. Under Plan II, a more limited program would result. Under Plan III, presumably a somewhat larger program could be undertaken than in Plan II since the fixed charges would probably be lower. On the other hand, Plan III might in fact cost the federal treasury more than Plan I, while the results would probably be meager in comparison.

IV. Guarantees and Joint Grants-in-aid

THE PROPOSAL: That land acquisition bonds issued by the Urban Land Authorities shall be fully guaranteed by the federal government with respect to both interest and principal.

In order to get on rapidly with large scale urban redevelopment, particularly in slum and blighted areas where land acquisition cost is high, it is proposed in addition that for each separate development project the city and the federal government jointly make annually grants-in-aid on a fifty-fifty basis for, let us say, twenty-five-years.

This plan has several great advantages. It would make possible a large redevelopment program. The annual federal matching grants would have no strings attached except that the project must be developed on the basis of a comprehensive master plan and in accordance with a detailed area plan.

Under this proposal, a city would be prepared to go forward with redevelopment of slum and blighted areas even if the difference between the acquisition cost and the use value of the land were great. In view of the prospective benefits, including increases in local tax revenues, the city could probably afford to shoulder, out of tax revenues, its share of the assumed grants-in-aid.

Thus the Detroit City Plan Commission has estimated that the redevelopment of a typical blighted area, comprising 128 acres, would increase the tax return from \$85,000 as at present to \$225,000; recovering about 75 percent of the loss involved in its acquisition. If this example were at all typical, a city which undertook to cover its share of the annual grants-in-aid from tax revenues would come out very satisfactorily.

On this basis, any slum and blighted land could be coped with if it were thought to be desirable from the standpoint of a broad redevelopment program. As the development process continued, losses would probably diminish and, in one or two decades, the net rentals might pretty much cover the annual fixed charges. Thus, the subsidy to urban redevelopment both by the federal government and the city government would progressively diminish.

The main point is that urban redevelopment could go forward and would not be limited by the self-liquidating criterion which attaches to each of the preceding three plans, though least to Plan I.

As compared with Plan I, however, this proposal has the merit that Congress would not be asked to appropriate any large capital sums. Like Plans II and III, it involves financing in the regular capital markets by the Urban Land Authorities—with no capital financing by the federal government.

I personally favor Plan I. But if this is not politically possible, Plan IV deserves consideration.

Under Plan IV, Congress would be asked to guarantee the Land Authority bonds and to make annual grants for twenty-five years on a fifty-fifty matching basis on specific projects which could not otherwise be redeveloped—projects which would be important parts of a sound urban development. Its obligations could be set down fairly specifically and it would be found that these were quite insignificant compared with alternative proposals for the stimulation of employment and business activity through government action. It could be shown with overwhelming evidence that the indirect benefits to the federal treasury from these relatively small annual subsidies would be large in terms of the redevelopment of our cities and of the enhanced taxable capacity of the entire country. From the standpoint of the federal treasury, it would be a thoroughly good investment despite the fact that these annual grants would not be recoverable as such.

The plan, moreover, has the advantage that the cities themselves would make a definite contribution out of local tax revenues toward their broad programs of urban redevelopment.

How Public Housing Works

Its pre-Pearl Harbor record in supplying decent, safe, sanitary homes to lowest-income families. Objections answered; objectives ahead:—by the Administrator of the Pittsburgh Housing Authority.

B. J. HOVDE

DECENT HOUSING FOR ALL THE PEOPLE IS THE inevitable objective in any postwar housing program. Obviously millions of American houses are completely standard and many of them are relatively modern. So far as new housing is concerned, it must be planned to meet the needs of families with different incomes, different sizes, different use requirements.

Authorities seem to have reached at least a tentative agreement that somewhere around a million and a half new houses will be needed every year for a period of fifteen years. Now the largest number of dwellings ever built in any one year in the United States was something over 900,000 in 1926. Whether it is possible to expand the building industry to fulfill such a national program, and whether the country can afford it, the overwhelming part must and can be done by private enterprise for private enterprise. Public housers never have and never will claim that public enterprise should provide any but a comparatively small part of the national housing program.

The Family Yardstick

THE GROUP OF FAMILIES FOR WHICH PUBLIC housers believe government enterprise should provide houses, are those known generally as "the lowest income group." Who are these families and what are their numbers? It is certainly wrong to assume that "one third of the nation" requires public housing; equally wrong to limit the concept to families on public assistance—as the home builders and real estate men seem to want to do. The best and most realistic definition is still to be found in the United States Housing Act of 1937, Section 2, subsection (2):

"The term 'families of low income' means families who are in the lowest income group and who cannot afford to pay enough to cause private enterprise in their locality or metropolitan area to build an adequate supply of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for their use."

This definition has been followed in practically all state acts setting up housing authorities, with this principal difference: They generally do not appear as restrictive. In its proper sense, the definition means all families that cannot pay more than an economic rent for decent, safe, and sanitary housing. Private enterprise cannot be expected to house them since an economic rent provides no profit. Public housers have often been accused of idealism, but they are not so naive as to expect private in-

vestors or private builders to produce decent, safe, and sanitary habitations out of the goodness of their hearts.

Of course, both the cost of housing and the range of family incomes vary from section to section of the country and even within each section. Therefore, determination concerning families eligible for public housing will differ from community to community and from time to time. In periods of unemployment and distress, their number may be very high. If we can maintain full employment at adequate real incomes, their number may be comparatively low.

We know, however, that there are some 10,000,000 houses in America which, according to the 1940 Census, are so substandard or in such a state of disrepair that they will have to be completely replaced. We know, moreover, that there are approximately a million and a half families which must be provided with new housing to relieve the overcrowded conditions in which they live. But this does not mean that those needs must be met wholly or in larger part by public housing.

The wisest course would seem to be (a) to turn private enterprise loose and give it the necessary legitimate assistance to produce the largest possible number of the supposedly necessary program of 1,500,000 dwelling units per year; and, at the same time, (b) to provide through public enterprise a strictly limited number, perhaps 300,000 to 500,000 units per year for a limited period of five years. At the end of that period we would be better able to assess further needs and intelligently increase or decrease the public quota.

Up to Pearl Harbor

MEANWHILE, PUBLIC HOUSERS ARE SUFFICIENTLY hard-headed to refuse to give up a plan that has worked for mere idle dreaming. On December 31, 1942, out of the congressional appropriations for federally aided low rent housing amounting to \$800,000,000, a total number of 160,851 dwelling units were in active status. Their total estimated development cost was \$759,101,000 or \$4,718 per dwelling unit.

The capital financing of the projects was based on a loan and annual contributions contract between the Federal Public Housing Authority and the many participating local housing authorities. During the development period, short-term notes were issued at low interest rates in a volume up to 90 percent of the development cost. For the remainder, namely 10 percent, local

housing authorities sold advance loan notes to the Federal Public Housing Authority at the going government rate, plus one half of one percent (generally 2½ percent total).

Millions of dollars in interest were saved in this early period by the system of short-term financing. Thereafter this was converted, in the case of each project, into permanent financing through the sale of Series A and B bonds* by the local housing authorities. These have been handled in such a way that, over the total amortization period, the taxpaying public will recover 100 percent of the money loaned to local housing authorities directly and will actually gain one half of 1 percent in interest. The public part of the loan cannot be considered a cost to the taxpayer but only an investment.

Subsidies and Taxes

THE COST TO TAXPAYERS IS THE AMOUNT OF subsidies a local housing authority must call for in order to cover all costs and still keep rents down.

There is first of all the *federal subsidy*. Its maximum under the law is 3 percent of the total development cost per year. Its purpose is to reduce rents, and keep them within the paying ability of families in the lowest income group. The pledge of this subsidy as security for Series "A" bonds has proved a practical means to achieve this objective, for it has markedly reduced interest rates. Most local housing authorities are able to get along with less than the maximum federal subsidy. Thus, in 1943, on 3,073 dwellings, the Pittsburgh Authority required only 1.65 percent of the development cost.

The *local subsidy* lies in exemption from obligation to pay full normal taxes, as they would be figured if the projects were privately owned. Here, too, the total permissible subsidy is annually reduced by the amount that each local housing authority pays annually to local taxing bodies in lieu of taxes, generally 5 percent of the shelter rent. It may well be asked whether there is any real local subsidy at all whenever these payments either equal taxes formerly billed against the project area, or equal what project tenants formerly paid in taxes indirectly through their landlords. One thing is clear—if public housing projects serving such low income families had to pay the same taxes as private property, they could never have been built without throwing the entire subsidy burden on the federal government.

The whole clamor for full taxes against low rent public housing, therefore, amounts to a demand that something be created out of nothing—handiwork for the Lord Almighty but not yet for human beings

*Series "A" bonds were sold to private investors in amounts far exceeding the 10 percent required by the Act at long term interest rates ranging between 1.75 percent and 2.25 percent. These bonds found a ready market and are amortized with interest before the retirement of Series "B" bonds begins.

Series "B" bonds were bought directly by the Federal Public Housing Authority, carrying the going government rate of interest, plus one half of 1 percent (generally 2½ percent total), and are issued in volumes to equal the difference between the amount of Series "A" bonds and the total development cost.

whether they are in public or in private enterprise. I know of no single instance where any local government has had to increase its millage or its assessment on private property because of the tax subsidy to public low rent housing. On the other hand, I know of several instances in which fire stations and police stations have been cut down because of such housing.

Costs and Common Sense

RECENTLY, PUBLIC HOUSING HAS BEEN roundly condemned and its liquidation demanded by the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the National Association of Home Builders, the Producers' Council, and the Mortgage Bankers' Association. It is said that public construction costs have been exorbitant. The average per dwelling unit cost has been \$4,718. This is not the cost of the structure alone, but the cost of over-valued land, a small administration cost, architects' and engineers' fees, all site improvements, community buildings, playgrounds, landscaped areas, plus the cost of the original tenant selection—in order to keep out of competition with private enterprise—and the cost of the structure. We challenge our friends to do any better.

So far as structures themselves are concerned, the fact is that public housing has built for approximately 75 percent of the cost paid by private enterprise for the most comparable kinds of buildings. It is incumbent on those who insist that private enterprise can produce comparable houses more cheaply than public enterprise to prove their contentions in actual practice, rather than in overheated oratory. Public housers hope they may succeed. Under our definition of the "lowest income group," public housing enterprise will retreat from every margin of the field conquered by private enterprise.

A further charge against public housing is that the shelter provided has not served

those with the greatest need. We keep records and they can be examined. It is true that during the war, housing authorities, in areas of critical housing shortage, generally have permitted a tenant family to remain after its earnings go up. These authorities have felt they could best serve the war effort by allowing war workers to remain decently housed when and where there is no place else for them to go.

Charges and Cooperation

FOR GOOD MEASURE WE ARE ACCUSED OF NOT having cleared the slums. Did any one expect us to do this with \$800,000,000? Did they expect us to pay fantastic prices for built up slum land (which has been done in many cases) when there was vacant or waste land available at prices representing large savings? Furthermore, one substandard dwelling comes down for every standard one we build—except during the war when there would be no place for the occupant of such a dwelling to go.

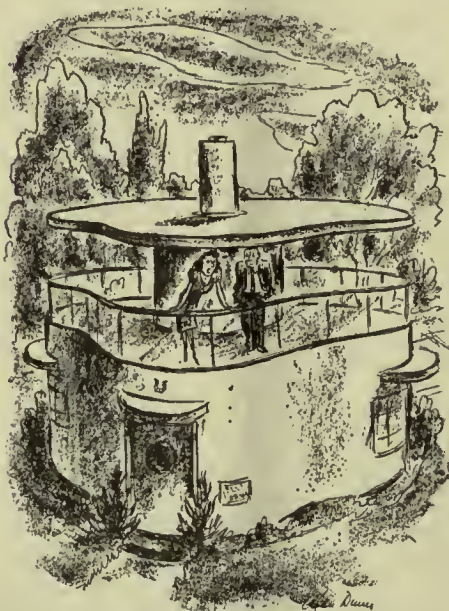
Finally, public housing is denounced as a "social and political menace" which has "already become a vested interest of tenants and political jobholders." Understandably enough, tenants who cannot get standard housing from private enterprise at rents they can afford to pay, regard public housing with lively interest. But I fail to see what vested interest public housing has become for those who work in it. We are governed by the Hatch act. If any public housing employe becomes involved in politics, there are remedies at hand to the interested citizen.

These things considered, it seems justifiable to suggest that the lowest income group continue to be supplied by public enterprise along much the same lines as at present, with decent, safe, and sanitary housing.

Public housers generally believe, however, that local housing authorities should pay somewhat more in lieu of taxes, perhaps as much as 10 percent (instead of 5 percent) of the shelter rent. Local governments would thus be relieved of practically all effective subsidy. For another thing, the United States Housing Act and state housing laws should be amended so as to enable local housing authorities to borrow 100 percent of their development costs from private investors. This would make it unnecessary for Congress to appropriate any tax money for capital development.

Finally, it would seem right and proper that, in authorizing commitments by the Federal Public Housing Authority for subsidies to low rent public housing, Congress should put certain control limitations upon its volume. The quantity should be large enough to do a real job in re-housing the lowest income group. The time should be short enough to assure periodic reexamination of the need.

If we can lay aside our narrow-mindedness, there is so much public interest in private housing, so much private interest in public housing, that agreement should be easily possible on the common objective of decent housing for all our people.



Dunn for the National Committee on Housing, Inc.
"Well, I'm sick and tired of living in an old 1944 soybean derivative. Now the Joneses live in the sweetest 1946—"

Slums Are Like Treadmills

When the war is over, blighted areas will spring up under our feet faster than we can overtake old ones—unless states rally to their cities now:—by *New York State's Acting Housing Commissioner.*

IRA S. ROBBINS

THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN URBAN REDEVELOPMENT begins with the education of municipalities as to the need for adopting master plans. Local money spent that way is money well spent in helping to reduce the cost of redeveloping substandard areas.

In contrast, municipal face lifting on a spotty basis—whether to remove a wart or a large tumor—is a luxury like the first of a series of operations by well intentioned physicians who are nothing more than quacks. It is likely to repeat the mistakes of the past—and leaves us with cities that are congested, lacking in space for recreation, and that fail to provide adequate housing for families with very low incomes.

Decentralization itself can help or hinder the redevelopment of substandard areas. There is the haphazard kind that results when families flee to outlying districts where land costs and taxes are low and living and recreation space abundant—at first! That kind not only gives birth to tomorrow's slums in the areas they leave behind, but may create new ones elsewhere.

The other kind is the planned decentralization which opens up existing cities so that they have the elbow room to make them desirable communities in which to work and live. Values are restored not destroyed. Under planned decentralization, new areas are provided for industrial, business, and living purposes which will remain economically stable.

One danger in large scale urban redevelopment lies in the stratification that may result from making housing projects for any income group whatsoever too huge. The desirability of large reservoirs of investment capital for redevelopment purposes hinges on using that capital for projects of appropriate size which tie in with a sound master plan.

Teacher Plus Tool Maker

MUNICIPALITIES REQUIRE EDUCATION NOT only as to need for such plans, and the orderly decentralization that goes with them, but as to the need for modernizing and enforcing building codes, demolition and zoning ordinances; for strict subdivision control and the speedy and economical foreclosure of tax delinquent property. These measures can do two important things: help minimize the cost of redevelopment and impede the pace at which cities deteriorate.

It is good to talk about doing big things in a big way. It is better to actually do them. But while the big things are still in the talking stage, we can at least take comparatively small but nevertheless fun-

damental steps to prevent the spread of existing blighted areas or the creation of new ones. Otherwise right after the war, city officials are going to be walking on a treadmill of recurring slums and never catch up with the problem.

It is up to the states to furnish cities with all the legal instruments they need to execute redevelopment plans—even if this calls for constitutional amendments. For example, in some states it will be necessary to eliminate all doubt that municipalities have the right to use powers of eminent domain and excess condemnation to obtain additional land needed to carry out a comprehensive plan or to obtain reserve land to protect its future growth. Furthermore, condemnation procedures must be revised to reduce delay and expense and to fend against excessive awards.

Urban Redevelopment Corporation Laws have been passed in nine states during the last three years to induce private capital to play the major part in reclaiming substandard areas on an investment rather than a speculative basis. These laws should spread, and in my opinion two aspects of the best of them are fundamental to such enactments. One is that for the purpose of assembling land these corporations get the benefit of powers of eminent domain exercised by the municipality. The other is that any undertakings by them be strictly in accord with its master plan.

Consideration should be given, also, to the formula used in the state of New York where all projects in redeveloped areas must pay taxes on the assessed value of both land and buildings which existed on the date of acquisition. It is only the surplus value created by the new construction that may be exempt for a specified period. The municipality thus obtains the same taxes it was hitherto entitled to and in many instances collects more—because substandard areas are notoriously tax delinquent. Moreover, if the project were not undertaken by the redevelopment corporation, no new values might be created in those areas for many years to come. In any event, at the end of the period of partial exemption, the city collects full taxes.

So long as an urban redevelopment corporation serves its primary purpose (that is, to finance and execute projects for the clearance, replanning, and redevelopment of substandard areas) I do not think we should be overly concerned about the amount of profits it makes. The legislation drawn to date is pretty effective in keeping out speculators looking for a 15

percent or 25 percent return. The opportunity to make a good profit will induce more investments in the field; but the law of diminishing returns will begin to operate and in the long run there will be a levelling out.

Money to Make the Mare Go

TWO FURTHER POSSIBILITIES SHOULD BE studied by the states. One is the desirability of state aid in financing public housing as an integral part of urban redevelopment programs. At present, New York is the only state in the Union that has an independent program of this type. The other is the possibility of establishing state banks to lend funds to municipalities for land acquisition on a long term basis at a low rate of interest. Such loans would be without cost to the state or any of its taxpayers.

The interest rate on long term loans for housing or redevelopment purposes is the biggest single factor in achieving reasonable rentals in new developments whatever their character. New York State sells its bonds, which carry the full faith and credit of the state, for the purpose of obtaining funds to finance its state-aided public housing projects. Last month such a state bond issue, maturing over a period of fifty years, sold at a net interest rate of 1.286 percent.

The state, as I see it, should contribute on a matching basis to the cost of planning, but not to the cost of executing urban redevelopment programs undertaken by a municipality. Further the state should work with the cities in straightening out state and municipal tax relationships. Ultimately the cities will need the power to levy special taxes of some sort to obtain redevelopment funds. The state should also assist cities, counties, towns, and villages in working out the problems involved in regional planning.

All this is undoubtedly the hard way to accomplish the redevelopment of urban substandard areas—but it is probably the sound way.



Morley for the National Committee on Housing, Inc.

Too High a Climb?



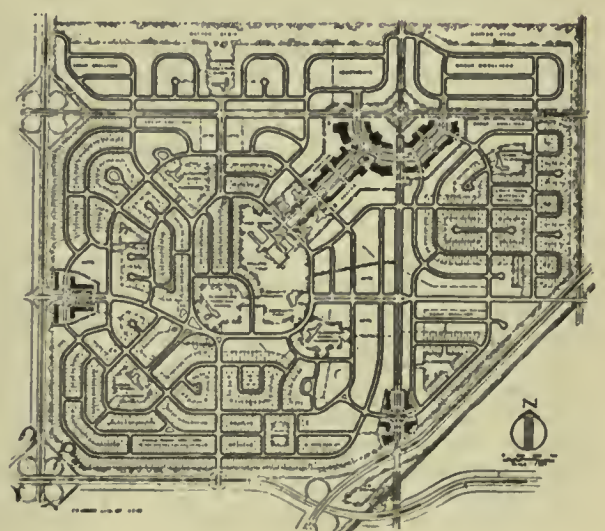
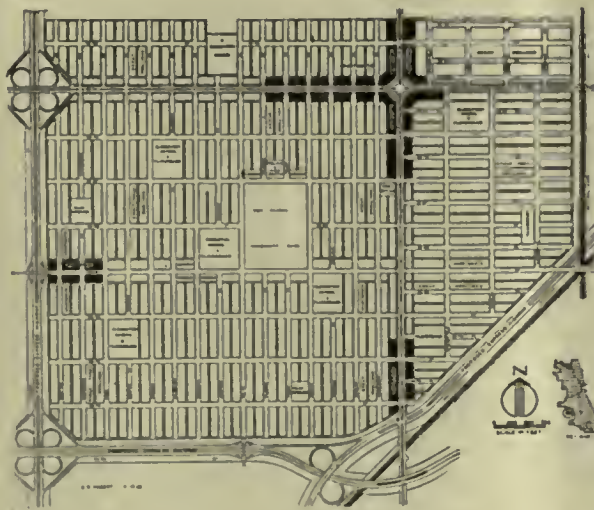
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Incentive Taxation (*Espoused*)

The key to true freedom for our cities—to plan, to recapture slum areas, to rebuild not only for the poor but for the benefit of all urban dwellers—as characterized by the executive vice-president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards.

HERBERT U. NELSON

NO PROGRAM OF URBAN REDEVELOPMENT CAN succeed until our cities gain freedom of action to handle their own affairs. State governments are reluctant to grant municipalities adequate fiscal and other powers to solve their own problems. Cities are told how to plan from Washington, and what they may or may not do with respect to their own tax policies. Endless hordes of federal functionaries crawl over them, duplicating work which city officials themselves can do better.

We have an urban plant consisting of land and buildings worth well over \$120,000,000,000. Forty billion dollars of this plant is run down and seedy. It needs replanning and rebuilding. This would give employment to millions of men if spread over a ten-year period. No economist believes that we can have postwar prosperity through the manufacture of automobiles and consumer goods. Only a large scale activity in durable goods has ever been able to give full employment. Buildings are the most important of durable goods.

There are those, especially in Washington, the so-called public housers among them, who propose, in substance, that the federal government continue to tell the cities how they must plan, what they must build, and for whom. This is to be done by still more massive tax collections by the federal government, which in turn will hand out loans or grants, guarantee or underwrite local expenditures, thus gaining the master hand.

The entire process should be reversed. The whole program of urban replanning and redevelopment should be returned to the cities themselves where it belongs. They should be given power to plan and the fiscal powers necessary to rebuild. Real estate, both as to value and as to income, should and must be left as a local tax resource only. The federal government draws 90 percent of its enormous tax resources from the cities. It can well afford to leave real property alone so that local governments can function and survive.

How then can we bring back a balance between local, state, and federal governments upon which our liberties depend? How can we devise a way to restore our run down city plant? I suggest that adjustment of the Federal Revenue Act be used to bring this about through tax remissions and allowances. In short, *incentive taxation*.

The law itself is now a mass of exemp-

tions. Nineteen different types of corporations, including certain mutual savings banks, agricultural organizations, savings associations, charitable and commercial associations and foundations, are almost wholly tax exempt under federal law. So are labor unions. Excise taxes are a mass of discriminatory rates.

If it is sound policy to grant tax remissions or exemptions for the creation and maintenance of public institutions—such as universities—which serve a public purpose, then certainly the replanning and rebuilding of our cities for future health and welfare is an equally sound public purpose. Here are some main points in a specific program offered by the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the Urban Land Institute:

The Redevelopment Method

Local Authorities: State enabling acts should be passed permitting any municipality to set up a redevelopment authority. This authority would have right of eminent domain and be designed to buy up large blighted areas—perhaps whole square miles. Once its plan had been approved by the city it would have the right to carry forward also the necessary public improvements to prepare the area for rebuilding. This done, sites for private building would be offered to anyone and everyone at low annual rentals or on long term land contract agreements.

Bonds: Those of the redevelopment authority would not be full faith and credit bonds of the city, but would be secured by fee ownership of the land acquired. As municipal bonds, they would be exempt from personal property taxes and from state and federal income taxes.

Incentive Taxation: To buy up slums or blighted areas is a financial problem of the first order. According to a recent finding of the United States Supreme Court, such property owners will undoubtedly have to be paid whatever the courts decide is fair, even though this may be several times their current use value. Some may call this a bailing out process. Perhaps it is. On the other hand, one cannot too much blame owners who have paid taxes on high local valuations for years if they feel that they should recover them in case of expropriation.

In order to cover this excess cost and

write it off over a long period of time and at a very low interest rate, it is suggested that the bonds of the redevelopment authority be issued for periods of 99 years and that the federal government remit all federal taxes upon the portion of current income used by persons or corporations in their purchase. For instance, if a man had an income of \$100,000 and invested \$50,000 in such bonds, the \$50,000 would be deductible from his taxable federal income.

This would mean that persons and corporations in the higher brackets could invest 50, 40 or even 20 cent dollars in the purchase of such bonds. This might well drive the combined interest and amortization rates down to new lows of 1.3 or 1.5 percent per annum. And this in turn would enable the writing off of excess acquisition costs by as much as 70 or 80 percent.

Here is the instrument by which we can restore worn out city lands to a new use. In the long run, the federal government would lose less by this process than by any other method of handing out federal loans and grants for urban redevelopment.

Rebuilding: Once the sites were offered to private builders, these persons and corporations should be compelled to build according to the plan for the area and for the uses prescribed by zones. They could finance their operations in the usual ways—by loans from insurance companies, savings associations, banks, and so on. The financing of buildings upon leaseholds is an old accepted practice in most countries and in many cities of our own country. The terms for annual leases or sales could be one fourth or one half percent above the interest rate of the bonds, based on the cost of the ground to the authority. This would in turn give the new builder and developer an annual ground rent or ground charge consistent with the new use. The leases given to builders, whether of apartments, stores, homes, or whatever is prescribed for the area, should also run for long terms, certainly for the life of the improvement. Reversionary rights, however, should go to the lessee.

Low Rent Housing: I suggest that low rent housing be built by private corporations, preferably in redevelopment areas, as a part of a general diversified neighborhood with *capital which would also be deductible from current taxable federal income*. The income from such low cost housing developments should also be exempt from federal taxes. This would recognize that low rent housing is in truth a public purpose, as the Congress and thirty-nine state legislatures have declared. Such corporations might be limited to net earnings of 3 percent, all income earned in excess of these amounts to be plowed back into lower rents.

Here again we would have a chance to reach unprecedented low rents because of the low cost of capital. Here again builders would be investing 30, 40, and 50 cent dollars in an enterprise helpful and useful

Tax Incentives (Challenged)

An invitation to pyramid tax free investment on tax free investment on the part of those on the "in"—as characterized by the executive director, National Association of Housing Officials.

HUGH R. POMEROY

to communities. Certainly rents of \$4 and \$5 per room could be reached for good modern facilities. This in effect would be a new form of public institution. But it would be public housing under private ownership, private management, private control. Some local agency, perhaps the redevelopment authority, would have to police this measure and see that it was not abused.

Taxes: The leasehold values and the building in the redevelopment areas should pay normal taxes. There should be no local tax exemption of any kind whatsoever. In this way we can restore fiscal health to our cities which bear the brunt of all the vast multitudes of social services that we now render to our citizens.

If the federal government makes these concessions for the rebuilding of cities, it will pay through tax incentives for only a small part of new improvements instead of paying for all of them and paying the whole price at least twice, when interest is considered. Over a fifty-year period I believe this program would cost the federal government less than one fifth of the cost of a program which is based on federal spending.

Social Assistance: Finally we come to that group of our citizens who cannot pay any rents. Others, through misfortune or sickness cannot pay economic rents. We now give such families rent assistance, and will continue to do so, just as we give them necessary medical care, food, and clothing. There is no more reason for building federal housing for poor families than there is to open up federal grocery stores and sell groceries to them at less than cost. Such rent assistance could be accepted without any loss of dignity. There is less pauperization involved in it than in creating segregated housing projects where every family is marked as a special ward of the state through rents given at less than cost.

Cities Should Decide

THIS IS, IN BROAD OUTLINE, A DYNAMIC PROGRAM that can function, that can restore freedom of action to our cities, and that can get that "Old Man of the Seas," the federal government, off our backs. This plan is practical. It is workable.

There are those who say that Congress will never approve it. Maybe the time has come when we will tell Congress what to do. If one hundred cities in this country decide this is a practical program, I can promise you that the Congress will adopt it.

Our task is with the everyday man in our cities who wants better living conditions, who wants his own community to go ahead and progress. If we can give him a workable program, we need have no worry about Congress.

It is high time that all men of good will who want local government to survive; and who want to see our cities rebuilt into the beautiful, proud American communities they should be, get together on a plan.

THIRTY-NINE STATES AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT have established procedures for providing public housing. The procedures have been put to use in several hundred communities, and the resulting programs operated locally have the backing of preponderant public opinion. Those responsible for these programs, operated locally, seek to provide only for families not adequately served by private enterprise, and increasingly they are seeking to collaborate with private operators in studies of local needs and sound community planning.

The opportunity for such collaboration is impaired and the preparation of redevelopment programs thwarted by the attitude and action of a miscellaneous group who would abolish existing public housing and prohibit its extension.

The unqualified claim that private enterprise can provide decent housing for all but acutely distressed families is the position most quickly abandoned even by its advocates. To be sure, the time should come when continuing full employment would raise family incomes to levels sufficient for them to obtain decent housing in the private market. Meanwhile, some improvements in techniques, organization, procedure, and financing should enable private enterprise to produce better housing at less cost. Public housing advocates are content to let private enterprise itself set the upper income limit for public housing—by adequately serving income groups down to that limit.

A modification of this claim is that low income families can be provided with decent homes by private industry building excess housing for higher income families and letting houses "filter down" to the low income tenant as they deteriorate in quality or desirability. The "filtering down" process has had full opportunity to work for the past hundred years. It has produced all our slums and blighted areas.

There now seems to be general recognition that some part of the population requires public subsidy in order to obtain decent housing. There are still some thoughtless advocates who would apply this in the form of a dole to be used in the private housing market. Disregarding the demoralizing welfare aspects of such a proposal, there is no practical way in which a general rent relief scheme could do other than perpetuate slums and blighted areas. It would impose a crushing burden of taxation on local real estate—even assuming the most generous federal participation. Furthermore, direct relief payments could not

offer a secure basis for new building or for other than relatively minor repairs.

Incentive or Exemption?

WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF IMPROVING THE operations of private enterprise to enable service to lower income groups there must be hearty concurrence. The proposal, however, currently presented under the designation of a "tax incentive" scheme, calls for careful scrutiny. This proposal is no more nor less than tax exemption. As applied, it is a direct subsidy. No "mairzy-doats" formula can make it anything else.

It is a discriminatory tax concession for a special purpose; and however beneficial its ultimate purpose may be, this concession cannot genuinely be likened to tax deductions allowed for gifts to charitable and educational institutions. The moment such an institution operates for profit, such income tax deductions are no longer allowable. Nor is it frank to compare the housing that would be produced under such a scheme to public housing and declare it to be a "public purpose" on the strength of court decisions holding public housing to be such. At the very heart of these decisions is reliance on the non-profit character of public housing.

The proposed tax exemption is a subsidy no less than if it were received by check from the United States Treasury. It is stated that it will operate extensively in the upper income brackets. Wherever it would operate, it would mean that the other taxpayers, including those who invest in post-war industries—or, in fact, in any form of development except that in an area redeveloped under this particular scheme—would have to carry the extra load. The income of the owner of every home not built in a redeveloped area would pay taxes which would subsidize the redevelopment. The income of the owner of every store or factory not in a redeveloped area would have to pay additional taxes to subsidize stores and factories inside the area.

The fact is that any investor in the 80 percent income tax bracket (one who would use the 20 cent dollars we hear about) would be getting an 80 percent capital grant. His return of 1½ percent would amount to 7⅞ percent interest (interest only) on the 20 percent of his own money that he had thus invested. That is a rather good return—also tax exempt—especially when compared with the 1.2862 percent rate at which the last New York State fifty-year housing bonds were sold.

The story just begins here, however, be-

Three Basic Principles—LABOR VIEWS—New Materials & Methods

—by the president, United Automobile Workers; chairman, UAW-CIO Postwar Planning Committee.

R. J. THOMAS

A. That public aid be given private enterprise to meet the nation's housing needs and to provide full employment. Such public aid must be consistent with physical and economic soundness and with public benefits to be derived:

- from adequately housing families in lower income groups;
- from guiding decentralization in sound community patterns;
- from providing ways for slum clearance and redevelopment.

The following are examples of the type of public aid we advocate: Substantial reduction in home-building mortgage rates.

Longer amortization for housing in planned communities.

Assistance in the acquisition and assembly of suitable land.

These recommendations for government assistance to private enterprise carry with them corresponding obligations. Any recurrence of the speculative real estate and house building boom that followed the last war not only would forever discredit private enterprise in the housing field, but would have wide and serious social and economic repercussions.

B. That the government should use housing as part of a public works insurance program against possible critical postwar unemployment. Prior to the war, our year of maximum production was 1939. Even so, millions of citizens were unemployed. In the light of tremendously expanded capacity and of technological advances during the war, it is our fear that postwar production, equal to that of 1939, could be accompanied with unemployment as acute as that experienced at the bottom of the depression.

Should the government find it necessary, and we believe it will, to effect a large-scale public works program to supplement the activities of private enterprise, we know of no type more constructive or more in the public interest than the provision of decent homes for American families and children. We believe it the responsibility of public officials to guard against unpreparedness.

C. That minimum housing standards should be established to provide decent living conditions below which no groups, no matter how poor, will be forced to live. This responsibility must be accepted by society in the same manner as it now provides educational facilities for the use of all without respect to ability to pay. Public agencies must be responsible for the building of adequate healthful housing for all income groups whose need for such housing is not met by private enterprise.

We have attempted to develop our proposals so that a minimum of public funds will be required to produce a maximum of public and private benefit.

—by the director of research, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL.

M. H. HEDGES

How should technological changes be handled? To put this question for the construction industry: How shall one tenth of it be converted from a decentralized handicraft industry, seeking to preserve manual skills, into a highly centralized mass production industry tending to do away with handicraft?

Naturally no such change can be made without tugs and strains.

Three types of companies deal in some type of prefabrication:

- Mail order houses operating on an older type of marketing.
- Out-and-out mass producers of houses on the assembly line.
- Companies operating as syndicates through branch units.

It is the last type that will usher in revolutionary types of doing business. Their marketing plan would involve local dealers as branches of the headquarter's plant. In each branch there would be a sales organization, architect's office, residential contractor, sub-contractor, financing agency, sub-material supplies office, and real estate dealer. Employees, when not assembling houses on sites, would be back in the branch plant working on manufacture.

In dealing with the building trades unions, these branches would have to reach an understanding precluding jurisdictional disputes, which would throw out of gear so highly organized a distribution system. These unions have long learned to work together in what they call building trades councils which could function as an industrial union, without loss of craft value.

The electrical construction industry is now undertaking to pass to an annual wage basis. The union and the contractor have about reached the conclusion, statistically, that under it the hourly wage would be around 25 percent less than on an open market basis. If this project is successful, there would be little difficulty in permitting electrical workers, through their contractor, to sign up with the local factory branch.

Prefabricators believe that they can distribute better houses at lower cost, without penalty to wages. The ultimate arbiter in their drive for a share in the consumer's dollar will not be the union but the home buyer who wants their kind of house at the price they can sell it.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has never halted or obstructed technological change; but we believe it should not be ushered in as a whim of the moment—willy-nilly. We have been a constant advocate of all-industry conferences where such policies can be formulated. Through free discussion and agreement, play of mind and scientific method, prefabrication can be handled with dispatch—for the good of industry and consumer.

cause not only income invested in the redevelopment would be tax exempt but also income from the redevelopment. Again, in the 80 percent income tax bracket, that is another 80 percent capital grant. The proposed maximum allowable interest of 3 percent would be a return of 15 percent on the investor's own funds.

Public low rent housing operates with no capital grant, and with an average annual federal subsidy of 2.8 percent (before the war—considerably less now). It looks as if public housers were pikers.

Some Social By-Products

THE LONG PERIOD OF AMORTIZATION COMBINED with the low interest rate for land acquisition might make it possible to reduce the land cost (on an annual basis) to one third or even one quarter the annual cost under normal methods. This would make it possible to achieve lower rents than under normal methods. Also the proposed limit of 3 percent on investment in building in a redeveloped area would make possible a further lowering of rent.

Even with these reductions, however, any

talk of \$4 or \$5 per room per month is just hot air. It is not likely that rents could be brought down to less than from \$28 to \$30 per dwelling unit per month. Such rents would serve very few, if any, slum dwelling families. They would have to seek other slum homes. By way of contrast, the average rent in low rent public housing projects (before the war) was just under \$13 per dwelling unit per month.

Every new private housing project, outside a redevelopment area, would be strangled by the competition of housing inside the area—with its favored treatment by an 80 percent capital grant (assuming those 20 cent dollars), a further annual subsidy equal to the interest return on the hand-out (2.4 percent annually on the 80 percent basis), and tax exemption on that return.

No longer would we need to worry about the operations of the producer of a half a dozen houses a year—or half a hundred. The army of "home builders" in communities throughout the nation would be replaced by great corporations who would have the "incentive" to invest their funds—tax exempt—in house building in

redeveloped areas.

Through it all, the production of housing would be geared to boom times of industrial income—to periods of high employment, and consequently higher prices than if building took advantage of lower prices in the dips of the business cycle, also strengthening the whole construction industry and steadying the national volume of employment.

Thumbs Down

PUBLIC HOUSERS HAVE NO DESIRE TO INVAD the field of private enterprise. At the same time, they have no intention of abandoning the only housing program that has ever really cleared slums—a program that has provided low income families with decent housing at rents they can afford.

At the same time it has paid large dividends in civic improvement. There is a great job to be done—the provision of adequate housing for the American people. This calls for the best thinking that can be put to the task. It is time to quit trying to climb over the back fence. It is time to get around the table and work together.

HOUSING PRINCIPLES FOR AMERICA

As formulated by the National Housing Agency and put forward by its administrator—for democratic discussion.

JOHN B. BLANDFORD, JR.

In peace no less than in war, we cannot cement housing unity, or build upon it, if each individual or group approaches the problem primarily from the standpoint of its own isolated interests.

The builder wants to build houses—but housing does not exist just for the sake of building. The investor wants to invest funds—but housing does not exist just for the sake of investment. The worker wants a job—but housing does not exist just to provide jobs.

The central, predominant purpose of all postwar housing activity will be to serve the need of American families for an American standard of living. In peace as well as in war, our nation's needs should provide the unifying theme for our housing endeavor. The task of serving that need should hold us together.

Out of our war experience, and out of the wealth of prewar experience located in the various constituents of the National Housing Agency, we have prepared a statement of housing principles for America. Any such platform must be refined and amended through the process of democratic discussion; its planks must be weighed one by one in the scales of public opinion.

Seventeen Planks for a Housing Platform

1. Housing serves human needs. The family centers around the home. The nation centers around the family. Decent housing cannot create Utopia. But decent housing is vital to the health, safety, and welfare of the families of the nation.

2. All Americans should get decent housing. This includes millions of veterans who will need homes. It includes families in rural shacks and urban slums. It includes all minority groups. We have the manpower, resources, industry, and brains to do the whole job.

3. The slums must go. Their economic and social cost is intolerably high. They must be replaced gradually through a rounded program which includes decent housing within the means of slum dwellers.

4. Better housing makes better towns and cities. Streets, transportation, schools, recreational areas, and business districts are built to serve homes. Local revenues are affected by home values. Well planned and well built housing reduces the cost of congestion and blight.

★ ★ ★

5. Jobs and prosperity depend in large measure upon housing. Home building creates jobs, business opportunity and income on a vast scale affecting our whole economy.

6. Housing must be progressive. Our economy cannot expand to its maximum capacity if housing stands still. To get full employment, full investment, and higher standards of living, housing must be a leader among all American enterprise. Leadership means quality as well as quantity. We must reach for ever-higher and more efficient standards of design, construction and livability, applying to the housing unit, the neighborhood and the community.

7. Housing progress must be shared with the workers. We must combine improvements in housing methods and techniques with assurances of fuller employment at steadier pay for those whose livelihoods depend upon building houses.

★ ★ ★

8. Housing should conserve when it can. Investments in present housing have value. Fundamentally sound housing that has commenced to run down should be rehabilitated and repaired before it is too late. Neighborhoods should be maintained, rather than discarded or allowed to decay.

9. Opportunity for home ownership should be enlarged. The first step is producing good housing at lower cost. In large projects, new types of home financing, such as the mutual method, should be explored. At the same time, rental housing should be available for the family that does not want to buy. This is an additional chance for enterprising builders and lending institutions.

10. Housing is predominantly a job for private enterprise. The task is so big that any other approach is unworkable and unrealistic. The acceptance of this principle is a starting point for

housing progress. We need 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 new houses annually in the first postwar decade.

★ ★ ★

11. Housing differs from public works. Most of it is privately financed. The publicly aided portion must also be handled as housing, so that there may be a coordinated approach to the whole housing need.

12. Housing is mainly a local responsibility. In peacetime, housing should be planned, built, owned, and managed by individuals, by private enterprise, by voluntary groups, or by local housing authorities. The federal government should constantly seek to reduce its ownership or operation of housing. It should not assume responsibility for local planning.

13. The federal government's role in housing should be supplementary. It should do what cannot be done otherwise. It should help private enterprise to serve the largest possible portion of the nation's housing needs. Public agencies must be ready to withdraw from any area, when better incomes or lower costs enable individuals, cooperatives, labor groups or business organizations to pick up the responsibility and carry it forward.

14. But the federal government's role involves bedrock responsibility for making sure that decent housing for all the people is gradually achieved. This means that the government should use funds or credits to aid local low rent housing projects, to the extent that low income families cannot otherwise be served.

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15. Housing requires local cooperation. All the housing problems of a community are interrelated. Private enterprise and local communities should agree upon the distribution of responsibility for meeting housing needs. In peacetime, the government should not program housing.

16. American housing needs unity. This unity should be founded upon free and fair debate, upon facts and reason rather than prejudice or emotion, and upon intelligent adjustment of conflicting interests. This indicates that housing should draw its principles from the principles of democracy.

17. Housing and democracy. The application of the principles of democracy to housing may be summed up in this proposition:—

The most important stake in housing is held by the American family. Solving the housing problem means providing more American families with better housing at lower costs. All other factors—the lender, the landlord, the contractor, the materials supplier, the real estate operator, the worker engaged in housing, the local, state, or federal housing agencies—exist to do this job. Their own welfare depends upon how well they do it.

Housing will advance when the driving force behind it is the needs of the American people, recognized, expressed, and fulfilled by themselves.



The Ninety and Nine

H. v. L.

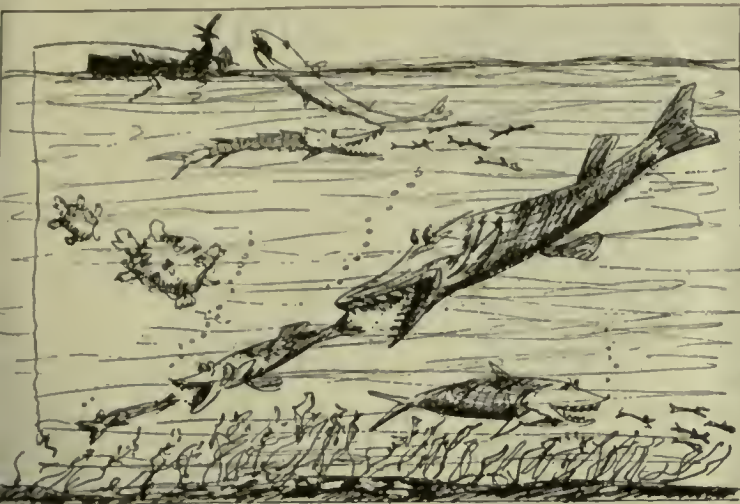
In Warm Memory

Hendrik Willem van Loon, great hulk of a fellow, used to have an alter ego—the thin little man in a high hat who figured in so many of his drawings. Sometimes it was the strolling minstrel aloof from the milling mass, as in the sketch at the left. Sometimes it was the man on Mars watching our world from afar. Or it was the small figure sailing through the sky on a hobby-horse, which we of *The Survey* still use as a decoration on inter-office notes. Standing a bit apart from the hurly-burly, van Loon's little onlooker made wry comments about the ways of mankind.

Van Loon made inimitable drawings, such as these, regularly for *The Survey* from 1921-26, and frequently from then on until the European war and the fall of The Netherlands, where he was born, diverted his gargantuan energy to fighting the Nazis with pen and short-wave broadcasts. During the years of our close association he had written prodigiously as well, embellishing his words with his famous quill sketches—those books that both children and grown-ups love, the book on Rembrandt that he thought his best, that on the arts. When he died on March 11, at sixty-two, a President and a Queen lamented his going—and a host of people who were his friends.



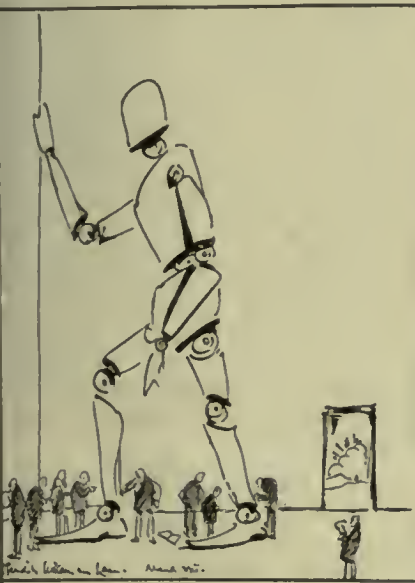
Like a prehistoric animal man has become swift and strong—except in his head



Laissez Faire



Elizabethan Charity



Homo Economicus

Theoretically we have made the creature perfect; and yet it won't work



Heritages of the Mind



Primitive man had his two hands and the Universe

The Tide of War on the Campus

College men yesterday and tomorrow, as seen by an educator who here discusses the needs and desires of postwar students now fighting in a global war.

EVERETT B. SACKETT

THE SUDDEN COLLAPSE OF THE ARMY Specialized Training Program on April 1 has added a sharp new throb to the headache which has beset American colleges with increasing severity since war clouds first gathered. With the army men gone, many colleges are so hard pressed financially that they are seeking to turn themselves into glorified prep schools.

Survival until the war's end is of tremendous immediate concern, especially to the men's colleges. But postwar problems are the real challenge to educational statesmanship. Looming in the uncertain distance is the huge task of providing appropriate and acceptable education for a great flood of returning servicemen.

As background, it is necessary to see how war already has changed the American campus. My illustrations will be drawn principally from the University of New Hampshire, where I have been a firsthand observer.

Go back to Freshman Week, 1938. "Lord, what's coming to these boys?" The assistant professor of languages, who was supposed to be proctoring, folded his *Times* with its black banks of headlines—"Britain & France Accept Hitler Demands on Czechs; Will Ask Benes to Surrender German Areas; Prague, Incredulous, Regards Action as Betrayal"—and looked out over the gym. It was crowded with hundreds of husky, alert youths fresh from the farms, the villages, the cities. They leaned over the psychological tests on their lap boards, worried only about whether "refulgent" and "radiant" were the same or different in meaning.

Freshman Week, 1939. Lightning now flashed across the black clouds above Europe. But the new freshmen, and those of previous years, were more aware of the twisting runs of halfback Clark in the pre-season scrimmages.

Freshman Week, 1940. Slight gusts from the still distant storm stirred on the campus. Sportwriters spoke of Clark as the One-Man Panzer. The boys crowded into their ROTC classes with new interest. Most of those who had finished the advanced ROTC course the year before and who had received reserve commissions upon graduation already were in active service with the new army.

Freshman Week, 1941. As the new crop of freshmen struggled with their psychological examinations, those who had faced their tests while the Germans were taking the Sudetenland returned to the campus as seniors. Not all of the senior class returned.

Max and Fred were now training in Texas with National Guard outfits. Ed, Carl, Austen, and a half dozen others had traded their camps slacks and sweaters for the uniforms of air corps cadets. But few selective service boards were inclined to take upperclassmen out of college, even those boys seeking nothing more warlike than an A.B. in liberal arts. These students now began to add courses in mathematics and physics to their schedules as keys to commissions upon graduation.

The Quickening Tempo

GONE WAS THE QUESTION MARK THAT HAD sealed college diplomas half a dozen years before. The fog issuing from the lips of the America Firsters did not hide their future from the men in the class of '42.

Here and there a faculty member who held a reserve commission was called to active duty. A few others left for government service, sometimes to engage in mysterious research rumored to have something to do with electronics. Radar was not yet in the common vocabulary. Lights burned far into the night in shop and drafting laboratories as workmen swarmed in for federal defense training courses. On seaboard campuses there were vague plans for air raid precautions. But campus interest centered on "Tuffy" Fitanides, who flung the pigskin with bombsight accuracy.

The young men on the campuses of America that fall of 1941 were only about a tenth fewer than had pursued higher education the year before. Pearl Harbor was still a palm-fringed haven where warships put in to give the men shore leave—a concentration of American might too powerful to need vigilance.

The moleskins were in mothballs and basket shooters were sharpening their eyes when the dawn of December 7, 1941 came up on Pearl Harbor with a thunder never heard by Kipling. Bull sessions conquered completely over study that Sunday night in the dormitories and fraternity houses. But fraternities did not march en masse to recruiting stations as they had on April 7,

—By a middlewesterner, trained at Hamline, Minnesota, and Columbia, who was with the Red Cross in Paris, director of curriculum in the Canal Zone schools, research associate with the New York Regents' Inquiry. Mr. Sackett is now associate professor of education, registrar and director of admissions at the University of New Hampshire, and is serving as chairman of that university's War Service Committee.

1917. Classes met at eight on Monday morning.

Early in the week at a special war convocation the university president counseled the men to remain in college in order to complete training which would make them of more service when the time for joining the armed forces should come. This point of view was supported later by Secretary of War Stimson who said in part in a letter to George F. Zook, president of the American Council on Education, on March 16, 1942:

"The War Department hopes that the educational activities of the colleges of the country will be interrupted as little as possible consistent with the army effort, but it is recognized that very serious interruption may become more and more necessary as time goes on. I want to make it entirely clear that higher education in certain general lines and also in certain specific fields when seriously undertaken and successfully pursued develops qualities which will be a definite advantage to any man in the army and will be carefully considered as an important factor in determining his qualifications for admission to an Officers' Candidate School after he has taken the required basic training in the army."

The First to Go

DESPITE THE ADVICE TO REMAIN IN COLLEGE or to join a reserve which would permit at least some continuation of education, a substantial group went into uniform at the end of the first semester in January. Of these only one closed his withdrawal petition with "Remember Pearl Harbor." He went ashore with the marines on Guadalcanal.

From December 7 to the day of induction, a small proportion of men did little more than shadow box with their lessons. But many studied furiously, to learn as much as possible in the time remaining to them. A young man came to the registrar's office one morning with his induction notice. He started through the withdrawal routine but in a few minutes looked up to say: "Will it be all right if I come back this afternoon to finish this? There's a chemistry lecture this morning I don't want to miss."

Military tactics appeared on the campus principally in the campaigns of the army, navy, and marine corps to sign up prospective officers and flyers. This warfare grew so vigorous that finally an armistice was signed in Washington, providing that no representative of any branch could raid a campus unless accompanied by representatives of all the others. Each man was allowed to present the peculiar benefits of his

service in a public meeting participated in by all. Fraternity rushing rules had been adapted to a deadly business.

Chief arguments to persuade students to sign were the likelihood of a commission and the promise that the call to active training would be delayed from one to several semesters to permit the completion of degree work, or at least to bring completion nearer. Opportunities for enlistments with varying special benefits became so numerous that, to keep college advisers informed, the American Council on Education on February 20, 1942, started a cumulative circular, "War Service Opportunities for College and University Students." A year later changes had become so numerous that the following appeared in a February 1943, issue:

"After the army and navy release full details on their new college programs and when the complete procedures at induction centers are determined, we will be able to develop a revised system of paging and simulating. Meanwhile, as a preliminary step, please remove the following pages from your W.S.O. folder: 1-a, 1-b1-c, 1-d, 1-e, 1-g1, 1-i, 2-c, 3-a, 4, 5, 6, 8-a, 9, 1, 11, 2 and 21."

It was dusk of the day of special inducements. The air corps had such a backlog of mentally alert, physically perfect youngsters eager to get into training that to keep them occupied with pre-flight training on campuses and in resort hotels was a sizable job. Those college men who were committed to a particular service were about to don uniforms and enjoy service pay while pursuing their studies. For civilian students, the colleges looked more and more to women. The April 24, 1943, issue of War Service Opportunities reflected the change by saying: "W.S.O. has been largely directed toward college men. It is now planned to give more attention to college women."

The Co-ed's Turn

ATTRACTIVELY ILLUSTRATED PAMPHLETS ON "War Training for Women" were issued to acquaint the co-eds with their opportunities to be of service in such fields as engineering assistant, production expeditor, agriculturist, dietitian, occupational therapist.

During the winter and spring of 1943, the education of civilian men became a campus deline. Girls still crowded the women's dormitories, but the men's halls became army and navy barracks. Fraternities became college rooming houses or locked their doors at the 1943 commencement.

At the University of New Hampshire, where the over-all loss of enrollment was less than the national average, the percentage of men in the 1942-43 freshman, sophomore, and junior classes returning to the campus the following fall was:

In Agriculture

Freshman, 8%; sophomore, 0%; junior, 16%

In Liberal Arts

Freshman, 8%; sophomore, 16%; junior, 13%

In Technology

Freshman, 13%; sophomore, 5%; junior, 42%



Soldiers in the making on the University of New Hampshire campus studied the construction and reading of maps as part of their military training in the ROTC

The tide was out on the college campuses.

Those who received their diplomas in June 1943, were not confined to those who had gone through Freshman Week together four years before. War swept through sedate college corridors in the form of a minor blast called "acceleration." In a race to complete college before entering the service or to prepare themselves sooner for war jobs, students gulped down each term great repasts of credits that previously would have been expected to cause violent mental indigestion. Grass that in past summers had grown between the bricks of campus walks was ruthlessly trod down by hurrying feet during the summer of 1942. The traditional class divisions—freshmen, sophomores, juniors, seniors—came splintering down like goal posts at the end of a hard fought football game. Radio comedians told of the student who went to sleep in a physics lecture and thereby missed his sophomore year.

A New Tempo

FEBRUARY FRESHMEN CAME FLOCKING IN from the middle of the senior year of high school to be followed by June freshmen and October freshmen. Freshmen Week became Freshmen Weekend, crowded in along with Commencement between the close of one semester on Saturday noon and the start of another Monday morning. College education had changed from a pleasant four-year mingling of study and extra-curricular activities to a war industry with a batch of degrees coming off the assembly line every four months.

June to December, 1943, saw the peak of the various college military training programs. Professors of the humanities dusted off their old college texts in mathematics

and physics to lend a hand to the hard pressed instructors in those essential military subjects. There was much creaking and groaning of the academic lumber wagon as it was jerked out of accustomed ruts by directives from Washington and sent rattling down a newly surveyed trail.

With the start of 1944 the campus training of army men largely came to an end with a most unacademic suddenness. At New Hampshire, professors went home from a meeting where they had considered ways of putting into effect a new Army Specialized Training curriculum fresh from Washington to learn from the radio newscast that, while they were meeting, the virtual elimination of the program had been announced in the capital.

From Distant Fronts

MANY A CAMPUS BREATH WAS CAUGHT. BUT white-haired "Dad," registrar *emeritus* able to match the name and face of every alumnus from World War I to World War II, was busier than ever with his records of the boys in service.

At first there had been only a few score cards, one for each student, former student, and alumnus in service. Then there were hundreds; now, thousands. Letters came in from Army Post Office this and Fleet Post Office that. The boys from the farms, the villages, the cities wrote from the South Pacific, the North Atlantic, from Africa and India, from all the places where strong American hands are carrying American guns.

Those hearts steeled to kill still beat warm for Alma Mater. Their letters tell the story.

"I am in Italy now, 'Dad,' have been here since the invasion and have seen many things. I am not kidding when I tell you



Under the accelerated programs, co-eds are preparing themselves for participation in the war effort. Left, the teacher of an agricultural course shows students the good points of the Ayrshire. Right, college girls take "speed up" training to become radio technicians

that many times when things were hot and tough, I found my thoughts wandering back to Durham and all that it stands for. Perhaps the psychology department can give some long explanations for it, but I attribute it to just the four best years of my life, passing in review."

"... left the hospital. . . . There's plenty of time to do everything before going back. What a break! What a life! Sleep late mornings, go to bed when I get ready. Just like college, except for studying. . . . A Labor Day dance was to take place for the officers. . . . Who were the six fellows at this place? By a rare coincidence, they were all members of the Class of 1942, believe it or not!"

"It looks like a jungle Christmas for us this year, but I have my hope I may get up to the campus by next summer if all goes well."

To the boys in uniform the campus is more than a pleasant memory. To many it is a path to the sort of peacetime life they hope to live.

Lt. R— A— class of '42, 86th Fighter Squadron, APO 485, writes: "I finished three years of the forestry course at the university before leaving to join the Army Air Force. In the army I received seven and one half months training in both flying and ground courses. I am now a first lieutenant and had a certain amount of operational flying in the Battle for North Africa. I understand that there are certain courses of army training which can be applied to work for a degree. I would like to find my own position in relation to a degree from the university and what kind of arrangements there are for return to student status after the war."

From E— V—, PhM 1/c, U.S.N., Fleet Post Office Navy 147, comes: "Like many other young fellows back home the past three or four years, the war interrupted my education. . . . I should like information on your correspondence courses. When the world is back to normal times again, I have hopes of entering your university and studying the liberal arts. . . . I am not

certain if I studied the required points in high school for college entrances; therefore, I am interested in acquiring the required credits through correspondence courses."

Pvt. J— C— writes: "While I am here in New Guinea I have the opportunity of taking correspondence courses given through the Armed Forces Institute . . . I am interested to know if the university would accept credits obtained in this manner. I was a former student of the university in the class of '31. I plan to return to college after the war, so I am taking advantage of this opportunity to obtain more credits."

Sgt. W— D— 509 Parachute Infantry, APO 464: "Please inform me if the university will accept credit earned through Army Institute correspondence courses toward a degree. I am a resident of the state and intend to apply for admission as soon as possible. I will be at least twenty-four years of age at that time and wish to acquire an advanced standing."

The return to the campus is already more than a hope for some. Two former marines, their health undermined by the campaign on Guadalcanal, were among the first to resume their studies. There are two men who crashed during the flight training to injure themselves beyond complete repair. Added to these are a dozen others discharged during training because of minor but chronic diseases or the letting go of joints injured in football.

Some Have Returned

RETURNED VETERANS WITH A DISABILITY OF 10 percent or more directly due to military service are eligible for vocational rehabilitation through the Veterans Administration. This training may be on the college level for those qualified and may extend over four calendar years. A single man receives, in addition to tuition and books, \$80 a month. There are small additional allotments for dependents.

In New Hampshire (and undoubtedly in other states), the Veterans Administration

officials not only do their best to expedite the passage of a case through the various boards set up to guard against unworthy claims but even try to persuade those eligible to secure adequate training for future employment rather than to grab the first well paid war job that comes along. In some states, the present machinery appears incapable of expeditious handling of the relatively small number of cases now entitled to assistance.

To break the bottleneck of a single office serving large populations, the Veterans Administration is investigating the possibilities of establishing branch rehabilitation offices in conveniently located colleges. This move also envisages the utilization of faculty members as counsellors.

Disabled veterans who do not qualify for assistance from the Veterans Administration may be helped by the vocational rehabilitation service of the various state boards of vocational education, in cooperation with the Federal Security Agency. War disabled civilians also are eligible for assistance from this source.

The boys already back are but the first tentative ripples of the tide that will engulf the campuses when the war ends. Most of those who return will not, we presume, be eligible for the special assistance given the disabled. How great the flood will be there is no way of knowing. The preliminary report of the Armed Forces Committee on Postwar Educational Opportunities for Service Personnel, transmitted to the President to Congress on October 27, 1944, estimates the number who will want to continue their education for at least one year as 1,000,000. Not all of these will be capable or desirous of getting their postwar education on the college campuses, but a large majority of them will.

Going back to experience following the first World War is no help in making estimates, for at least two important reasons. One is the great growth in college attendance between the two wars. In 1920 there were 517,000 regular college students. In 1940 the number was 1,493,000.

Education in the Army

A SECOND REASON, RESULTING IN PART AT least from the first, is the greater emphasis in this war on the continuation of education while in the service. The army fosters education of its men through the education branch of the special service division of the army service forces. Chief of this branch is Colonel Francis T. Spalding, on leave from his position as dean of the Graduate School of Education at Harvard.

A major project of this branch is the Armed Forces Institute. This started as an army undertaking, but later the navy joined in. The Institute, with headquarters at Madison, Wis., is probably destined to be the world's greatest correspondence school.

On the secondary school level the Institute puts out its own courses and self-teaching texts. These sell to enlisted men for a nominal sum. On the college level, the institute acts as a sort of volunteer broker or virtually all the accredited organizations in the country offering correspondence courses.

Education officers with the larger units are another means of encouraging servicemen to keep alive intellectually. Reference to the correspondence courses of the Armed Forces Institute in three of the four letters from servicemen regarding future schooling is typical of such mail.

How many men who never would have found their way to a college campus because of the financial bar will be encouraged to gain college education with the assistance of federal grants at the war's end? Bright young man after bright young man whose education had ended with high school because he could not afford college

eagerly went to college under the Army Specialized Training Program. With governmental financial help, these boys can be expected to crowd to the campuses following their demobilization.

Postwar Proposals

ON THE SIGNING OF THE BILL LOWERING THE draft age to eighteen, in November 1942, President Roosevelt appointed the committee on postwar educational opportunities, with Major General Frederick H. Osborn as chairman. Legislation to make the recommendations of this committee operative is now before Congress.

The committee recommends: "That the federal government should make it financially feasible for every man and woman who has served six months or more in the armed forces since September 16, 1940 (the date the Selective Service Act became effective) to have a maximum of one calendar year of education or training, beginning not later than six months after he leaves the service, if he wants it and is admitted to an approved educational institution. In addition, the committee believes it should be made financially possible for a limited number of exceptionally able ex-service personnel (the number to be apportioned among the states according to the numbers of service personnel coming from these states) to carry on their education for a period of one, two, and in some instances as much as three additional years, provided—

1. That completion of the courses they are taking will serve to meet recognized educational needs;
2. That by superior performance on a

competitive basis they have demonstrated the likelihood that they will profit from these courses; and

3. That they continue to make satisfactory progress in the courses and to give promise of future usefulness.

"During the first year after discharge, the financial arrangements we have in mind would provide every ex-service person taking advantage of them as a full time student, first, with his tuition and fees at an approved institution of his choice to which he had secured admission; and, second, a sum of \$50 a month in the case of single persons, and \$75 a month in the case of married men, with an allowance of \$10 for each child, to meet living expenses while he or she is attending school. Ex-service personnel enrolling as part time students under this plan should be allowed tuition and other school fees.

"For the limited number chosen, as a result of their special qualifications and accomplishments, to go ahead with additional years of education needed to bring the country back to a prewar educational par, the financial arrangements would be the same, with the added provision of federal loans to a maximum of \$50 a month for those finding it impossible to meet their expenses with the grant provided."

The committee does not look on the proposed training merely as vocational but, on the contrary, believes "it particularly important to have a substantial percentage of the most gifted devoted to studies designed to provide liberal education," for "to secure at the same time stability and constructive leadership, the nation must have in the ex-



Former members of the ROTC, newly inducted into the army, leave their college dormitory on their way to southern training camps

service group a large number of men and women who have had broad civic and liberal education as well as specialized vocational preparation."

Postwar Problems

ALTHOUGH NEITHER THE EXACT SIZE NOR shape of the problem can be clearly seen, in the words of President Leonard Carmichael of Tufts College, chairman of the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel of the War Manpower Commission:

"Fitting college and university programs to returning soldiers will be an extremely difficult and complex problem . . . Accommodating the plant facilities and faculties of this large influx of students without adulterating the educational program will be difficult. Institutions should be on their guard against too great an expansion, since the period of large enrollments will likely be relatively short."

Finding sufficient plant facilities to care for the surge of postwar enrollment will be a serious but probably not insurmountable obstacle. The army and navy college training programs have shown colleges that classrooms and laboratories can be scheduled so as to accommodate much larger numbers of students than formerly was considered feasible.

Furthermore, most college classes, especially on the senior college and graduate level, could enroll more students. In many cases, advanced classes are so small that increased numbers in them would be educationally beneficial. Dormitory housing will be a problem for many institutions in rural settings.

The curriculum is another matter. The man who returns to start the fall semester of his junior year after three years of hunting Japs over the jungles, mountains, and plains of Asia in a P-39 will be a different individual from the boy returning to place his foot upon the same rung of the educational ladder with nothing between him and the end of his sophomore year but three months of bussing dirty dishes in a hotel. The bus boy is the normal college student, the student around whom the college has grown.

Three Approaches

THERE ARE THREE APPROACHES TO THE problem. Some educational leaders believe that distinct programs should be set up temporarily to care for the returning veteran apart from the regular college student body. Others, who have been seeking radical reorganization of the college curriculum, see in the pressure of the returning servicemen a force that can be directed to help push through permanent reforms. Mighty muscled inertia silently champions letting the veteran be fitted to the existing curriculum as best he may.

The setting up of a special program for returning veterans certainly offers the best opportunity for the maximum adjustment to their special background and objectives.

It would be administratively feasible in the large institutions, but not in the small ones. There would be a practical difficulty in many professional fields of meeting certification minutiae set by professional organizations or state laws, should the special curricula depart too far from tradition.

Although the veteran will want attention to his particular needs, will he be satisfied with his postwar college life if he is kept across the tracks from the regular student body? Assuming that a special program is feasible from all points of view and that the veteran is happy in it, will he be getting the highest benefit in terms of readjustment to civilian life if on the campus the veteran's way is smoothed at every turn? If difficulty is inevitable as the soldier changes back to a civilian, the more of this friction eliminated on the campus the less will remain for shop, store, office, and home.

Using the returning veteran as a lever for securing curriculum reform is legitimate only if the tool is not sacrificed to the job. There is serious danger that it would be. Educational reforms move rapidly only on paper. About three fourths of educational budgets go for teachers' salaries. The teacher's weight in determining educational policy is in about this same proportion. Most teachers are old dogs. Consequently by the time any fundamental educational reforms could be made really effective in the classroom the floodtide of returning veterans would have come and gone.

Basing educational plans for returning veterans largely on general adjustment of college practices and neglecting individual adjustments is likely to result in the veteran's being in college while the good of the old is going and the good of the new has not arrived. The solid ice of the winter Yukon is not so good a highway as the free flowing water of the summer Yukon, but the Yukon during the spring break-up is no highway at all.

To look with disfavor upon the first two approaches and to fall back wholly upon the third is the counsel of despair. Probably the best solution is a combination of the three.

Special courses will be needed by many veterans. For some groups, special programs will doubtless be more effective than a traditional college schedule. For all, there will be need of careful guidance, guidance with a broader base than the typical peacetime program.

This need is generally recognized and steps are being taken to meet it. The guidance agency will need to be able to call upon faculties for special refresher work to reestablish study habits before the veteran takes up regular classroom work. It will need to have authority to eliminate from professional and technical programs parts which may have been approximately achieved by a man with military training and experience. It will need to have available examinations good enough to determine what basic courses or parts of courses, prerequisite for advanced work, have been mastered by the veteran so that he will not

need to mark time in what for him is a unessential course.

The refresher work mentioned above can well take as its subject matter areas of preparatory courses in which the examinations show the veteran to be lacking. Such a guidance agency would be able very rapidly with some individuals, after a long period with others, to fit the veteran back into approximately normal college programs. In the process, desirable reforms of many college traditions might be achieved, but firm obstacles would be bypassed not battered down with veterans.

Outside the Classrooms

PHASES OF COLLEGE LIFE OTHER THAN THE curricular will be affected by returning veterans. As Major Ned L. Reglein, writing in the October 1943 *Journal of Higher Education*, put it:

"Extra-curricular activities are due for some changes, too. The ex-dive bomber when he returns to campus, will find little comfort in a membership in the local madolin club or philatelist group."

The campus of the writer's institution happens to possess a ski jump, which should offer a mild form of relaxation even to a dive bomber. But not all campuses have such manly appurtenances. Football and the other body-contact sports will be popular, and probably rougher.

Life on a campus, like the life in any other community, is largely determined by the people who live in it. Where those in community are divided into two distinct groups, even intelligent direction of community life will be unable to eliminate a friction between the groups. The veteran and the college students fresh from high school will be different.

No better description of the difference between the homesick freshman and the returning veteran can be found than a poem written on Guadalcanal in September, 1942 by Vincent H. Cassidy, Jr., and first published in the Manchester (N. H.) *Leader*. In the fall of 1941, Cassidy was a freshman at the University of New Hampshire. Today he is a veteran of the South Pacific where, as a corporal in a Marine Corps Raiders' Battalion, he was decorated with the Silver Star for "his leadership, personal bravery and reassuring coolness under fire. . . ."

YESTERDAY?

Ah, yes, I remember yesterday,
I was young then, light of heart and gay
A stranger still to fear and sleepless night
But that was yesterday.
The clang of steel, the pang of pain,
The bitter twang of twice-born hate
I had not known, nor yet had been at war
I had not noticed day by day
Dear ones' faces fade away,
And home become a dream, a thing
remembered,
Hoped for—all but lost in memory.
But now I've seen more than I'll say—
How old I've grown since yesterday!

New Novels on Social Issues

HARRY HANSEN

IT IS HARD TO BELIEVE THAT THERE WAS EVER a time when the presence of social issues in novels was regarded as an intrusion and a detriment to literature. Yet such was the case and the "realists" who preferred the "problem novel" had considerable critical bias to overcome. Today, novelists are so accustomed to find their themes in the conflicts of American life that a novel without an earnest attempt to tackle a social situation is dismissed as "escapist." Recognition of literary values, however, is growing; propaganda must persuade by more than a reporter's narrative.

Two Races in the South

AMONG THIS SEASON'S NEW NOVELS "STRANGE Fruit," by Lillian Smith, is a serious effort to portray the American dilemma of the South with more than argument. The author, who has been busy with critical writing, obviously feels that there is an advantage in having a novelist's license to deal with the situation of the Negro in a southern white community. Even though her book has not evoked the enthusiasm that greeted Richard Wright's "Native Son," it has won respectful attention and discriminating praise. The author was an editor of the *North Georgia Review* and now edits *South Today* and lives in Clayton, Ga., well within the area described in her book as Maxwell, Ga. Known for her sympathy with the aims of southern Negroes and her critical comment on southern conservatism, it may be assumed that much firsthand observation lies behind her fictional treatment of this subject.

Miss Smith has described the happy relationship between the son of a well-to-do white family and a Negro girl with a college education. It is a love story and difficulties do not arise until the girl becomes pregnant and the social pressures begin. Tracy Dean is portrayed as a likable but weak-willed southern lad; Nonnie Anderson has placed her confidence in him since he was a little girl and is happy to bear his child. This disposition of white and Negro individuals to get along together is affected by the fear of Bess, Nonnie's elder sister, and of Tracy's mother, who begins to work on him to get him to marry the girl across the street and join the church. Even the minister, Brother Dunwoodie, advocates expediency, rather than justice, as the best way out.

If the plot creaks a bit here, it may be because Miss Smith is eager to get the tragedy over with, so that its effects on the community may be portrayed. She pictures Tracy's confused groping among the claims

of duty and desire: "It gave him a thrill to see her like that, until he remembered her race, and then it made him sick at his stomach and confused." But he yields to his mother and pays Henry McIntosh, the Negro he has known all his life, to agree to marry Nonnie, for money. And Nonnie's brother Ed, who has a government job in Washington and is home for a few days, overhears Henry's boasting and kills Tracy.

Miss Smith's knowledge of a southern community is complete. She overlooks nobody in describing the social responsibility for the tragedy that follows. Individuals disavow lynching, but a disorderly mob boils up from somewhere, and the businessmen comfort themselves by describing it as "riff-raff, no counts."

The white editor, the mill owner, are uneasy, but try to justify the state of things. The evangelist regrets the incident, fears it may hurt the revival; the least said about it the better. "A servant of God has no business mixing in such matters," says he; "our job is the winning of souls to Christ." Old Cap'n Rushton, busy with his still, liked the Negroes, though they seemed more like children or animals to him, but he had kept out of the arguments about them, "for a lynching wasn't to his liking. One of those things that seem necessary now and then, but you let the other fellow do it . . . just hoped they got the right nigger." Prentiss Reid, the editor, who had "radical" views and had asked what the town would do if Christ came, decided that lawlessness and violence are always bad, but now it was time to forget them and go back to work. The South would take care of its Negroes, better than the northern critics could.

The Negroes' "Place"

MISS SMITH PORTRAYS THE NEGRO ATTITUDE through several representative personalities: Ed Anderson, who is respected in Washington and finds the Maxwell situation burdensome; Sam Perry, who gets his way by wheedling the whites until his demand for justice makes him "forget his place"; more effectively through Bess, sister of Nonnie and Ed, who has adjusted her life to the taboos; who knew that, even though the Andersons had been getting a little whiter with each generation, the fate of the Negro was their own. Deep inside herself she feels the pain and the injury, the humiliation of being "pushed around through back doors, starved for decent friendliness," and then told that your ancestors in Africa could make "bronze sculpture—or something." All this is packed into a thoughtful study of the American dilemma in a

Georgia town, and the novel form is only a convenient way for Miss Smith to present the tragic situation fully and concretely. (Reynal & Hitchcock, \$2.75)

Youth in the Southwest

TWO NEW NOVELS, WHOLLY DIFFERENT, DEAL with boyhood among minority groups in the American Southwest. In "The Life and Death of Little Jo," Robert Bright tells how a boy of Spanish American parents, in New Mexico, adjusts himself to the dominant culture. Jo's father, Eloy, the guitar player of the village, is in jail when Jo is born, having killed a man in a quarrel. Jo's ambition is to join the Penitentes when he grows up, but when he begins to live with his uncle and aunt, who are Roman Catholics, he is told that the Penitentes are "ignorant heretics." He reacts violently to the code of behavior they try to impose on him. He carries on a feud with a rival, but the sympathetic attitude of the author makes him seem justified in getting into a fatal altercation. When little Jo is drafted the lad of Spanish beginnings dies; the Jo who goes into the American army will put the old life behind him. (Doubleday, Doran, \$2)

Charles L. McNichols grew up on eleven Indian reservations, on which his father was the white Indian agent, so that personal experiences may well be transmuted in this friendly story of the association of a white lad and a young Mojave Indian, in "Crazy Weather." Known as South Boy, the white lad enjoys the life in the open with his pal Havek and joins him on a "far-away war" against the Piutes, although actually there is only one Piute who has run amok. It is easy to say that rarely is Indian life portrayed with such intimacy, for obviously the author knows it well.

South Boy is in torment because he faces the problem of going to school, and he won't be admitted to an Indian school because he isn't an Indian. His strict mother wants to rescue him from this undisciplined life. Thinking both as an Indian and as a white, South Boy weighs the two ways of living, observing the uses of portents and superstitions. What finally turns him away from the Indian life is characteristic—after the heavy rains he observes how well the new grass will serve him and his father in fattening "a hundred head of starved-out dogs," which can be sold as good cattle in the fall. That is the white man's practical nature asserting itself, and as the Indians race away, with no such thought of the future we detect an intentional contrast. It is an ingratiating tale of youth

in a field rarely touched by writers. (Macmillan, \$2)

A Spanish American Family

KYLE CRICHTON'S NOVEL ABOUT FAMILY LIFE in New Mexico, "The Proud People," is not a literary achievement, but offers an example of the tendency to introduce a social issue, even in a story written for entertainment. Mr. Crichton has interested himself in the doings of the Esquivels, a Spanish American clan, including a widowed mother and her son and daughter; a spendthrift brother, Uncle Bustamente, who plays the role of an eccentric; an unpredictable sister, Aunt Ceferina, home from France where she had lived as the wife of a diplomat; and another curious brother who had cut himself off from the clan and lived in New England under the name of Smith. Their animated discussions and activities fill the book.

Of interest to us is Mr. Crichton's awareness of a Spanish-American minority, which is crowded aside by later arrivals and sometimes grouped with the Mexicans. The daughter, Lolita, is confused by this, especially during a period when she is being courted by a brusque American who has no Spanish background; the son, Lorenzo, shows his resentment in several ways, including an attempt to avoid induction into the United States Army; the common sense of the family rescues him from this predicament before he can do himself injury. This issue is not obtrusive and therefore does not interfere much with the animated life of the Esquivels, who seem self-sufficient enough to make their own social laws. Mr. Crichton's narrative method is episodic; the spotlight shines first on one character and then on another; thus the issue of discrimination never reaches dramatic proportions. (Scribner, \$2.75)

The Light in the Fog

ANNE MORROW LINDBERGH TURNS ASIDE from international politics and naturalistic writing in her brief novel, "The Steep Ascent," to deal with a spiritual problem. Impressed, as she explains, by Arthur Koestler's reference to that moment when our trivial or routine lives face high tragedy and, presumably, gain some sort of ecstatic illumination, Mrs. Lindbergh describes a woman's inner experience during a dangerous flight over the Alps. Fearing for herself rather than for others, she stands "in the anteroom of death" as her husband, who is piloting the plane, loses his way in the fog. In that moment she touches the ecstatic heights, loses her fear of death, and welcomes all that life may have for her.

In her poetic language, Mrs. Lindbergh says the woman experienced not joy or resignation but "a kind of positive acceptance" and "reposed on it in complete peace and calm, like a maple seed on a shaft of air." Thereupon she feels reborn to earth. In the meantime, the husband pilots the plane bravely through the crisis, unaware of the change that has come over his wife, whose irritation with him has given place to a sudden tenderness as she recognizes his

"essence." Mrs. Lindbergh's achievement lies in her ability to make literary use of the emotions of flying, though I am not sure that she has portrayed "the intersection point of the timeless with time," which she quotes from the writings of T. S. Eliot. (Harcourt, Brace, \$2)

THE GERMANS

WHAT TO DO WITH GERMANY, by Louis Nizer. Ziff-Davis. \$2.50.

GERMANY WILL TRY IT AGAIN, by Sigrud Schultz. Reynal & Hitchcock. \$2.50.

GERMANY AFTER HITLER, by Paul Hagen. Farrar & Rinehart. \$2.

THE INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC HAS LATELY been overwhelmed by various suggestions, proposals, and plans for a "durable" and "just" peace. Our absorbing interest in planning for a "workable" peace now finds expression everywhere. Not only in London, Moscow, and Washington, but also in the editorial offices of book and periodical publishers, men pour out an endless stream of ideas on just how the world "must" be saved from World War III.

Although all these proposals are strikingly public spirited, humane, and world-minded, their differences are obvious. In fact, they are so obvious that the public contest in the U.S.A. over the postwar shape and character of Germany has assumed the nature of a minor civil war in the field of idealism.

This is illustrated by the three volumes under review—which are only a few of the many publications of this kind coming off the press. All three books seem to agree on one thing only—that the economic roots of Pan-Germanism must be utterly destroyed by the expropriation of the Junker landowners and the great industrialists who prepared the ground for Hitler. Mr. Nizer and Miss Schultz insist that the roots of Germany's aggressiveness must be eradicated; Mr. Hagen, with what might be characterized as a humanitarian and liberal point of view, maintains that any revengeful steps taken against Germany will actually be harmful to the victors.

With this in mind, Mr. Hagen should be granted a respectful hearing. He believes that Germany might be so weakened morally and physically before surrender that her political and social retardation, her apathetic state of permanent invalidism would injure her neighbors. Division of Germany into separate states would, in addition to other problems, create irredentism. Extermination and mass sterilization are also out. Mr. Hagen puts his faith in the ability of the anti-Nazi democratic elements—which exist today in concentration camps, in the underground, among exiles, and in trade unions—to bring the German democratic revolution to complete fulfillment.

Miss Schultz and Mr. Nizer belong to the Carthaginian school of Vansittart; of the two, Miss Schultz is more convincing. From her background as head of the Berlin office of the *Chicago Tribune*, she shows how the Pan-German elements, organized in a kind of quasi-formal "secret general

staff," began preparing for World War II even before the first war was over. And she warns that even now the same preparations are being made for a revival of German military ambitions after this war is lost. Unless all the elements behind this movement are extirpated, our costly efforts will have gained us nothing.

Mr. Nizer's ideas, on the other hand, are derived from the literature covering the field—although, as his bibliography indicates, he has missed several valuable studies. He thinks that since we are convinced that Germany has chosen the "pagan role with persistence and venom which has confounded all men of good will," we have to apply "the sword of justice in all its measured impartial fury" by such measures as the forfeiture of Germany's sovereignty, punishment of the nation as an entity, and economic as well as military disarmament. Although Mr. Hagen's treatment is the most impartial, the reviewer has a suspicion that Mr. Nizer's emotionalism also has definite value.

What might not humans do if they had a fair course to run, if fire and pestilence did not gird their steps and earthquakes engulf them, and if man did not match his creativeness with evil that casts down and destroys. Mr. Hagen belongs to the school which believes that man—and particularly the German—is really amenable to reason even in matters relating to such concepts as democracy and racism. In this respect, Miss Schultz and Mr. Nizer are useful "doubters."

The main trouble with all three books as a unit, is the difficulty inherent in all "peace-planning." The civil war and sniping carried on by all planners needs to be suspended by an armistice, so that the average man may read what has been offered and be allowed to form his own judgment. International peace is not a posy that springs from gentle wishes; nor does it flourish in a vacuum. It is an exceedingly pragmatic and complex unity, of which the moral urge is but a minor element.

JOSEPH S. ROUCER

Associate Professor of Political Science and Sociology, Hofstra College Hempstead, N. Y.

HOW TO THINK ABOUT WAR AND PEACE, by Mortimer J. Adler, with an introductory plea to the reader by Clifford Fadiman. Simon & Schuster. \$2.50.

THE WAY TO THINK ABOUT ANY PRACTICAL problem is to begin with the basic conditions and principles that govern its solution. Only within the limits of these can the problem be solved. Only in their light can detailed plans for any part of the solution be evaluated. If, moreover, some of these factors can be proved to be beyond dispute, then the thinking can make definite progress.

Professor Adler has given us a book on war and peace that, in its first half, stands out above all the others because it dares to make the categorical definitions that the world must accept if it sincerely desires global civic peace. If some of these defini-

(All books ordered through Survey Associates, Inc., will be postpaid)

ions seem hard, it is only because they cut sharply into our prejudices and our delusions. With clear and inexorable logic, Professor Adler demonstrates in simplest terms the oft-repeated but much neglected thesis that "the only cause of war is anarchy," that what we have called "peace," even what we are now planning, is merely a truce," and that "nothing less than world government will establish world peace even in the least degree."

Until world peace is taken for granted, this much of the book should be required indoctrination for every citizen of the world. Unfortunately, however, the volume is spoiled by its second half, wherein Mr. Adler departs from the question of *how* to think about peace, and strays outside the realm of reason and logic to *what* he thinks are the probabilities of peace. Soon he himself gets lost on the same false trails of pessimism and inconsistency he had so brilliantly pointed out earlier. He foresees no true peace until about the year 2444; and, although he insists at length that even so remote a goal should govern our present actions, his tentative recommendations are usually less progressive than those already in the field.

This last part of the book lacks faith. It throws cold water over what should be left to burn brightly. We can hope that the author will at some date present the time-honored first section by itself. How soon its precepts are put into effect is a matter only of the belief and faith of enough determined people. WILLIAM R. HUNTINGTON
Architect, St. James, Long Island

THE STRUCTURE OF MORALE, by J. T. MacCurdy. Macmillan. \$2.

THIS BOOK READS EASILY AND BOTH STIMULATES and demands thought. The subject explored is the relation and the mechanics of reaction of the total man to his environment, and to all the social groups it contains. Man is therefore examined biologically, and his response to an instinct for social behavior is examined psychologically. Trotter's theory that instinctive herd behavior patterns are more powerful than self-interest is adopted.

A wide range of illustrative material, largely taken from the present conflict, and the current values of political philosophy, are entertainingly employed. We are spared the usual pinwheels and special pleading. The development of morale in the individual is illustrated in terms of the actual effectiveness of aerial bombing. Morale is shown to be a kind of recoil from the disintegrating fear of unknown dangers, which, once known, become capable of appraisal, and permit choices of reaction to emerge. Proceeding on a scale of national values, a brilliant discussion of the effect of varying traditions and geographical and environmental factors on national morale is presented.

In a footnote this author points out that most people quickly learn to face death, but that Westerners have not been conditioned to face misery to the extent that



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Asiatics have. He suggests that Hitler should have remembered this before counting on his blitzkrieg when he attacked the Russians.

A section of the book is devoted to an analysis of the objective limitations of large scale organization when applied to industrial, governmental, military, or any other hierarchical development, and to the importance of liaison, and the difficulty of its coordinate development. To illustrate this theme the English governmental hierarchy is examined, and the strength and weaknesses of a stratified society, operating as a democracy, are analysed, with shrewd comment on compensatory values and future trends.

Engrossing as this analysis is, it is here that some sense of incompleteness is felt. The trenchant findings are impliedly offered as abstractions, likely, because of man's nature, to operate as constants.

As is often true of profound reflections simply stated, the overtones of this book are its most important contributions. They stimulate thought away from the day's incandescence and the urge for quick evaluations and direct it to the more far reaching problem of how we, and our institutions, and those of our enemies, can be remade and improved on a more humanistic and a more realistic basis.

We hope, in the defeat of our enemies, to remove war's cause "in our time." But we do not know whether, or to what extent, organized society now wages civil war. Nor whether we can hope by more peaceful means to make such fundamental changes in our institutions and folkways as a rapidly changing environment may be compelling us to make. Political issues should be settled, sanctions imposed and security contracted for at the next Versailles, but thereafter deep and dispassion-

ate thought must be stimulated as to the nature of man as a social animal, his limitations, and his attainable aspirations. To this end this short book goes a long way in the right direction.

PHILIP J. WICKSER
Former member Committee on Coordination and Direction of War Effort, American Bar Association, Buffalo, N. Y.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS. Ten Short Novels of Hitler's War Against the Moral Code. Edited by Armin L. Robinson. Simon & Schuster. \$3.

SEVERAL MONTHS AGO CARL CARMER collected the testimony of our foes as to their hatred of God, as well as numerous utterances of leaders of the anti-fascist front in defense of our great religious heritage. The present volume of anti-fascist novelettes endeavors to teach the same lesson—that Nazism is, essentially, a revolt of the beast within man against what Nietzsche and subsequently his fascist pupils termed "Christian slave morals"; but in this case the war against the neo-pagans is being waged by means of poetical creation rather than documentary evidence.

Each of the Ten Commandments (or rather the sins committed by the Nazis against each of them) becomes the *raison d'être* of a separate story, and ten writers (seven Europeans and three Americans) were chosen to contribute an item to this unusual anthology. Although the trend of the book is obvious, its genesis will neither diminish the unbiased reader's pleasure nor detract from the value of the stories.

Perhaps the term "pleasure" is somewhat out of place, as far as nine of the ten stories are concerned. For except for the first one, dealing with Moses' handing down of the Law and written in Thomas Mann's unsurpassable romantic irony, the tales are grue-

some and depressing. Rebecca West takes us to Copenhagen at the time of the German invasion; Franz Werfel to an Austrian frontier town shortly after the *Anschluss*; Bruno Frank depicts the mortal struggle between fascists and anti-fascists within Nazi Germany; Sigrid Undset tells of the Nazi pillaging of her native country, and so on. Here is the sad panorama of Hitler's Fortress Europe where Christians and Jews, Germans and non-Germans alike, are being humiliated and slaughtered by those "men who can hear the Decalogue and feel no self-reproach."

But the would-be-destroyers of the Decalogue are victors only superficially. The true victors are their victims. Take the rabbi in Werfel's story: the Nazis order him to kiss a wooden swastika which originally had been a cross on a pauper's grave and had been hastily transformed into the "symbol of victory" by nailing on short arms. The poor man chose to infuriate his enemies rather than to "take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." He broke off the strips that made the cross a swastika and handed his friend, the chaplain, the restored cross. Shot and trampled to death, the rabbi, nevertheless, won a moral victory over the Nazi mob.

The stories are of different length and uneven in quality. The best seems to me those by Mann and Sigrid Undset. One of Rauschnig's conversations with Hitler opens the book; Hitler is quoted as having characterized the Nazi movement as "the great battle for humanity's liberation . . . from the curse of Mount Sinai."

ALFRED WERNER

*Austrian poet and essayist
now writing in the United States*

THE SEVEN MYTHS OF HOUSING, by Nathan Straus, Knopf. \$2.75.

AT A TIME WHEN SPECULATIVE REALTORS are mobilizing their forces for a gigantic frontal attack on public housing, and when advocates of slum clearance and decent homes for the lower income groups are beginning to lay definite plans for an adequate postwar housing program, the public housing movement is indeed fortunate to have at its disposal so meaty, authoritative and readable a book as this one by the former administrator of the United States Housing Authority.

The author, drawing upon his rich experience as the country's pioneer head of the federal public housing administration, introduces his volume with a clear demonstration of the utter failure of private builders to provide suitable housing for one third of the nation.

Mr. Straus follows this introduction with a rapid-fire description of the early efforts of public housing advocates here and abroad and then sets himself the task of exploding, with facts and figures, the seven myths that have been propagated of late in various parts of the country. These myths, to each of which he devotes a chapter, are, in summary: that "there are no slums in my town"; that "public housing

does not clear slums"; that "the government should buy up the slums"; that "public housing is costly and extravagant"; that "public housing does not rehouse families from the slums"; that "the slum dweller creates the slums"; and that "public housing injures private business and threatens to bankrupt the country."

In the pages devoted to exploding these myths, the chapter on the costs of building public houses is one of the most valuable. In opposition to the charges of extravagance, former Administrator Straus maintains that "the cost of construction of public housing under the USHA program has been about one quarter less than the average cost of similar housing produced by private enterprise"—a net construction cost of \$2,720, as compared with \$3,601 under private construction; an over-all cost of new housing of \$4,307, as compared with \$5,332 for private ventures. He contends that smaller construction costs, however, do not constitute the chief advantage of public housing and sets forth many social gains of great importance. He admits that the public housing movement has made mistakes, but contends that the field of governmental housing has been a new one, and that our attitude toward public ventures of a pioneer nature should be as tolerant as private enterprisers desire it to be in the case of private businesses that "progress by the hard road of trial and error."

The author is not content, however, with analyzing past achievements. The greatest developments in the field of public housing, he contends, should lie ahead. A minimum of five million new homes should be built in the years immediately after the war. "While responsibility for the expansion of residential construction will rest chiefly on private enterprise," extensive public housing developments should be undertaken. Subsidies sufficient to cover one and a half million homes and aggregating \$145,000,000 a year, should be provided. In addition, a sum of \$100,000,000 should be immediately appropriated by Congress to be used as loans to local housing authorities for the purchase of land as sites for public housing. The continued use of housing not conforming to certain minimum standards of health and safety should be outlawed.

A department of works and planning should be organized, charged with the responsibility for planning and administering, through local agencies, community reconstruction throughout the country. And the Lanham act should be amended to provide that "war housing should be turned over to local housing authorities, wherever they exist, for administration during the war and for disposition after the war. The amendment should include specific instructions that the housing be used when the war is over, as far as it is suitable, for the rehousing of families from the slums. Projects not deemed by local authorities useful for such purpose should be demounted or demolished or otherwise disposed of in accordance with definite plans to be formulated and carried out by local authorities,

subject to the approval of the federal government. This will prevent wartime housing becoming peacetime slums."

The book is popularly written, excellently documented and illustrated and filled with the facts that all students of the subject should have at their finger tips. It is permeated throughout with a fine public spirit. It is a *must* book for all interested in slumless and decently housed America.
Executive Director HARRY W. LAIDLAW
League for Industrial Democracy

13 AGAINST THE ODDS, by Edwin E. Embree. Viking. \$2.75.

HERE MR. EMBREE PRESENTS PROFILE STUDIES of thirteen well known Negroes who have won success in the face of heavy odds which life in America imposes upon the race. The author benefits from his personal acquaintance with each character portrayed: Mary McLeod Bethune, Richard Wright, Charles S. Johnson, Walter White, George Washington Carver, Langston Hughes, Marian Anderson, W. E. B. DuBois, M. D. D. Johnson, William Grant Still, Phillip Randolph, Joe Louis, and Paul Robeson.

The subjects are presented with sympathy and flashes of quiet humor and understanding of the spiritual strains suffered by Negroes in their unremitting battle against racial prejudice. The reader learns a great deal about the personality and intimate experiences of "the lucky thirteen." What the book fails to present—and this is to be regretted—is a searching analysis of the racial and social and economic forces opposed to their success. This is because the author generally has been content to report his subjective personal recollections of past experience rather than describe forces and influences which the subject himself may not have been fully aware. Something of this was done for Richard Wright and George Washington Carver, and their profiles draw strength from it. The personalities of Paul Robeson, Walter White, and Mrs. Bethune, for instance, suffer by contrasting treatment.

Another and less important weakness lies in the choice of subjects—which was not the author's own, but was made for him by a voting panel of two hundred whites and Negroes. Such a method of selection naturally led to choice of highly publicized figures, instead of a cross section of Negro life. The book would have been more revealing of authentic Negro experience if Mr. Embree had made his own selection of subjects—including examples of success at humbler economic and social levels, and placing less emphasis on achievements in the field of fine arts where racial prejudice is most apt to relax.

The book is an important addition to the library of those who wish to know something of the personal reactions of gifted Negroes to the caste system which American racial prejudice has built up during the past hundred years.
Executive Secretary LESTER B. GRANT
National Urban League, New York

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GRAPHIC



Civilian Internment—American Way

by Earl G. Harrison

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New York Blazes New Legislative Trails by Phillips Bradley

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May 23 2:00—Group Leadership in Intercultural Relations
May 24 2:00—Major Issues in Volunteer Training; Visual Aids in Training Volunteers; Group Work Research in Review; Group Work in Readjustment and Reconstruction
May 25 2:00—Annual Meeting and discussion of need for professional organization
May 25 8:30—What's Cookin' in Group Work?

AMERICAN LEGION

National Child Welfare Division
Consultation booth throughout Conference
Session on Thursday, May 25—8:30 P.M.

AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION

Members and friends are invited to visit the Association's exhibit and to meet with some of our staff who will be there to greet you. You are also invited to attend our Associate Group meetings on, "New Contributions of Powerful Allies to Social Hygiene," at 8:30 P.M. on Thursday, May 25th, in the Assembly Room of the Hotel Hollenden

COMMUNITY CHESTS AND COUNCILS, INC.

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FAMILY WELFARE ASS'N OF AMERICA

Headquarters, Hotel Cleveland
May 22 and 23—2 P.M. Auditorium South Hall A
"The Family Agency in a Period of Transition"
For other meetings see National Conference Program
Publications display at F.W.A.A. booth

NATIONAL BOARD OF THE Y. W. C. A.

All YWCA delegates and friends will meet at Central Branch 4:00 P.M., May 25th. There are many interesting YWCA positions open both in USO and local associations. Anyone with group work, recreation, or administrative experience wanting information should inquire at the YWCA booth in the Auditorium

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

May 24—2:00-3:30 P.M.
The Impact of the War on Child Labor
Speaker—Hon. Forrest H. Shuford
Our Young Workers: Today and Tomorrow
Speaker—Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE, INC.

Consultation service and literature at Committee's booth
May 24—2 P.M. Social Work in Selection for the Armed Forces
May 25—2 P.M. Psychiatric and Social Rehabilitation of Rejectees and Men Discharged from the Armed Forces
For Joint Sessions on May 23 and 26 see National Conference Program

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

May 22—4:00 P.M. Labor Standards in the Post War Period
Speakers: Dr. Carter Goodrich, Chairman, Governing Body International Labor Organization; L. Metcalfe Walling, Administrator, Wage-Hour & Public Contracts Div., U. S. Dept. of Labor
Joint meeting with National Federation of Settlements.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON NATURALIZATION AND CITIZENSHIP

May 23—4:00 P.M. Nationality Problems Now and in the Post War Era
May 25—2:00 P.M. Cooperation of Governmental, Social and Educational Agencies in Programs for the Foreign Born
May 25—8:00 P.M. The Alien in the Post War World
Joint Meeting with Common Council for American Unity and American Federation of International Institutes.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON REHABILITATION

1790 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Consultation service and literature at Council's booth
Headquarters, Cleveland Hotel
May 25—8:30 P.M. Hotel Hollenden Ballroom—Panel discussion "Processes in Rehabilitation"

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS

31st Conference—May 18-21
Parish House, Trinity Cathedral, Euclid Avenue and East 22nd St., Cleveland, Ohio
Information and Consultation Service at Booth, Public Auditorium—May 22-26

NATIONAL PUBLICITY COUNCIL (Formerly Social Work Publicity Council)

Discussion meetings on interpreting social work to the returning service man and to labor groups. Display of selected publicity from agencies throughout the country—also of "how-to-do-it" publications on the use of different publicity media—consultation service. Delegates are invited to headquarters booth.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN OF THE U.S.A., INC., ELYRIA, OHIO

Consultation service and literature at Society's Booth
May 25—8:30 P.M., Attending meeting National Council on Rehabilitation, Ballroom, Hollenden Hotel
May 26—2:00 P.M., Room A, South Hall, Cleveland Municipal Auditorium

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS, INC.

Consultation service and literature at Society's booth
May 24—4:00 P.M. Recent Trends and Post-War Possibilities for Safe-Guarding Eyesight
1. Prevention of Blindness on the Home Front
2. Advances in Ophthalmologic Treatment
3. Future Goals in Prevention of Blindness

PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.

Headquarters—Statler Hotel
Consultation and Information Service at the Federation's Booth
May 25—8:30 P.M., Statler Hotel
"The Contribution of Planned Parenthood to Family Security"

SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION

Invites delegates to the special Panel Discussion, Thursday, May 25, 2:00 to 3:30 P.M., Subject "New Opportunities for Rural Child Welfare." Chairman, Eduard C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work.

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Our leading article this month is, to the best of our knowledge, the first description of how the United States has handled the internment of its civilian "alien enemies" who "by their activities, affiliations, or relationships in enemy countries indicated potential or possible danger to our internal security"—to use the definition of the commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice, Earl G. Harrison, who has charge of these internment camps. Here Mr. Harrison gives account of his stewardship and that of his associates.

Meeting the standards of the Geneva Convention, this handling of several thousand "alien enemies" sets the pace for treatment of American civilian internees in enemy countries.

The poll tax article, page 239, like some more strenuous detective stories, leaves the reader to supply the last chapter. As we go to press (April 25) the question as to whether the Senate is in for another filibuster, will or will not abolish the poll tax in federal elections, is still in the laps of the gods. So, it is an unfinished story by a young southerner of the facts and the issues involved in next week's headlines.

COMMUNICATIONS

Russian Books and U.S. Mail

TO THE EDITOR: I wish to correct what appears to be an erroneous statement made by Prof. Ernest J. Simmons in his article "American Windows on Russia" which appeared in the February 1944 issue of *Survey Graphic*.

Professor Simmons states: ". . . our Ally's principal bookshop in America is . . . unable to send Soviet books through the mail in the ordinary way without incurring the risk of legal action for disseminating propaganda." It would seem clear that Professor Simmons is referring to the Four Continent Book Corporation, 253 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The reason why Cyril Lambkin, president of the Four Continent Book Corporation, does not send Soviet books through the mails is not the reason given by Professor Simmons. The corporation is registered with this Department under the Foreign Agents Registration Act as an agent of Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, Moscow, U.S.S.R. The law requires all registered agents who send political propaganda through the mails or in interstate commerce to disclose by a label or otherwise the source of the material and the fact of registration.

Mr. Lambkin has decided that he does not wish to use this identifying label and has advised us that he will sell only over the counter and will not directly or indirectly use the mails in the delivery of Soviet material which might be classified as political propaganda. This decision was entirely voluntary with Mr. Lambkin. He has at all times been

Survey Graphic for May 1944

Cover: *Bright lights at a civilian internment camp at night; they help in preventing escape*

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quite free to send such merchandise through the mails but in so doing must comply with the law. Over 400 individuals and organizations are complying with the Act, and those who disseminate political propaganda through the mails are required by the Act to identify themselves so the public may know the source of their material.

I will greatly appreciate your placing these facts before your readers. JAMES R. SHARP
*Chief, Foreign Agents Registration Section,
War Division, Department of Justice*

TO THE EDITOR: The statement in my article is factually correct: our Ally's principal bookshop in America is unable to send books through the mail in the ordinary way without incurring the risk of legal action.

I realize that the Four Continent Book Corporation is registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, but to send books through the mail in compliance with the terms of the Act is not to send them through the mail in the ordinary way. In order to mail a book, a firm registered under the Act is obliged,

among other difficult requirements, to send two copies of the book to the Librarian of Congress and file one copy with the Attorney General. A bookshop that endeavored to comply with these requirements would go bankrupt. And so broad and loose is the Act's definition of propaganda, that it is quite understandable why a firm dealing in Soviet books would prefer not to run the risk of sending even a Russian grammar or Soviet edition of Pushkin or Tolstoy through the mail in the ordinary way. The only alternative is to refuse entirely to send books through the mail.

The simple fact is that the serious student of Russia who does not live in New York, must travel to the city to buy scholarly works in his field at the principal source of supply in this country. Yet he can buy any quantity of these books over the counter and send them through the mail or have others send them without incurring legal risk. To say the least, this is an anomalous and ridiculous but trying situation.

ERNEST J. SIMMONS
*Chairman, Department of Slavic Languages,
Cornell University*



Characteristic men's camp, deep in the California hills, with its army-like barracks, workshops, cafeteria, and recreation hall



The Texas camp for families with children is a small town of 2,500 people. It has schools, a hospital, bakery, community center

TYPES OF U. S. DETENTION CAMPS FOR "ALIEN ENEMIES"

SURVEY GRAPHIC

MAGAZINE OF
INTERPRETATION



PUBLISHED BY
SURVEY ASSOCIATES

Civilian Internment - American Way

Treatment accorded some eight thousand "alien enemies"—men, women, and children—in our own internment camps

EARL G. HARRISON

THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE EXCITEMENT in the air. There usually is when children are planning big doings.

"What's on this morning?" called out the officer in charge.

"We're going to play war," came the quick reply from several directions.

"Okay, but I hope no one gets killed," said the O.C., as a half dozen of the youngsters vied with each other to take his hand.

We resumed our walk and it was not until nearly an hour later that we passed the same spot again. Obviously there was no war on. Groups of German and Japanese youngsters sat around somewhat dejected, or were engaged in separate games.

"What happened to the war?" asked my companion as once more the children swarmed toward him, making clear to me why he is known as "The Pied Piper."

"Aw, gee, Mr. O'Rourke, we couldn't get anybody to go on the other side. They all wanted to be American soldiers."

If their parents had felt the same way, that they, too, wanted to be on the side of the United States, there would have been little need for the civilian internment camp in which these episodes occurred—or for its nineteen or twenty counterparts, scattered throughout the country, which house together about eight thousand persons.

But why children in internment? Early in the war, the United States government decided that where both husband and wife (aliens) were ordered interned in the interests of internal security they should be united, together with any minor children, in a family camp—instead of being retained separately. This policy was adopted likewise by the British; and significantly enough, enemy nations, after the American

announcement, followed suit in establishing family camps for American citizens interned by them.

Coincident with our declarations of war after the attack on Pearl Harbor, more than a million people living in the United States became "alien enemies" under an Act of Congress, the language of which stems back to 1798. These were the persons (aliens)

—By the commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice, who first impressed national attention as director of the countrywide alien registration in 1940. A progressive Republican, appointed by a Democratic President, he shouldered that assignment with insight and breadth that turned what might have been a dour species of witch-baiting into sheer reassurance to non-citizens as to the integrity and human warmth of democracy as a scheme of life.

In Philadelphia, Mr. Harrison is known for his independence in civic affairs. He is a lawyer whose abilities have been at the call of individual injustice and causes for social advance; past president of the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania; trustee of the University of Pennsylvania and of the Pennsylvania School of Social Work—board member of Survey Associates.

Just back himself from a tour of the internment camps, much of the material was gathered by his assistant, Evelyn W. Hersey, formerly executive director of the American Committee for Christian Refugees.

living in the United States who were "natives, citizens, denizens or subjects" of Japan, Germany and Italy. Such persons remain, for the duration of the war, subject to apprehension, detention, and internment unless, of course, their citizenship status changes.

On the first day of America's entry into World War I—when our alien population was twice as large as it was in 1941—sixty-three aliens of enemy nationality were taken into custody. The government acted quickly this time. Before the day's end on December 8, 1941, more than one thousand had been apprehended by an alert and ready FBI.

American Internment Policy

The "alien enemy" problem differed in the United States from that present in any other country in the world, not only in size but in its very nature. While there were many more aliens in the United States than anywhere else who could be claimed as natives or citizens of enemy nations, it was also a fact that *most of them* had lived here for a long time and in many different ways had demonstrated their loyalty to our democratic principles; had in fact severed all ties with their homelands.

Profiting by the experience of other countries which mistakenly adopted the policy of "wholesale internments," and in recognition of the unique nature of our "alien enemy" population, the government decided upon a selective program. Those persons who by their activities, affiliations, or relationships in enemy countries indicated potential or possible danger to our internal security, were taken into custody. The total number thus affected has not ex-

ceeded fifteen thousand, and of this number some thousands were quickly released after preliminary questioning. Of the remainder, many have been ordered either paroled or released outright by the Attorney General of the United States, after full proceedings before Alien Enemy Hearing Boards. These are local boards, established all over the country by the Attorney General, and in each case consist of three private citizens of standing who serve without compensation.

It may be said that fewer than ten thousand "alien enemies" have been in custody at any one time in the approximately twenty camps and detention stations maintained by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice.

The camps, located for the most part in Texas, New Mexico, California, Montana, and North Dakota, are not to be confused with the prisoner of war camps maintained by the War Department, nor confused with the War Relocation Authority centers in which reside the Japanese and Japanese Americans evacuated from the West Coast shortly after Pearl Harbor. For a period after our entry into the war, male citizens ordered interned were placed in camps maintained and operated by the War Department. When it became necessary to make room for increased numbers of military prisoners of war, custody of all civilians ordered interned was turned over to the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The Cloak of Geneva

In any consideration of the provisions made for internees and their treatment, it is well to be mindful of (1) the element of reciprocity; and (2) the terms of the Geneva Convention, originally drawn with respect to prisoners of war but subsequently extended to civilian internees. There are those who overlook both matters in reaching conclusions as to how we should "treat" interned persons. Thousands of American citizens were "caught" abroad by the war and are still in enemy or occupied territory. Our actions here should be such as to offer no justification for lack of proper consideration toward them.

It was in 1929 that an international agreement called the Geneva Convention was signed by forty-seven nations, including the United States, England, Germany, and Italy. After the beginning of the present war, the Japanese government agreed that it would adhere to its provisions. The treaty agreement stipulates in detail the general living conditions, the allocable space, food, and the general treatment to be accorded all internees. They "must at all times be humanely treated and protected, particularly against acts of violence, insults, and public curiosity," and reprisals against them are specifically "prohibited." In general it may be said that the lodgings and food rations "shall be the same as" or "equal in quantity and quality" to those of "the troops at base camps of the detaining power." Provision is included for furnish-

ing clothing, medical and dental care, and the establishment of canteens.

If the American army is the best fed army in the world, there is bound to be some disparity in the food ration given internees here and elsewhere. It is interesting, however, to note that food costs for civilian internees in the United States average about 45 cents per person per day, and the over-all cost including food, clothing, medical services and operating expense exclusive of personnel, is just about one dollar. This is indicative both of a conservative policy and careful planning.

Unlike previous agreements of this kind, the Geneva Convention provided that neutral powers, acting on behalf of the warring nations, should be permitted to inspect internment camps and to report to governments of the nationals held there, particularly on whether the terms of the Geneva Convention were being met. This provision doubtless was inserted upon the theory that enemy nations would be inclined to give greater credence to such information when received from neutral sources.

In the United States, representatives of the Swiss government act in behalf of the Germans, while the Spanish government represents the interests of the Japanese. The Swedish government looks after the interests of the other nations with which we are at war. From the very beginning, representatives of these "protecting powers" have visited the internment camps in the United States at regular intervals and have submitted reports of their inspections to the governments concerned. In turn, our government has the benefit of similar reports made and forwarded with respect to detention camps in countries where there are American war prisoners and civilian internees. These reports are carefully studied.

The great service to humanity thus rendered by these neutral nations is a thrilling but separate story.

The American Camps

Long experience has been had by the U. S. Immigration Service with the temporary detention of aliens. Some of the regular immigration stations, therefore, include detention facilities. These were constructed in the knowledge that they would house all sorts of persons, including those guilty only of technical violations of the immigration laws.

Even before the United States entered World War II, we had taken into custody substantial numbers of German and Italian seamen and it became necessary for the Immigration Service to acquire additional detention facilities. At the outset, these consisted mainly of army posts, acquired from the War Department and readily convertible into entirely adequate internment camps. The additional custodial places since acquired consist in the main of abandoned CCC and migratory farm workers camps. These were speedily enlarged and improved in spite of many difficulties. No entirely new camps were built.

There are camps for men only; there is one camp for single women and childless couples; there is another camp for family groups including children.

The buildings in the men's camps are typical army barracks—either large, permanent buildings as at the army posts, or smaller one-story wooden structures. Separate buildings provide dining rooms (usually cafeteria style), dispensaries, libraries, carpenter shops, and space for indoor recreation.

All camps are furnished with modern flush toilets and shower baths, although there are tubs, too, for the Japanese who prefer them. It may be said, also, that all camps, without exception, contain large play fields, sufficient for baseball. Tennis courts, built by internees, are a feature of many but not all camps.

As might be expected, the most interesting camp is that for family groups. Its population at present exceeds twenty-five hundred and it has all of the appearance of a small town. Most of the families have separate accommodations for the entire family unit, either in small single wooden houses, duplexes, triplexes or quadruplexes. This family camp has a well equipped hospital, schools, laundry, bakery, and community center.

In many respects, the most attractive and best equipped camp is that occupied by single women and childless couples. This had been recently constructed and served as a minimum security reformatory for women until, with its staff, it was transferred to the Immigration Service for the duration. Low and attractive brick buildings give the camp the appearance of a college campus. It has communal eating facilities and dormitories; it does not have the advantage of separate family units. The internees themselves look after the maintenance of each dormitory, and operate its kitchens and dining room. A large community building serves as an auditorium for lectures, concerts, and movies; another houses a sewing project, weaving room and canteen. A large adjoining farm and a hobby shop are included in this unusually fine camp.

The Internees

It is not easy to give any general characterization to the persons making up the population of the several internment camps. On the basis of the relatively small number of persons ordered interned, it may be reasonably concluded that hysteria has played no part in the selection of those who should be kept out of circulation for the duration of the war.

With respect to many, it was clearly established that their activities and loyalties were such that they could be considered distinctly hostile to the United States at time of war. Among the Germans interned were many who frankly admit they are Nazis. Among the Japanese are those who have left no doubt that their allegiance remains to Japan. Most of these two groups wish to return to the homelands.

Necessarily, all doubts had to be resolved in favor of the government. This means that some persons were ordered interned not so much on the basis of any overt act of disloyalty but by reason of close ties in—or with—one of the enemy nations and a total lack of any indicated loyalty or friendliness toward the United States. Some internees profess total ignorance of any reason why they should have been “put away.” Others frankly say: “I know why I am here. I fully expected the FBI would want me sooner or later.”

This means, too, that there are some who look upon America as their home. They will wish to remain here. Interestingly enough, some are “studying” to prepare themselves for naturalization examinations to become citizens of the United States. Whether they will ever attain that avowed ambition will depend, of course, upon future events. It did happen here after the last war.

Generally speaking, the internees have been cooperative. They have entered into the spirit of the camps, have done much to make the sites more attractive, and have worked with the administration to that end. Disciplinary actions, in accordance with the terms of the Geneva Convention, have been rather rare. This does not mean there have not been troublemakers. There have been. War internment catches the ignorant and the sophisticated, the pleasant and the unpleasant, peoples of all ages and tastes. It brings them together in an uncomfortably close and continued relationship which would never occur in ordinary life. Cliques form easily, some on political grounds; others on the basis of social standing. Minor incidents assume tremendous proportions; little grievances are built into seemingly big issues.

The high strung, insistent Bundist likes to think up “complaints.” It gives him, assumedly, an added importance among some of his fellows. Some fanatical Nazis insist upon the right to observe certain of their political holidays by mass meetings, demonstrations, display of emblems. This is ruled out and the majority accept with good grace, but to a few it seems necessary to make eminently clear that we mean what we say.

From one camp, where some unrest developed, came the report by the staff that: “We continually hear expressions from internees (who had been attempting to exercise some leadership in the interest of the entire population) that they are now confused and entirely disillusioned over the attitudes and actions of some of their fellow internees, which reactions they had previously thought could not exist in any member of the German race.”

Internees are organized into councils and elect representatives to present their requests and suggestions to camp officials and the “protecting powers.” One such spokesman related the following a few months ago:

“It is not easy to keep these complaints within reason. This morning, Mr. X said he wanted to make a complaint. It

seems his wife had told him he ought to make a complaint because yesterday their next-door neighbor made one. His complaint was that the internees are not given pajamas. I said, ‘Now look, Mr. A, if I pass on your complaint that you are not issued pajamas, then the Swiss government will have to tell the German government and maybe the German government will not know what “pajamas” means. They might have to look it up in a dictionary and when they have gone to all that trouble in the middle of a war and have found what “pajamas” means, I think the German government might just say, ‘Oh, Hell!’”

At one of the smaller camps for women (there are relatively few women in internment under order), the spirit is nothing short of remarkable. They take considerable pride in having camp life run smoothly, in assisting those who find internment harder than others, and in preparing for such occasions as Christmas or May Day. They have learned folk dances from a book and at some concerts they sing, in German and good humor, their favorite song entitled, “Release.” With it all, women find internment more difficult than men.

Life in the Camps

The primary responsibility of the Immigration Service is that persons ordered interned should remain so and should be

permitted to have communication with the outside world in no manner which might endanger the internal or other security of the United States. That this responsibility has been met is attested by the fact that there has not been a single successful escape. Of the dozen or more attempts, practically all have been by interned seamen and practically none by civilian internees.

Proper surveillance requires the inevitable wire fences and these are brightly lighted at night and carefully watched at all hours. Experienced members of the famed U. S. Immigration Border Patrol, a division of the Service, supervise a locally enlisted guard force.

While the barbed wire is there it may be truly said that every effort is made to have it as inconspicuous as possible. Within the camp itself a policy of firmness but fairness is pursued. Not only are all steps taken to live up to the letter and spirit of the Geneva Convention but impartial visitors to the camps have commented on the fact that the officers in charge and members of their staffs seem genuinely interested in the internees as people, and in making their life within the camp as normal as can be under the circumstances.

Encouraged by camp officials the internees have established recreational programs, dramatic clubs, orchestras, and competitive sports. Lectures and movies are a regu-



Internee soccer game. Organized sports are encouraged by the Geneva Convention

lar part of camp life as are religious services conducted by neighboring ministers and priests. In nearly all camps the internees have organized adult education courses which are well attended. Each camp has a number of hobby projects such as woodwork, painting, weaving and sewing. Vegetable and flower gardens, communal and individual, are a feature of every camp and, in season, these have converted the sites into places of real beauty.

Work as Saving Salt

Recognizing that the most insidious evil of internment is idleness and boredom, so apt to encourage the "barbed wire malady," the camp officials have done their best to promote work projects. In accordance with the terms of the Geneva Convention, work not connected with the administration or management of the camp may be paid for at the rate of 80 cents per day. This includes all kinds of camp work which could be considered full time community jobs. In this way, the internee is provided with spending money as well as steady activity.

In addition to work done within the camp, the men's camps have been able to arrange numerous outside labor projects. Internees are thus allowed to go out in squads under guard to engage in farming, forestry, and other projects. This is purely voluntary on the part of the internee and for such work he is paid the prevailing wage. From this, certain items of expense are deducted, the internee is given a monthly allowance for his own use, and the remainder is credited to his account. That there is greater demand for such labor than the camps can meet indicates favorable community reaction.

Particularly in the family camp, the internees have made tables, beds, and mat-

resses; organized food and supply stores; and laid out playgrounds. As every day chores, they collect waste and garbage, deliver ice, clerk at the various camp stores, and operate a community sewing room. They maintain a sizable truck farm and look after the care of its livestock.

Most of the families in the family camp have their own stove, icebox, and sink. Camp money is provided for each family, according to its size and the ages of its members. This makes it possible for the housewife to do her own shopping, as she would outside the camp, and select the kind of food and necessities her family wants most. If she wants to spend more money on household goods than on food, that is up to her. Or the family can decide to save up its sugar for a birthday cake!

A group of thirty girls has been trained as nurses' aides and they help in the camp hospital. Such training and experience will unquestionably be of definite vocational value in later life. With the cooperation of social, community, and religious agencies, fairly adequate libraries have been accumulated in most of the camps. As a by-product, several of the internees have acquired considerable experience in library management.

An internee recently remarked, laughing: "I'll bet nobody else in the world has gotten out of internment what I have; a complete new set of teeth. And that in addition to experience in a job I have always wanted!" It seems he had trained hitherto as a dental technician, but had never been able to get the required practice. Now he is working in the internment camp dental clinic, and incidentally, has made for himself the false teeth that he had been needing for a number of years.

Appropriate schools are conducted in the

family camp by a staff of qualified teachers. In addition, the internees are permitted to conduct certain classes in German and in Japanese, but by mutual consent the content of these latter courses is appropriately limited.

The Inner Struggle

In spite of fairly comprehensive programs, confinement has deteriorating effects on human beings and these are sometimes impossible to avoid. Snatched away from their ordinary settings, some internees have difficulty in finding release and satisfaction in camp activities. The fence becomes a symbol of frustration. Tensions spring from the indefinite length of detention no less than anxiety as to what has become of relatives left to their own devices.

One internee was caught trying to dig a tunnel from his barracks to the fence that was several hundred feet away, and he admitted its futility. He had had no word in months, he explained, from his wife and child, and felt so desperate he had to do something to keep himself from going mad.

Another internee wrote his wife, begging her to release their pet canary from its cage. Why? "No living thing should be caged up," he wrote. "When I am free, I want to live in a house without locks, even without doors. It will be a house made up of windows, and the view must not be obstructed by anything, not even mountains."

Judging from the testimony of Americans interned in enemy countries and later released, one is struck by the recurrence of psychological factors in such camps the world over. There is the same gnawing insecurity about the future, the same unhappy restlessness. The ups and downs of hope for release or repatriation add to the uncertainty and make it that much more difficult to settle into the camp routine.

In the camp are many whose main interests are in their homeland; the wives, fathers, mothers, or children still may be there. Our American internees abroad have gone through months of this same heart-breaking experience. They pack their belongings and wait day after day hoping for news that their ship will really come in—and take them home.

Teamplay of Social Agencies

To cope with these problems facing both those interned and their families left behind, the Social Security Board and the numerous agencies, public and private, that cooperate with it the country over, have joined forces. At the present time, when Johann Schmidt is apprehended by the FBI and brought to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for custody, he is immediately asked whether he has a family, whether they know what has happened to him, and whether he wants them called on. If quick action is required, this is frequently done by telephone. Left suddenly alone, without a wage earner, Mrs. Schmidt and the children may be bewildered, frightened, and unable to manage. Under present arrangements, they now have the opportunity



A Montana camp on a wintry day. The high fence is topped with barbed wire

of receiving friendly advice or financial aid when they may be needing them most.

The timing of the assistance given may prove as important as the assistance itself. A case in point is that of a German internee who told the officer in charge that his wife, who lived in a fairly distant small town, had written him saying that she and the children were without fuel or food. Her next letter began somewhat as follows: "Dear Fritz: This is a wonderful country. I couldn't have gone on another day. Last night an American lady called saying you asked her to come. She bought groceries and coal and has promised to visit us again next week. . . ."

Other services are rendered broken families trying to carry on a normal life in the community. They may require financial relief, hospitalization, practical advice, or simply friendly understanding. The person involved may be a lonely daughter, a scouraged wife, or a sick grandparent. Referrals usually originate with the officer in charge and are relayed to the local community agency through a state department of public welfare.

An Immigration Camp Officer noticed a German foot internee walking up and down the length of barbed-wire fence like a caged bird. Asked what was wrong, it was learned that his seventy-year-old grandmother was ill and needed help; she spoke no English and had no friends. A long distance call to an agency in their community resulted in a visit and a report that the next afternoon.

There are many such instances where local social agencies thus have been drawn into a countrywide scheme of cooperation. They afford glimpses of how insight and human help can lift such a wartime program of enforced detention to the level of human decency. That characteristic is one which permeates the whole course of procedures which head up in the American internment camps. Enlightened policies, national and international, enter into the results.

The family camps were set up not only to meet situations in which both husband and wife have been interned but to provide also, in a number of cases, for the voluntary internment of the wife and children left behind. Such "applications for family reunion" are scrutinized with the greatest care. Reports are obtained from local social service agencies and these are carefully reviewed. On the one hand it is realized that internment life, even at its best, is not a good one; on the other hand, that there are situations in which, if hardship, persecution, or the like are to be avoided, such applications should be granted. Wherever possible, problems created by the apprehension of an "alien enemy" are met in some manner other than by leaving the rest of the family join the internee, but in some cases there has been no other real solution.

In the two camps having family groups, experienced social workers assist the officers in charge with the myriad personal difficulties, large and small, real and imaginary, which arise daily. Evelyn W. Hersey, well known in the social work field, has acted as



At some civilian internment camps flowers grow profusely most of the year

general consultant both for officials of the headquarters office of the Immigration Service and for camp officials. In spite of the tremendous volume of demands on her time, she herself has done in addition an amazing amount of "case work."

Doubtless, everybody knows the part the International Red Cross plays in visiting camps and in forwarding mail between countries. The International YMCA and YWCA and the National Catholic Welfare Council also visit camps in the United States as well as abroad, and provide recreational material and equipment. The American Friends Service Committee has organized and brought into several of our camps a series of concerts, lectures, and entertainments which have been much enjoyed. They hope to enlarge this program.

Camp Staffs

Realizing the importance of the key positions, careful selections of the officers-in-charge have been made. Most of them have come from the experienced personnel of the Immigration Service, largely from the supervisory force of the Border Patrol—men having years of experience in dealing with non-citizens, singly and in groups. Fortunately it has been possible to maintain continuity of leadership, and few indeed have been the changes with respect to the top positions in the larger internment camps. The officers in charge are assisted by staffs of experienced personnel charged with responsibility for surveillance, supplies, property, education, fiscal matters, and so on. In practically all phases of the camp work, the internees render daily assistance and in some instances practically carry the load.

The relationship which has developed between the camp officers and their wards may perhaps best be shown by some of the

letters written by the latter. When the rumor spread, not long ago, at one of our all-men camps that the officer in charge was going to be transferred to another camp, an internee spokesman wrote him as follows:

As officer in charge you had to deal with a heterogeneous group of disillusioned men of numerous political, racial, and religious creeds and parties, a group with an attitude absolutely antagonistic to all cooperation. You succeeded in converting them into a harmonious community, with the majority working and studying and trying to make the best of the inevitable stay here. Your attitude of trying to understand the men's problems and sorrows has convinced the internees of your sincere desire to help them to endure and make more easy their stay behind barbed wires.

Many letters in similar vein come from internees who have been paroled or released:

Being now almost two months back again in the normal American life and freedom, and as sincerely happy in this new life as is humanly possible, I want to take advantage of the occasion and express to you and to all the other gentlemen, under whose exemplary, correct understanding and careful supervision I lived during my internment, my sincere gratitude for the fair treatment which I received there. This attitude has only strengthened my unshakable faith in American justice, fairness, and deep rooted respect for the fundamental human rights even in emergency circumstances like that of internment.

Particularly happy were the friendships that developed between camp officials and the interned seamen who occupied several of the camps. Here is part of one pertinent letter:

I am one of the seamen you recently paroled from—detention station. Dear Sir, with these few lines I want to say my thanks to
(Continued on page 270)

Blazing New Legislative Trails

Six years ago the New York state legislature set up an advisory service to help it shape policy on industrial relations. Here is the heartening story of what has followed.

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

A UNIQUE EXPERIMENT IN STATE LEGISLATIVE organization for more effective policy-drafting has been going on quietly for the past six years in Albany. The New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions has just been continued for a seventh year by action of the legislature and the governor. Measured by its record and from the standpoint of the legislative techniques it has developed, the committee has made an outstanding contribution to the improvement of industrial and labor relations in the state.

Criticism of American legislative organization and procedure is a favorite indoor sport. It is not confined to the academic student of legislative behavior; many experienced legislators—in Washington and in state capitols—point to defects and propose remedies. Relatively few specific reforms have been attempted since the basic structure and operation of bicameralism hardened within the framework of the separation-of-powers tradition. That tradition, strictly applied, would make the legislative process not merely cumbersome, but unworkable.

Two Sources of Criticisms

Many of the criticisms leveled at our legislatures have resulted from the way in which the practical expedients devised to bridge the gap between the legislative and the executive branches have functioned in practice. Party controls, the most effective expedient, have not always or altogether succeeded in making legislatures responsive to the people's will. The committee system, unreformed rules of procedure, and other relics of earlier and simpler governmental machinery have too often increased the legislative inertia toward improved methods of translating that will into policy.

Another type of criticism has come from those who disapprove the influence of pressure groups on legislation, the impact on policy of "interests," as Madison defined them in Number X of *The Federalist*. The criticism has often enough been well founded to justify many of the attacks on lobbying. It should be remembered, however, that in a free society as complex as ours interest groups are the most, perhaps the only, effective vehicles for mobilizing continuous popular influences on policy. It is not the existence or the programs of pressure groups but their tactics which merit scrutiny—and redirection.

The New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions (popularly known as the Ives Committee after its chairman, Irving M. Ives, majority leader of the assembly) has de-

—By the head of the department of political science at Queens College, New York City, who is also director of education and research for the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions. Yankee born and bred, Professor Bradley is a graduate of Harvard, and has taught there, and at Wellesley, Smith, Vassar, and Amherst.

veloped during its six years of experience workable and fundamentally democratic solutions for the situations causing both types of criticism.* It has succeeded in drawing the relevant state administrative agencies into an active, cooperative relationship in framing policy as well as in its application. Similarly, it has created the same type of collaboration among the major private groups, including management and labor, which are most vitally concerned in the drafting and administration of policy within its sphere of action.

It has achieved these results by pioneering in at least two directions. On the one hand, it has established several unique procedures in carrying out its legislative mandate. On the other, it has broadened the perspective from which policy on a controversial question like industrial and labor relations is viewed today in many a legislative chamber or committee room.

The Record

Techniques and procedures are the tools of the legislative trade; the product is the real test of the tools. The committee's six-year record is the best index of its contribution to contemporary American legislative experience.

We may analyze the record from several points of view. We may note the committee's specific legislative program and how far that program has been accepted. We may evaluate its educational and research activities and their contribution to the legislative program as well as to other aspects of the committee's work. We may appraise its long range planning to meet the challenges of war production and post-war reconstruction.

From whatever angle we approach the

* In addition to the chairman, the present membership of the committee is: Senator William J. Murray, vice-chairman; Assemblyman Fred A. Washburn, secretary; Senator William F. Condon, Senator Alexander A. Falk, Assemblyman Frank A. Gugino, Assemblyman Patrick H. Sullivan; one vacancy. Several members of the legislature serve on the committee *ex officio* and frequently meet with it: Senate Temporary President Benjamin F. Feinberg; Assembly Speaker Oswald D. Hecht; Senate Minority Leader John J. Dunnigan; Assembly Minority Leader Irwin Steingut; Senate Finance Chairman Arthur H. Wicks; Assembly Ways and Means Committee Chairman D. Mallory Stephens.

record, two considerations are worth recalling. In separating the Ives' committee varied activities in order to view each more closely, we should not lose sight of their interplay in the committee's day-to-day work. No activity stands by itself. Moreover, as the committee has extended its activities into new fields, it always has been for the purpose of attacking more effectively the problems of industrial and labor conditions.

Taking first the committee's legislative program, the record includes three distinct lines of policy relating to industrial and labor conditions. One is concerned with industrial and labor relations as such; the second, with business and industry; the third, with postwar reconstruction.

Labor Relations

The first of these three lines of policy has many facets. The record is remarkable less for the enactment of a large docket of new measures than for the improvement and extension of existing law. The basic state and federal statutes regulating labor relations, mediation, and social security have been enacted when the committee was created in 1938. Its first assignment was to study the English system of labor relations and its applicability to American conditions.

From this study the committee proceeded to a broad review of the existing state law in the field. It recommended the adoption of only one specific aspect of the English system. Its bill creating boards of inquiry to investigate major labor disputes not settled by the state mediation board was enacted in 1941. Under this measure, the board of mediation may certify a dispute to the state industrial commissioner if it is unable to secure a settlement. The industrial commissioner then may appoint a board of inquiry to report on the facts of the dispute; the report must be made public.

In the one dispute in which a board of inquiry was appointed, the parties settled their difference at once, even before the board was formally organized. The threat of publicity brought them into agreement.

Many improvements in existing law have been adopted on the committee's recommendation. The two state mediation agencies which it found in existence were merged into a stronger and more effective board. Arbitration clauses in collective bargaining agreements were given the force of law. The state labor relations act was modified to emphasize the mutuality rather than the antagonism of employers' and workers' interests. Employers were given the right to petition for representation elections and to have them held on their pro-

ises, to talk to their workers on any subject, to establish multiple-employer units (covering all employers engaged in the same or similar types of business) for collective bargaining purposes.

Other aspects of the committee's major legislative activities in this field deserve notice. The committee has watched with special interest the operation of the state unemployment insurance law as to both policy and administration. Close and continuous relations with the chief administrators of the division of placement and unemployment insurance have resulted in a number of legislative improvements.

For two years, the committee's chief assistant counsel has made field trips with the director and the chief of planning of the division. They visited over twenty state agencies and explored administrative procedures which might be usefully applied in New York. A general recodification of the state unemployment insurance law has been developed cooperatively.

The committee has insisted on the presentation of a thorough analysis of merit rating by the groups advocating the plan, and has held numerous formal and informal hearings on the question. It recommended and supported an appropriation for the employment of an actuary by the division to insure an adequate analysis of the scheme before any legislation was enacted. The conservation of the fund's present sound financial base to meet postwar contingencies has been a major concern.

The administration of the state workmen's compensation law has been the subject of criticism and investigation for some time. In 1942, the governor appointed a commission under the Moreland act to examine and report on the operation of the law. Even earlier the committee had initiated its own inquiries, which indicated that the present high cost of workmen's compensation in New York is a significant factor in cost-of-production differentials, causing some industries to hesitate about locating plants in the state. Further study of the problem is now under way.

Services to Industry

The second phase of the committee's legislative program relates to business, commerce and industry. The committee found no state agency providing official services to these groups, comparable to the agencies concerned with labor and agriculture. It recommended the creation of a division of commerce in the executive department in 1941. In 1943, again on the committee's recommendation, the division was advanced to the rank of a department by a constitutional amendment approved by the people by a better than five-to-two vote.

In the two critical years of a rapidly changing war economy, the division has demonstrated its utility as an official service agency. Its "clinics," at which representatives of large war contract plants were brought into direct touch with the thousands of small plants throughout the state, is only one illustration of its initiative. It is at present engaged in intensive studies of

the postwar reconversion problems which the state's industries will face. The committee recommended a special appropriation in 1943 to carry on this phase of the division's work.

Postwar Legislation

The third aspect of the committee's legislative program is concerned with postwar reconstruction. Only a few months after Pearl Harbor, the committee recommended that a temporary postwar public works planning commission be created to coordinate activities at the state and local levels. As a result, New York's "shelf" of public works projects to meet the immediate im-



Albany Art Union

IRVING M. IVES

Chairman of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions—"the Ives Committee"

pact of postwar reconstruction is probably farther advanced in careful blueprinting, and more comprehensive in scope, than that of any other state.

Funds for labor and materials are being mobilized in state and local reserves at a rate which insures actual construction of a substantial part of the new commission's more than \$750,000,000 program. The effects of this kind of planning on stabilizing employment after the war are recognized by the committee as both temporary and limited. But in the transition period the net result may prove to be the difference between apple selling and productive self-support for hundreds of thousands of the state's citizens.

The committee has recommended other legislation to meet postwar needs. In 1943 it explored the possibility of extending maximum unemployment insurance benefits (\$18 a week for twenty weeks) to all veterans honorably discharged from the service, and it joined with the governor in recommending the legislation enacted this year. Similarly, it supported the creation of a state veterans' service to coordinate the activities of all official state and local agencies and of civic groups concerned with veterans' aid.

This brief summary of the committee's legislative program suggests its approach to the improvement of industrial and labor conditions. The batting average on bills recommended by the committee has been 1000. If it has been cautious in supporting the more extreme proposals of various groups—left and right—it has been persistent in seeking to strengthen existing laws. It has pioneered in many directions. It has analyzed every proposed change in policy. What was *not* written into law often proved as important as what was—in the experience of the past six years.

Research and education are tools of committee action; they form the second broad field of its activities.

The committee's staff has carried on a number of important studies in addition to those reflected in legislative recommendations. Among them, the most widely publicized is that on industrial migration. In 1939 and 1940 many complaints were heard about industries leaving New York State. In a statewide survey, the committee found that more plants employing more people had moved into than out of New York in recent years. What had been a general and incorrect view was swept aside by the facts.

Among the committee's other inquiries are a study of instruction in industrial and labor relations in American colleges and universities; the effects of the war on the employment of women; the extent of probable postwar reemployment in New York; and surveys of the administration of a number of state laws.

The committee's educational activities are unique, and highly significant for the future stability of industrial and labor conditions. From the beginning, it has sought to induce voluntary cooperation among all groups by stimulating wider knowledge of the basic factors of our economic life. For several years the committee conducted forums throughout the state. Here representative industrial, labor, and civic leaders came together to participate in discussions led by state legislative and administrative officials. The committee's objective was to broaden the understanding of state laws affecting industrial and labor conditions.

"In the Name of the People"

Two of the committee's educational activities symbolize its fundamental faith in understanding as the only sound basis for stable industrial and labor conditions. One is the recently published "American Story of Industrial and Labor Relations"; the second, the creation of a new kind of school.

The book is designed particularly as a senior high school and junior college text. Its 300-odd pages include a survey of American economic development and an analytical discussion of half a dozen major aspects of labor law and administration. The book has been widely and favorably reviewed and is being used extensively in classrooms and by adult education groups. In several senses, it is a ground-breaking venture. Issued as a legislative document, it is copyrighted in the name of the People of the State of New York. Sponsored

by a legislative committee, it was read in manuscript by representatives of labor and industry—and thought too fair by each side to be acceptable to the other!

The fact that a legislative committee pioneered in a field which the textbook publishers had avoided until the committee acted, suggests the importance of this effort at education for citizenship.

In the same spirit of long range educational planning, the committee recommended the establishment of a state supported school in this field. The New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations was established by the 1944 legislature; it is to be located at Cornell University. A board of temporary trustees, created by the legislature, is already at work planning the school's structure and activities.

These new directions in education are evidence of an attitude toward industrial and labor relations all too rare in American life today. Misunderstandings which underlie disputes are a frequent pretext for demanding a new law to right an ancient grievance. Whichever side is dominant in the industrial order is prone to utilize its power to its own advantage. Thus, the pendulum swings back and forth between competing interests which do not understand—and make little effort to appreciate—the conditions or objectives of their opponents. In this situation, little progress toward harmony can be made. The committee's long range attack on ignorance and misunderstanding indicates a new approach in industrial and labor relations and a new legislative spirit.

Long Range Plans

Four days before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the committee convened an off-the-record conference of leaders in agriculture, business, industry, labor, and civic life to consider the economic and social problems which the World War and its aftermath would create. Several similar conferences have been held since, with a view to developing cooperative action between the public and the private bodies most concerned. The results cannot be measured in specific terms. The present close and friendly relations of community groups, not only with the committee but with many other agencies of government, will be increasingly significant in the handling of postwar problems.

The committee also called into conference the heads of all the colleges and universities in the state, to consider the postwar training and retraining of veterans and the redirection of higher education.

This type of informal conference has been extended to many other groups, official and unofficial. Indeed, the committee has become the principal governmental agency in the state for examining and appraising the proposals for reconstruction and for charting a course of policy and action which can promote economic and social stability.

The committee's record is impressive. It rests in large part on several unique aspects of organization and procedure which

the committee has perfected during its six years' experience. Most of its techniques date back to the principles of structure and practice it adopted in 1938 and has adhered to ever since. Their validity has been tested in their application to a changing pattern of activities over the years. From them we can derive some useful—and usable—guides for the improvement of the American legislative process.

The Committee at Work

Since its creation by the 1938 legislature, the committee of eight (three senators and five assemblymen) has been bipartisan in fact, not merely in name. Irrespective of party changes on the legislative or executive side, the adherence to the principle of an even balance in committee membership has contributed substantially to its reputation for non-partisanship in dealing with industrial and labor relations policy.

The committee's bipartisan composition has also proved a very sound base for legislative action. Every bill recommended by the committee has been introduced in one chamber by a committee member from one party, in the other by a member from across the aisle. No recommendation made by it has received a purely one-party sponsorship. The result has been an almost perfect score of unanimous legislative approval for the committee's program.

One aspect of its own procedure deserves particular notice; from the beginning it has operated on the principle of unanimity. On every question of policy within the committee or of legislative recommendation, there has been a consistent effort to arrive at a consensus of opinion before decisions are made. Formal votes rarely occur.

After a completely free discussion by all

the members who care to participate—and the discussions of policy are often vigorous and forthright—it is generally pretty clear where the areas of agreement or disagreement lie. Disagreement tends to disappear in the very process of discussion. A "sense of the meeting" emerges, very much like that of a Friends' meeting in spirit and technique. The rule of unanimity, even though it may sometimes delay recommendations, is one of the major strengths of the committee's procedure, and a prime reason why it has won unusual legislative respect and support for its program.

The committee carries out its program through several distinct but closely related procedures. It employs its own full time research staff to investigate current problems in the field. Under the direction of its counsel, the staff studies questions likely to emerge as items of legislative action at a current or an early session. The staff also develops longer range investigations of the operation of existing laws and policy.

Before each legislative session, the committee members receive from the staff a wide variety of study materials, both analyses of specific proposals and reports on broader questions of policy.

Give and Take

Its research activities are only one source from which the committee receives information, and only one of the tools it uses to fashion its program. It also makes full use of its contacts with state administrative agencies. Its outstanding contribution to effective policy drafting and administration in New York State has, indeed, been the committee's intimate and cordial collaboration with these agencies. Throughout the year, its staff consults informally with the state labor department and its various units concerned with labor relations, especially the labor relations board and the board of mediation.

A frank give-and-take on all matters of mutual concern, both policy and operation, serves to keep the committee informed of current problems and prospective questions for legislative consideration. Through this kind of continuous off-the-record conference, the administrative agencies also are better acquainted with legislative opinion on their own policies and practices. In recent years this informal consultation has been extended to relevant federal agencies such as the regional war labor board. The results suggest the value of the technique in smoothing out the present frictions in one area of state-federal relations.

But the committee's contribution to positive collaboration between the legislature and the executive goes beyond its effective informal relations with administrative agencies. About a month before the legislature meets each year, the committee holds a four-day session at which the heads of the administrative agencies concerned with industry and labor discuss their program and activities.

These meetings are not hearings in the usual sense; the conduct of discussion is entirely informal and the analysis on both

AMERICAN LIFE IN 1890



The five pictorial charts in this article are from "The American Story of Industrial and Labor Relations." Designed for use in high schools and colleges, it was brought out in 1943 by the New York State Joint Legislative Committee

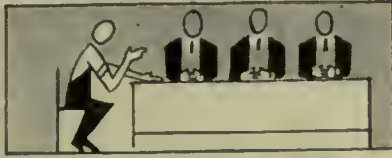
HOW THE STATE LABOR RELATIONS ACT WORKS



WORKERS CLAIM AN UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICE



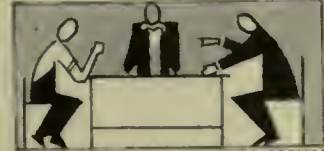
WORKERS DEMAND RIGHT TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY



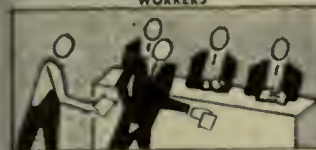
WORKERS PRESENT THEIR CLAIMS TO THE BOARD



BOARD'S REPRESENTATIVE DISCUSSES CLAIMS WITH BOTH EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS



BOARD'S REPRESENTATIVE HOLDS FORMAL HEARING IF THE CLAIMS ARE NOT ADJUSTED



BOARD DECIDES WHETHER THERE IS AN UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICE



BOARD DECIDES WHETHER TO HOLD AN ELECTION



COURT MAY ENFORCE OR OVER-RULE BOARD'S DECISION



BOARD CONDUCTS AN ELECTION

MEDIATION



EMPLOYER AND WORKER DISAGREE



MEDIATOR TALKS WITH BOTH



MEDIATOR ADVISES WITH WORKER AND EMPLOYER



EMPLOYER AND WORKER SATISFIED

MEDIATOR HELPS PEOPLE TO DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES BUT DOES NOT IMPOSE BINDING DECISION

ARBITRATION



EMPLOYER AND WORKER FAIL TO AGREE



WORKER AND EMPLOYER SUBMIT TO ARBITRATION



ARBITRATOR STUDIES CASE AND PREPARES DECISION



BOTH LISTEN TO DECISION OF ARBITRATOR AND ARE BOUND BY IT

THE ARBITRATOR RENDERS A DECISION BY HELPING TO INTERPRET AGREEMENT OR CONTRACT

sides of the table unreserved and straightforward. One is reminded of the atmosphere of a first rate graduate seminar in which the search for relevant fact, the thorough analysis, or the convincing argument is the common pursuit of all the participants. The committee, through its chairman or counsel or by direct questioning by all its members, seeks to develop (and appraise jointly) immediate legislative proposals of the various agencies. It goes fully into all aspects of the administrative problems which confront the agencies in their day-to-day operations and seeks to make its experience and facilities available to the administrators.

Handling Common Problems

The practical result of six years of this kind of collaboration has been to lift legislative-administrative relations in this field to a plane of cordiality and cooperation perhaps unique in this country today. Instead of the often static, even hostile, attitudes which exist in so many state capitols and in Washington between legislators and administrators, here is a dynamic and friendly handling of common problems. The committee's initiative in bridging the gap between administrative interests and activities and legislative understanding and action marks one of the few significant advances in recent legislative practice.

The committee has extended its cooperative relations to legislative as well as administrative agencies. During the past two years it has met with the Joint Committee on Interstate Cooperation and kept closely in touch with the work of the Economy Commission at points of mutual interest. A number of legislators not members of the committee are thus better acquainted with its activities. When legislation touching industrial and labor relations is contemplated, the committee has an opportunity to help in its formulation. The fact that the ranking majority and minority leaders of both houses are *ex officio* members of the committee—and frequently attend its meetings — increases the understanding of its program on both sides of the aisle.

Most of the committee's work goes on in closed, informal sessions. Formal hearings on pending legislative proposals are the exception. However, the committee does hold formal hearings from time to time and it never refuses to provide an opportunity to any interested group to submit written or verbal testimony on any legislative proposal within its province. It seeks, however, to draw these groups into informal, off-the-record conference first, to explore the issues involved, and to reconcile conflicting viewpoints by consensus rather than compromise. This method has usually achieved

its objective. Legislative proposals advocated by special groups concerned with industrial and labor relations have more than once been postponed voluntarily, pending general agreement on principle and detail.

Statewide Contacts

As the committee's analysis of industrial and labor conditions has broadened to include such areas of study as industrial migration or postwar reconstruction, it has sought to establish collaborative contacts with every interested agency in the state. Many of these bodies, civic and educational as well as industrial and labor, have developed the habit of consulting members of the committee or of the staff on matters of mutual interest. Organized labor, for instance, usually talks over legislative proposals with the chairman and others of the committee's personnel before each session. The same habit is developing among other organizations. Apparently there is a growing appreciation of the objective but sympathetic hearing and advice which every group receives from the committee.

From the committee's side, these contacts are, of course, highly useful. They promote confidence between it and a broad spectrum of the state's economic and social agencies no less real than that developed with official bodies. The effect of these contacts on the character of the legis-

lation sponsored by what are often called pressure groups—and on the spirit in which they exert their pressures—needs no underlining here.

But the committee has not waited for these organizations to come to it for advice or help. More than once it has actively sought their cooperation. This was true, for instance, in its study of industrial migration, much of the field work for which was carried out by cooperating private groups in all sections of the state. Similarly, in developing its educational and postwar studies, the committee has enlisted the services of individuals and agencies directly concerned with various facets of its program. The fact that the committee has sought to bring these unofficial bodies in on the ground floor of its own activities, to participate in the initial planning of its program, has enhanced the value of their contributions to its efforts.

This brief review of the committee at work can give at best only a highly distilled sense of the real flavor of its active life over six years. One would need to be the "invisible bystander" at its meetings to catch the quality of its vigorous discussions. Only by attending its sessions with the various administrative agencies would it be possible to see the way collaboration grows from a mutual will to improve industrial and labor relations. In these sessions, one would discover that the ultimate harmony does not arise in an absence of sharp di-

vergences of opinion or the subservience of the administrative to the legislative viewpoint. Instead, one would become aware of an established custom of frank debate, animated by a common purpose but untrammelled by questions of precedence or authority.

Again, one would have to observe some of the committee's off-the-record hearings or participate in its conferences with unofficial agencies to realize how genuine is its desire and how successful its efforts to foster understanding. But those who share the work of the committee soon sense the very practical results of its confidence in the ability of apparently conflicting interests to find common grounds of cooperative action.

This Spirit of Good Will

This unique experiment in legislative trail-blazing is no mere accident. It rests primarily on the effective leadership of the committee's chairman, the will of its members to promote stable industrial and labor relations, the careful strategy of its counsel. The attitude of mind that has guided the committee from the beginning is the real source of its success. That attitude was stated in its 1940 report:

"The most satisfactory and the happiest human relationships are the product not of legal compulsion, but rather of a voluntary determination among human beings to cooperate with one another. Though we may

legislate to the end of time, there will never be industrial peace and harmony without good faith, integrity, a high degree of responsibility, and a real desire to cooperate on the part of all parties concerned. Without this spirit of good will all of the social, economic, and labor laws of man will prove eventually to be in vain."

What of the result? Two aspects of the record already noted are permanent contributions of the committee to the legislative process in New York State; they are results which can be achieved in every other state.

First, the relations between the legislature and many administrative agencies have been lifted from a plane of negative frustration to one of positive cooperation. No single factor of the contemporary political scene is so critical for the future of democratic government—indeed for its survival.

Second, the committee has succeeded not less effectively in taking industrial and labor relations "out of politics." A non-partisan approach to the conflicts which still persist in our society is the surest, perhaps the only, guarantee that democracy is the best instrument for the promotion of the general welfare. In achieving this approach in New York State, in persuading all the groups concerned, in and out of the legislature, to adhere in practice to the spirit in which the committee views these problems, it has made democracy more meaningful—and more vigorous.

HOW COMPENSATION WORKS



WORKER IS INJURED



WORKER SELECTS DOCTOR; EMPLOYER PAYS FOR MEDICAL CARE



EMPLOYER REPORTS ACCIDENT TO INDUSTRIAL COMMISSIONER, WHO FORWARDS TO INDUSTRIAL BOARD



IF COMPENSATION IS CLAIMED, BOARD'S REPRESENTATIVE HOLDS HEARING



BOARD'S REPRESENTATIVE DECIDES THE AMOUNT OF COMPENSATION DUE



IF DECISION IS REJECTED BY WORKER OR EMPLOYER BOARD REVIEWS CLAIM AND MAKES FINAL AWARD



EMPLOYER OR WORKER MAY APPEAL TO COURT ONLY ON QUESTIONS OF LAW

HOW THE WAGE AND HOUR ACT WORKS



WAGE AND HOUR ADMINISTRATOR APPOINTS AN INDUSTRY COMMITTEE—EQUAL NUMBER OF EMPLOYERS, WORKERS AND PUBLIC



INDUSTRY COMMITTEE HOLDS HEARINGS



INDUSTRY COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS A MINIMUM WAGE TO ADMINISTRATOR



ADMINISTRATOR HOLDS FURTHER HEARINGS ON OBJECTIONS TO RECOMMENDATION



ADMINISTRATOR MAY REFER RECOMMENDATION TO ORIGINAL OR NEW INDUSTRY COMMITTEE FOR FURTHER STUDY



ADMINISTRATOR MAKES FINAL DECISION AND ISSUES MINIMUM WAGE ORDER

3.2 Democracy in the South

Here, in a crucial election year, are set forth the facts and figures of the poll tax which in eight states disfranchises two thirds of the voters.

STETSON KENNEDY

ANY DAY NOW, THE AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE system may be brought to a grinding halt, for the second time during this war, by a group of southern Senators in a desperate filibuster against H.R.-7, a bill to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in federal elections. The same spectacle was witnessed two years ago, when the filibusters, led by Theodore ("The Man") Bilbo and Tom Connally, defeated a similar bill by holding the floor for nine war days. This time the same bloc threatens to "propose 1,000 amendments and filibuster forever if necessary."

What is there about the poll tax that makes these southern legislators, in their anxiety to preserve it, willing to hold up indefinitely the crowded congressional calendar of urgently needed war measures, and to place in the hands of our enemies so useful a propaganda weapon? Let us look into the situation which impels the poll tax Senators to their desperate tactics.

It was to stem the rising tide of Populism that the South's ruling class reimposed the poll tax upon the region during the two decades between 1890 and 1910. To accomplish this, it was necessary to convince the poor whites that the tax was essential to the maintenance of "white supremacy." When these citizens expressed concern lest the tax work an equal burden upon them, their leaders asserted that the Negroes would be more forgetful about paying the tax, and also would be more likely to lose their receipts; and this assertion no self-respecting white man would deny. In addition, it was promised that all revenue derived from the tax would be devoted to public education. And so the double-barreled slogan which ushered in the tax in every southern state except Kentucky was: "Disfranchise the darkies and educate white children!"

The 10,000,000 Disfranchised

Today, the tax continues to deny democracy in eight southern states—Georgia (which bears the dubious distinction of never having been without such a tax), Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Tennessee. The precise extent to which democracy—and its antithesis—holds sway in this realm of Polltaxia is revealed by a few vital statistics.

First, there is the stark fact that the annual per capita income for the region, in good years, has been less than \$300; for tenant farmers, \$73. The poll tax ranges from \$1 to \$2 a year. In Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Virginia it is cumulative for varying periods, the respective maxi-

—By a young southern writer, Florida born and educated. After graduating from the state university, Mr. Kennedy headed a folklore-recording expedition, sponsored by the Library of Congress, in Florida's palmetto region. The area was pioneered by Mr. Kennedy's forebears, and from it he derived the materials for his first book, "Palmetto Country," published last year. This article is based on his forthcoming book, "The Four Freedoms Down South."

mum charges being \$36, \$47.50, \$6, and \$5.08. In other words, a great host of southern servicemen, poor whites, and Negroes cannot afford to pay for their right to vote because to them it represents—depending upon the number of years they are in arrears—anywhere from a day's to six months' earnings.

Only 3 percent of the people of the poll tax states voted in the 1942 elections. And in the 1940 election, only 7.2 percent of the people of Polltaxia voted, as compared with 41.7 percent in the free voting states. That is to say, more than two thirds of the otherwise qualified voters of Polltaxia are disfranchised by the tax: 10,000,000 people—6,000,000 of them white, 4,000,000 colored. The result is a lesser degree of democracy than exists in any other country which so much as pretends to have a representative form of government.

Not only is the poll tax a ball-and-chain upon the South—it impedes the progress of the entire nation. Jack Stinnett, in a recent Associated Press dispatch, pointed out that "The South, even with adjoining Democratic states to the west, has a minority in population, wealth, and area. Yet on the Democratic side of the aisles in both House and Senate, it is the most potent single force in the legislative branch of government today. The root of this goes back to three things: 1. Our legislative branch is primarily a committee form of government; 2. Control of committees is based on seniority; and 3. The South, either through political wisdom or force of habit, elects many of its Representatives and Senators 'in perpetuity.' Given any one issue which southern Democrats oppose, and there isn't a prayer to get it through."

Unequal Representation

All of which is all too true, except that it is the poll tax, not political wisdom or force of habit, that keeps southern congressmen in office indefinitely. The system works very nicely for its protagonists. In

the three elections prior to 1943, the turnover among congressmen from free voting states was 70 percent greater than among the representatives of Polltaxia.

No less than eighteen congressmen from Polltaxia have been perpetuated in office for more than twenty years, and by virtue of seniority they have garnered chairmanships of 17 of the 47 standing House committees (including the most important ones), and hold second-ranking positions on eleven others. They preside over ten of the Senate's 33 standing committees, and hold second place on seven. This represents three times their proportionate share of dominant positions on House committees, and twice their share on Senate committees. By virtue of these strategic positions and their intimate knowledge of parliamentary procedure, these veterans are indeed able to wield the whip over Congress.

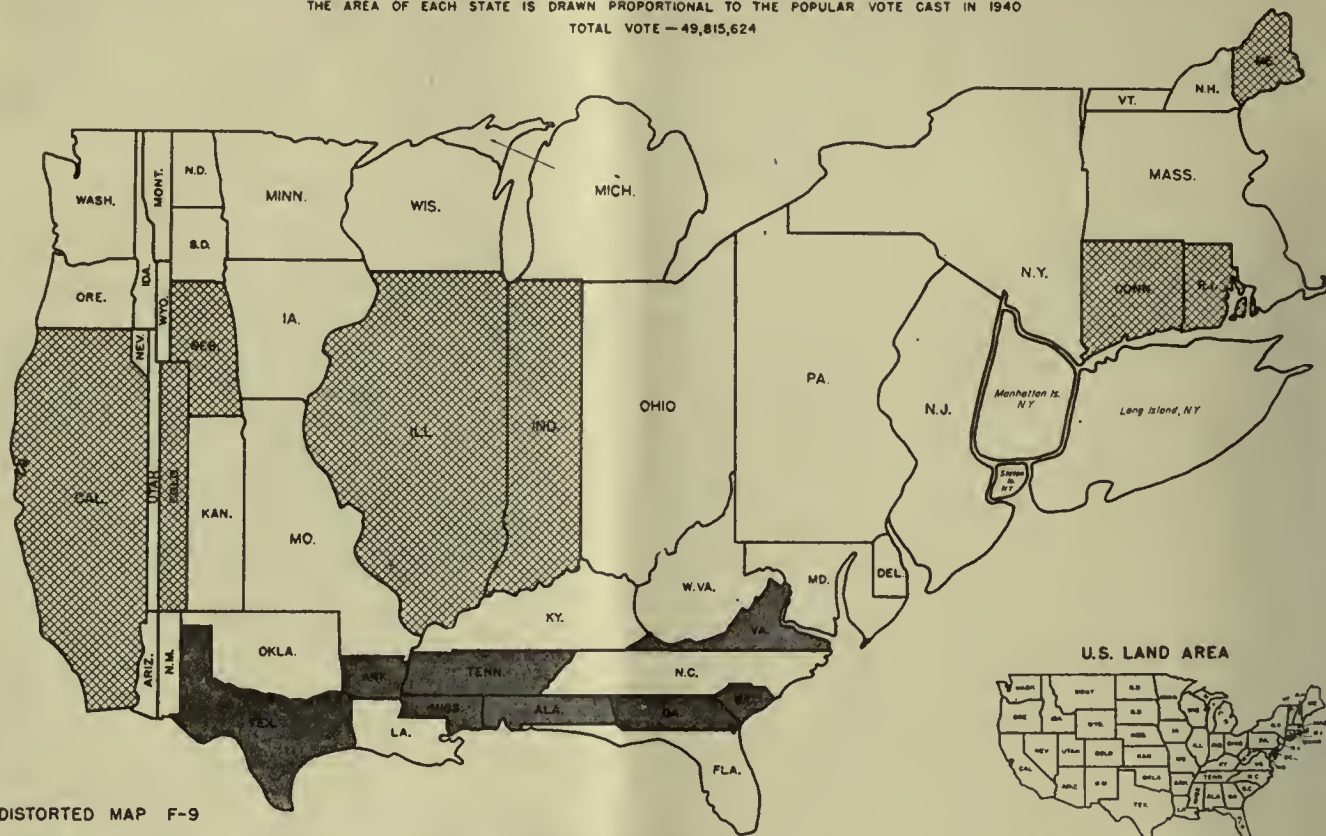
Furthermore, the 69 Representatives of seven states of Polltaxia (omitting those from Tennessee, where the tax was briefly suspended), were elected with an average of fewer than 10,000 votes being cast in each election, while seven free voting states with the same total population also elected 69 Representatives, but with an average of 89,500 votes cast in each election. More votes were cast for the two Representatives of Rhode Island (population 713,000) than were cast for the 37 Representatives elected by South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, plus five districts of Virginia (total population 11,500,000). Which is to say that the poll tax has completely subverted the constitutional provision for equal representation in the House.

Nor is that all. These 69 Representatives of Polltaxia were every one elected by from one to 12 percent of their constituents. Eight of them enjoy the "distinction" of having been elected by only one percent of their people: Cox and Pace of Georgia; Whittington of Mississippi; and Fulmer, Hare, Bryson, Richards, and McMillan of South Carolina. Also in the lowest brackets are 2 percenters Paul Brown (Ga.) and Bankhead (Ala.); 3 percenters Dies and Sumners (Tex.), Rankin (Miss.), and Hobbs (Ala.); 4 percenter Starnes (Ala.), and 5 percenter Smith (Va.). Four fifths of one percent of the population of South Carolina's 6th district elected a Representative; and in Texas, 300,000 voters elected 21 congressmen to "represent" the 6,500,000 people of the state.


In the 1942 elections, 56 of the Polltaxians were unopposed and 33 did not even have opposition in the primaries. In Arkansas, Mississippi, and South Carolina not a single


COMPARISON OF REPRESENTATION IN POLL TAX AND FREE-VOTING STATES

THE AREA OF EACH STATE IS DRAWN PROPORTIONAL TO THE POPULAR VOTE CAST IN 1940
TOTAL VOTE — 49,815,624



DISTORTED MAP F-9

 22% of eligible voters in 8 poll tax states elected 18% of United States congressmen in 1940 (2,749,100 people voted to elect 78 representatives.)

 73% of eligible voters in 8 free-voting states elected 18% of United States congressmen in 1940. (10,984,122 people voted to elect 79 representatives.)

U.S. LAND AREA



NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER
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opposition vote was cast. Of course, poll taxers aver that the Democratic primary constitutes their real election; but in 1940, of the 78 poll tax districts 42 did not hold primaries; and in those that did, only 12 percent of the population voted.

The voting record of the congressmen from Polltaxia speaks eloquently of their lack of responsiveness to the people. Besides their filibustering tactics in killing anti-poll tax bills, they voted 73 to 2 against the anti-lynching bill in the House and filibustered it to death in the Senate. They voted 63 to 7 against the wage-hour bill; 61 for and none against the Hobbs anti-labor bill; 57 of them were conspicuously absent during the vote on WPA appropriations; but 71 were on hand to vote in favor of the Smith anti-strike bill.

One of the most degrading effects of the poll tax has been the corruption of elections through the purchase of votes. With the electorate reduced by the tax to a very small percentage of the potential voters, correspondingly small sums are sufficient to corrupt it. Although most poll tax states have laws against paying any other person's tax, the penalties are ridiculously small. A Virginian, for example, convicted of illegally paying thousands of poll taxes may be fined as little as five dollars.

That political machines and business groups frequently purchase large blocks of

poll tax receipts for distribution to those who will promise to vote according to instructions is a matter of common knowledge. The governor of Virginia frankly recognized this situation in a speech in 1940.

The Demand for Repeal

Popular opposition to the poll tax finally brought about its repeal in North Carolina in 1920, in Louisiana in 1934, and in Florida in 1937. Tennessee's statute was "abolished" by legislative action in 1943, only to be reinstated by the state supreme court which held the repeal measure unconstitutional.

In every case, the majority demand for repeal has been bitterly opposed by those who owe their power to the tax. When Arkansas voted on the issue in 1938, every newspaper in the state, with one exception, fought against repeal with front-page editorials. School teachers were given to understand that loss of the poll tax revenue would mean salary cuts for them. The bogey of Negro political domination was inflated to startling proportions. And so the vote was two-to-one in favor of keeping the tax. Of course those who voted for the tax constituted only 4 percent of Arkansas' population, while the tax kept its opponents away from the polls.

The poll taxers' demand that the states be permitted to abolish the tax in their own

way if and when they see fit, is unworthy of serious consideration, not only because the intent-to-abolish is evidently lacking but also because the tax is deeply imbedded in the state constitutions. To abolish it in Alabama, for example, would require first three fifths vote by the legislature, and then approval by the state's "qualified electors"—namely, the 10 percent who pay the tax. Only by federal action can the poll tax shackle be removed.

In 1941, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare—composed of liberal southern leaders in education, labor, politics and religion—launched a campaign for congressional legislation to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in federal elections. Among the organizations which have rallied to support the campaign—now coordinated under a National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax—are the Congress of Industrial Organizations, American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Brotherhood, National Women's Trade Union League, Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union, National Negro Congress, National Lawyers' Guild, Church League for Industrial Democracy, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and many others.

Despite this formidable line-up, the poll taxers' command of congressional committees enabled them to tie up the anti-poll tax bill for a year and a half.

In 1942 when Congress first voted to extend voting facilities to servicemen overseas, Senator Claude Pepper of Florida proposed an amendment to free servicemen from poll tax states of having to pay the tax. This promptly soured poll taxers on the entire bill. Senator George of Georgia arose to say: "Now the poll tax question has been raised, and I am going to ask a very pertinent question, one I believe we will have to answer before the war shall be won, whether or not we are more interested in social and political reforms of certain stripe and character and kind than in unity, in the desire and willingness of our people to fight this war. I am going to let that statement stand. It is going to stand right here in the *Record*. The motivating thought behind too many things has been a desire for social and political reform. . . ."

However, the bill and amendment were finally passed. Edgar G. Brown, president of the National Negro Council, described it as "the greatest contribution to democracy since Lincoln signed the Emancipation Act." On the other hand, Representative Rankin of Mississippi said it was "an attempt to wipe out the election laws," and a part of "a long range communistic program to change our form of government and our way of life, and to take the control of our elections out of the hands of white Americans." The program, he added, "is designed to turn this control over to irresponsible elements that are constantly trying to destroy private enterprise and to stir up race trouble, especially in the southern states."

It was the poll tax issue which brought about the defeat of the original soldier vote bill this past winter, by the collaboration of southern Democrats and northern Republicans in what Senator Joseph F. Guffey described as "the most unpatriotic and unholy alliance that has occurred in the U. S. Senate since the League of Nations for peace of the world was defeated in 1919."

The 1942 Hearings

Protracted committee hearings were conducted on the several anti-poll tax bills, at which the fundamental issue of democracy was brought out in sharp relief. Representatives of the various organizations supporting the bills were heard, and then the governors and attorneys general of the poll tax states were invited to express their views. This they did in classic Defender-of-the-South style, employing with great dexterity all the time-dishonored clichés about states' rights, giving fervent lip service to the Constitution and American institutions, casting invectives against federal bureaucracy and New York City reformers, with the customary display of name-calling, procrastination, confusion, smoke-screen tactics, and delaying actions.

The statement made by Governor R. M. Jefferies of South Carolina was in many respects typical: "Proof of payment of taxes thirty days before an election is an additional method of collecting the poll tax, which is an integral part of the revenue of South Carolina and is used entirely for

school purposes," he declared. "This poll tax does not keep anybody from voting; that is one thing certain. The criminal statute dealing with nonpayment of the poll tax is enforced against all people and all races fairly and uniformly. It would be ridiculous for anyone to say that the poll tax required in South Carolina prevents people from voting when all who are liable for its payment must pay it or go to jail."

"Do you know of any person now confined in any jail in South Carolina because of not having paid the poll tax?" inquired Senator Abe Murdock of Utah.

"They usually pay it, Senator, without having to go to jail," replied the governor.

After some further remarks by Governor Jefferies, Senator Murdock asked again: "I have inferred from what you stated that the payment of poll taxes in South Carolina is practically unanimous. Everybody pays it; is that right?"

"We do not have much trouble with it," parried the governor. "I will say this: sometimes there is laxity in enforcing it. Senator, I will be absolutely fair. Some counties do not bother with it much. We have tried to collect it, but like any other law, sometimes enforcement is lax."

In winding up his disquisition, the governor reverted to his original contention. "In conclusion," he said, "I respectfully submit that the Congress of the United States has no right to amend the constitution of South Carolina. We can postpone internal dispute and dissension on really small matters, such as poll taxes, until the democracies of the world earn their right to continue to exist. If you must bring up these things which everybody with any degree of common sense knows would produce disunity, dissension, and discord, as you love your country, please postpone further discussion of such issues until enemies such as the Japs and the Germans have been disposed of."

Of course, the governor was mistaken when he respectfully submitted "that Congress has no right to amend the constitution of South Carolina." The power of Congress to legislate upon matters within the scope of its authority is plenary, as provided by the Constitution itself (Article VI): "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby; anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

The contention that the poll tax is justified as a source of revenue is likewise contrary to fact. Alabama, for instance, derives only .6 percent of its total revenue from the poll tax, and the all-time high procured from this source was 1.8 percent, collected by Virginia in 1937. Equally erroneous is the allegation that the poll tax makes a substantial contribution to education; nowhere in Polltaxia does the tax provide as much as 5 percent of the total expenditure for public education.

That the poll tax is deliberately intended to be a means of disfranchisement rather

than a fiscal measure or financial test is demonstrated by the fact that advance notice of its being due is seldom if ever given, either publicly or individually, and once the deadline for payment has passed, the state not only makes no effort to collect the tax but actually will not accept payment. The constitution of Mississippi, as a matter of fact, expressly provides that "No criminal proceedings shall be allowed to enforce the collection of the poll tax." Furthermore, if the tax were a *bona fide* attempt to raise funds, there is no reason why it could not be collected—as is being done in North Carolina—without making denial of suffrage one of the penalties for nonpayment.

When Governor Jefferies had finished, the attorney general of South Carolina, John M. Daniel, spoke his piece. "The poll tax states are, regardless of what this record may say about them, composed of fine Americans—the boys from the poll tax states are not retarding the winning of the war," he declared. "They are soldiers in the front ranks and are not writing essays favoring poll tax repeal."

Next to take the stand was Governor Frank Dixon of Alabama. "The testimony of the 80 witnesses in that book [record of the hearings] was devoted to trying to prove, for the benefit I assume of Mr. Hitler or Mr. Goebbels, or somebody else, a rottenness in the democracy of this country, which does not exist. Emblazoned before our enemies is a false record of shame. This democracy of ours has no apology on earth to make to a living soul. We do not have to apologize, no part of the nation has to apologize for the democracy which has been developed."

The Author of the Bill

At this point Senator Pepper arrived at the hearing. "Mr. Chairman," he said, "I understand that Governor Dixon made a very eloquent argument the implication of which was, or part of it was, that this bill was influenced by pressure group agitation and it was making a false claim to patriotism; it was going to provoke disunity, and all that sort of thing. As the author of the bill I think I am at least entitled to have the record show that I controvert, as strongly as language can, both that statement and its implication.

"My people have been southerners as long as Governor Dixon's, and since 1600 I have not had a direct ancestor of my people who did not fight for and did not die for the South. So I am sure no one would wish to charge that in the introduction of this bill there has been any scheming or designing by any groups that were trying to provoke disunity in this country. On the contrary, I have offered it as a sincere expression of the belief that if we are going to preach and fight for democracy in the world, the best thing for us to do is to show a good example of it here at home."

From which it may be seen that the South is still capable of producing statesmen as well as demagogues. Free voting elects the former, while the poll tax installs the latter.

(Continued on page 267)

Joe Eastman—Public Servant

The human qualities he brought in wartime to his incessant rendezvous with whatever moves by land or water, pipeline or plane, in our arsenal of democracy.

JOHN DANIELS

WHEN JOSEPH BARTLETT EASTMAN DIED ON March 15 at the nation's capital he was widely cited as epitomizing American public service at its best. His quarter century as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission had been crowned by his remarkable achievements as organizer and director of the Office of Defense Transportation. Back of the public official, with character and qualities which account for the excellence of his stewardship of the commonweal, was the Joe Eastman I had known well for forty years as a very human, generous, and lovable individual.

We met in the autumn of 1904 in Boston at the men's residence of South End House, one of the oldest and best known American settlements. We held parallel appointments there, he the Amherst Fellowship and I the Harvard. We roomed together and hit it off first-rate. Under the terms of our fellowships we were expected to do graduate work, share in day-to-day neighborhood activities, and undertake some relevant social study. Joe's graduate work consisted of law courses taken at Boston University by way of general grounding. His study was a matter of common sense observation of city and state affairs—for from the start he had been drawn toward the field of public service. My surmise is that his own innate humanity accounted for his distinctive approach later on to complex and intricate problems that "bristle with mileage and freight rates." But certainly his native vision must have broadened through living at the settlement in association with Robert A. Woods, founder and head of South End House, a man of rare insight and endless patience and perseverance with people.

Joe was a questioner in everything, including religion—although his father was a Presbyterian minister. Along with an inquiring mind went intellectual honesty, freedom from prejudice, and a sturdy insistence on doing his own thinking, reaching his own conclusions. He looked at things in a broad impersonal way, was positive and forthright—so much so that his frankness sometimes seemed brutal, his independence close to wilfulness. But he was always willing to be paid back in his own candid coin. I remember hearing him say plenty of plain blunt things yet never saw him lose his temper. Equanimity was one of his assets throughout his whole career.

My comments might give the impression that Joe was cold or overbearing. On the contrary he was warm, genial, outflowing, with no desire to dominate or even to lead, unless he could reasonably convince. He liked good fellowship, would play the piano while the rest of us gathered round and sang; could lick most of us at cowboy pool,

and enjoyed regaling the inner man. He was a moderate swimmer, played hard-driving tennis, and both of us had a hankering for the open road.

On the Open Road

We took walking trips on our vacations in 1906, 1907, and 1915, covering some 750 miles all told and averaging fifteen to twenty miles a day. We traveled light, taking only such things as we could stuff into the capacious pockets of our canvas coats. The nights we spent catch-as-catch-can in farmhouses, barns, or inns, and occasionally out of doors. Usually we were welcomed by country folks, had plenty to eat, and were charged so little that we should have been ashamed—but were not. Here's a typical entry from my diary:

"After bathing in a brook and taking a good scrub, we went grub-hunting. Found a neat-looking farmhouse about a mile up the road. . . . The kindly housewife consented to get us something, and soon we sat down to a bounteous repast of bread and milk, apple sauce, mince pie and cake. . . . We well nigh burst."

At one house some very hot cake, rich yellow and browned on top, was served at breakfast. Joe was getting away with a lot of it, well buttered. "This is certainly fine cornbread!" he remarked. His hearty appreciation had betrayed him, upsetting the elderly housekeeper who had served us. It was really sweet cake.

Before a hike was through, we looked tattered and unkempt enough, though we patched ourselves up with adhesive tape. Once we strode into a tidy white inn at eventide. As Joe went up to the desk, an immaculate old gentleman standing there drew back. Rough walking has its penalties along with the insight it brings into the irresponsible pleasures of the tramp.

But responsibilities were shaping up for

—A token of friendship which goes back for four decades to when, on their holidays, two Fellows at South End House, Boston, recaptured, afoot and by canoe, the earliest scheme of transportation in the Americas.

Mr. Daniels was for fourteen years national secretary of the English-Speaking Union of the United States; but is best known, perhaps, to our readers for the volumes in which he crystallized his field studies: "In Freedom's Birthplace" (a study of the Negro, 1914); "America via the Neighborhood" (Carnegie Corporation Americanization Series, 1920); and "Cooperation: An American Way" (1938).

both of us. In 1909 I married a Boston girl and the next year moved to Buffalo, where two sons were born; thence to Baltimore where the third son made his advent, and then to New York City. Joe became a staunch friend of our growing family, but he, himself, never married. He was withal a bit bashful and in the course of time became wedded to his work.

Meanwhile, in 1906, he had become secretary of the Public Franchise League of Boston. One of its chief organizers was Louis D. Brandeis who, ten years later, was to be appointed by President Wilson as an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. As an outstanding member of the Massachusetts bar, Mr. Brandeis' courage in fighting for public controls over the utilities which served the community was matched by imaginative statesmanship—as when he contrived a sliding scale, making increased dividends dependent upon decreased charges to consumers. Later he was to employ scientific management as a leverage for keeping down freight and passenger rates on American railroads. Justice Brandeis, twenty-five years Joseph Eastman's senior, was early impressed with his ability and judgment, and had much to do with his subsequent advancement. The affection that sprang up between them was mutual.

In his seven years of service with the Public Franchise League, its young secretary became more and more interested in transportation problems which affected the public interest. Also, he found his sympathies drawn strongly to the rights of labor, and for a year or two (1913-14) he served as adviser to unionized employes of Boston street railways in wage arbitration cases. In 1915, he was appointed to the Massachusetts Public Service Commission; reappointed in 1917. President Wilson made him a member of the U. S. Interstate Commerce Commission in 1919. There were unsuccessful protests from railway officials that he was a "radical"—meaning apparently that he was too pro-labor and inclined toward public ownership.

The Young Commissioner

At thirty-six he was the youngest member appointed to the ICC. That governmental agency was constituted on a politically balanced basis. Designated by the Democratic President on the assumption that he was a Republican, Eastman wrote to the Senate, as the confirming body, conscientiously explaining that he was an independent in politics. The Senate let the matter ride, and in due course President Harding reappointed him on his record. President Coolidge likewise—in the face

some Republican opposition. Then, by a curious turn, President Hoover reappointed him as a presumptive Democrat. Whereupon he again wrote the Senate, stoutly maintaining that he was neither a Democrat nor a Republican. This was the tenacious status of a public official whose disinterested service ran straight through years marked by much partisan feeling.

As an ICC commissioner he was distinguished by hard work, thoroughness, fairness, clarity, and independence. Wholly free from self-conceit, he had that rarest of virtues, humility. Justice Brandeis once said that Joseph Eastman had more interest in public service and less in his own career than any other man he had encountered.

What, clearly, he did crave was to understand fully whatever he undertook and to do the best job he could. He was the most frequent and pronounced dissenter on the Interstate Commerce Commission, but dissented only through conviction. On the other hand, many of the official opinions he wrote have become determining precedents. He remained a member of the commission until his death, though engrossed at times by outstanding special assignments.

In 1933, President Roosevelt appointed Joseph B. Eastman to a new and temporary post—that of federal coordinator of transportation, in pursuance of the Emergency Railway Transportation Act which he (Eastman) had helped to draft. As coordinator he had two broad tasks. One was forthwith “to encourage and promote or require action” by the railroads which would avoid “wastes and preventable expense.” The other, looking further ahead, was “to investigate and consider means . . . of improving transportation conditions throughout the country” and to submit to the ICC such recommendations for legislation as he deemed “necessary or desirable in the public interest.”

Addressing himself to the first task, the coordinator sought maximum cooperation from the railroads. He enlisted railroad officials as members of three regional committees centering in New York, Chicago, and Atlanta. These committees were to consider and carry out voluntary measures of inter-road coordination and economy. It soon became obvious that many if not most of such measures would involve weeding out superfluous workers. Now a section of the Act, inserted at the behest of the Railroad Brotherhoods, had stipulated that the “number of employes in the service of a carrier shall not be reduced” by any action taken under the Act. That stumped Joe but not the railway officials—who set up parallel independent committees and held that whatever these committees did to reduce waste and promote economy would be outside the Act and therefore legal even if workers were disemployed. To the coordinator such a course was an evasion of the Act, breaking faith with the President and Congress. So he dealt only with the regional committees as publicly constituted. The private committees were disbanded; operating officials were in their turn considerably disaffected; and results were disappointing.



JOSEPH B. EASTMAN

Harris & Ewing

The late director of the Office of Defense Transportation at his desk in Washington

“Because of this situation,” the coordinator reported, “our work has largely assumed the character of research into possibilities of coordination.” In other words the first task having run into a deadend, he concentrated on the second. There his findings were prodigious.

The Blueprints He Bequeathed

In four successive reports (covering about 1,200 large, closely-printed pages) he surveyed, analyzed, diagnosed, and prescribed for transportation in the U.S.A.—including railroads, motor vehicles, inland and coast-wise shipping. The reports carried not only exhaustive plans and specifications but carefully drawn bills.

At the same time he began a companion study of “Public Aids to Transportation.” Four volumes, completed later and published as a unit in 1940, ran to about the same total of still larger pages and took in air transport. The ground they covered may be summarized in three questions:

1. What public aid (in the form of land grants, subsidies, excess payments for services, and so on), has been, or is, given by

the government to various forms of transportation?

2. What part of such aid from the public treasury is warranted by general public benefits resulting?

3. What part is not thus warranted and should be returned to the public treasury through taxation, tolls, and other means of reimbursement?

In his first report, Coordinator Eastman had dealt chiefly with the question: Is there need for a radical or major change in the organization, conduct, and regulation of the railroad industry which can be accomplished by federal legislation? “Railroad ills” were described aplenty. The drastic remedy would be to turn to government ownership and operation. This, he granted, was “theoretically and logically” sound; but for realistic and practical reasons he was “not now prepared to recommend resort to public ownership and operation.” Nor, for similar reasons, would he recommend a “grand consolidation plan” under which the country’s 153 railroads (not counting short lines) would be combined into a few mammoth systems.

The wisest course, he thought, was to "postpone the immediate consideration of any radical or major change" and to explore possibilities of voluntary coordination. To make this feasible, however, the crippling restrictions on labor reduction must first be removed. "They go beyond what is reasonable and stand in the way of improvements in operation and service which in the long run will be of advantage to railroad labor."

He recommended the appointment, on a temporary experimental basis, of a coordinator with larger range, extending to all forms of transportation and with authority to propose new legislation and limited consolidations. In general, he held, this official's duty should be "to concentrate upon the broader transportation problems . . . and without in any way administering the industry . . . lend aid and assistance to it," while always encouraging private initiative, management, and responsibility.

There was sufficient resistance in managerial, labor, and political quarters to prevent carrying on. The office of coordinator came to an end in 1936 and Eastman returned full time to the ICC. Nevertheless, the voluminous blueprints he drafted in the mid-Thirties are still available, for reconsideration "if, as, and when."

Chairman Extraordinary

In 1939 came his twentieth year of service. That year his fellow commissioners changed their practice of annual rotation in the chairmanship. They elected him chairman for three years.

Before that term expired, World War II had reached out to the Western Hemisphere and President Roosevelt had appointed

him to another new and vital post—that of director of defense transportation, to which he gave "the last full measure of devotion."

Here as the story approaches its end, one naturally looks back and asks how he spent himself. Could the man have saved the public servant in his incessant rendezvous with work? Almost every summer he took a short vacation outdoors. Along in the Twenties, he and a Washington friend began to go to the Canadian woods on canoeing and fishing trips. I joined them twice and can testify to their strenuousness. Later they gradually eased off. Until the last few years, Joe kept in current trim through late afternoon handball workouts. Then he would dine at a club or favorite restaurant and return to his office to work late into the night. He had bought a house where his sister, Elizabeth Eastman, relieved him of all domestic management while keeping up her own social service interests. Joe slept there but spent most of his waking time at his office, which was jokingly known as his "home." This was air-conditioned and comfortable, with a big leather couch, a shower bath, and a pipe rack holding seven fine briars—one for each day in the week—with fragrant tobacco alongside.

In the summer of 1941, when it was rumored that he would doubtless be appointed director of defense transportation, I had a good talk with him in Washington. Even then there was reason to be somewhat concerned about his health. With unaffected modesty he said that he hardly thought he would be asked—there were other men better fitted—but that, if the President should want him, he felt he ought to accept.

He was appointed in December and without any fanfare, tackled his tremendous wartime administrative task of marshaling, strengthening, and focusing on maximum war service not only the total railway resources of America but all forms of transportation—rail, air, motor, water, pipeline. The public recognized the necessity, under emergency conditions, for curtailing both motoring and railway passenger service; the justice of his appeals to stop non-essential traveling and convention gatherings. He met with enthusiastic cooperation on every hand. It was the team play he elicited that accounts for the extraordinary results accomplished in rail transportation in this war—the excellent showing of railroads today.

Last February he suffered a serious heart attack and was ordered by his doctor to rest completely for at least two months. Characteristically he tendered his resignation, but the President wrote: "Follow strictly the doctor's orders and take that much needed rest. Do not for a moment think of resigning. Get yourself back in good form, for the job needs you and the country needs you." Within the month he suffered another attack that was fatal.

Some Tributes

What of the standards and ideals which he exemplified? In rounding out this sketch I was fortunate in having an afternoon's talk with Thomas F. Woodlock of New York who, in the course of his long and distinguished career, was for five years (1925-30) a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. His testimony was all the more impressive in that the two men closely associated in the finance section of that body, had very different, indeed almost opposite, backgrounds. "He will always be associated with the history of American railroads," said Mr. Woodlock of his fellow commissioner. "Whoever studies the subject will come upon his name as that of a complete master of the science and art of railroad transportation."

In a letter to *The New York Times*, Justice Felix Frankfurter wrote: "Joseph B. Eastman symbolized the best fulfillment of our American democracy's need for a permanent and professional public service, highly trained, imaginative and courageously disinterested."

And last I quote from what Joe himself said in mid-February, in a speech that proved to be his valedictory. He delivered it at the ICC practitioners' dinner in Washington in his honor, and called it a prime on the subject of governmental administrative tribunals:

"To be successful they must be master of their own souls, and known to be such. It is the duty of the President to determine their personnel through the power of appointment, and it is the duty of Congress to determine by statute the policies which they are to administer; but in the administration of these policies these tribunals must not be under the domination or influence of either the President or Congress or anything else than their own independent judgment of the facts and the law."



Harris & Ewing

Joe Eastman, seated, studying the day's railway traffic map with two associates

British Home Front

A progress report revealing notable gains despite bombs and war shortages; how new lines can be held and advanced in postwar years.

A. D. K. OWEN

WAR, THE DESTROYER, IS ALSO THE FORGING-house of constructive ideas. The impact of its destructive forces on the complex fabric of modern society calls for bold and far-reaching social planning and action if breakdown is to be averted. The strain and hardships of total mobilization, shortages of many essential consumption goods, and the million and one personal problems of wartime existence demand watchful care and attention by the social welfare agencies if morale is to be maintained.

It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that the first four years of war led to many striking advances all along the social welfare front in bombed and blockaded Britain. Already when war broke out Britain had built up an impressive range of public services for the purpose of raising social standards and rendering aid to the social casualties of modern industrial civilization. During the war, these services have been greatly improved and extended.

The social welfare departments of the state and the various voluntary social welfare organizations have all expanded their existing services and branched out into many new fields of activity. The results have been remarkable. Despite air raid damage, lost homes, enforced removals, food shortages, and war strain, the great majority of the people of Britain are healthier and better cared for than ever before. And the hope has been born that the new measures which have played such an important part in producing these results will find a permanent place in British life.

Under Wartime Necessity

What are the prospects that these wartime achievements will endure? What, for example, are the chances that the highly successful wartime food policy will be continued when peace returns? Before the war, nutrition experts and social scientists had done some hard campaigning to raise the food consumption standards of the people. Wartime necessity has given them an opportunity of realizing their wishes.

Inspired by their advice, the government's nutrition policy has been designed to secure a balanced diet for all, with priority supplies of certain foods and vitamin supplements for sections of the population which particularly needed them. Vital aspects of this policy are price control and subsidized consumption. The prices of about 95 percent of the most common foodstuffs are controlled by Maximum [ceiling] Price Orders, and the government pays subsidies to keep down the prices of some of the main foods—such as

flour, bread, tea, sugar, potatoes, and milk.

Expectant and nursing mothers and children under five years of age are assured of adequate supplies of milk, eggs, fruit juices, and cod liver oil. Extra milk is also available for certain invalids, and some workers may have extra cheese. The "national wheatmeal loaf"—the only unrationed loaf in Europe—is reinforced with vitamin B, and margarine is also reinforced with vitamins.

In the field of food education, great advances have been made. Instruction to the public in food values and economical cookery is carried out by the Ministry of Food through the press, film, and radio. The Ministry also runs Foods Advice Centers in various parts of the country, providing cookery demonstrations to help housewives make the best of their rations.

Meals for Millions

Before the war, school meals were provided on a small scale for "undernourished" and "necessitous" children, either free or according to means, and on a still smaller scale for children living a long way from school. The war has given a new impetus to school feeding. The provision of school meals has been extended, and is no longer concerned only with undernourished and poor children. The growing number of children whose mothers go out to work has increased the demand for this provision, and a charge is made which does not exceed the cost of the raw food.

School canteens have priority in respect to certain foods in short supply, and care is taken to provide well balanced meals. Under the milk-in-schools scheme, milk is provided either free or at a third of the ordinary retail price to some four million school children.

Wartime conditions in industry, particularly the increasing employment of women with domestic responsibilities, directed attention to the need for factory canteens. Before the war, the Factory Department could require employers to provide a lunchroom but not to provide food, although many firms did so voluntarily. Any

—By the Stevenson lecturer in citizenship at the University of Glasgow, who is the author of many reports, articles, and pamphlets on Britain's social services. In 1936-37, Mr. Owen was co-director of the Pilgrim Trust Unemployment Inquiry, and earlier he served as secretary of a social survey of the city of Sheffield.

factory engaged on munitions or other government work, and employing at least 250 workers, can now be required to provide a canteen.

Canteens receive allowances of rationed foods, and those serving "heavy" workers are entitled to receive quantities of meat, sugar, cheese, and cooking fats. The most revolutionary development in this sphere has been the setting up all over the country of British Restaurants—the name given by the Ministry of Food to community feeding centers. These canteens cater to every variety of person—office and shop workers, tradesmen, truck drivers, postmen, laborers, and local residents. They are usually run on "help yourself" cafeteria lines, and charges are suited to the pockets of the lowest paid workers.

Some features of this wartime food policy—rationing, price control, and heavy government subsidies over a wide range of foodstuffs—may be expected to disappear when the difficult period of transition from war to peace has come to an end. But all the constructive elements in the policy—the specification of optimum diets, the provision of cheap nutritious foods for special classes in the community, the development of school meals, the low cost milk service, the extension of factory canteens, British Restaurants, and popular education in food values and economical cooking—these things have come to stay.

Lord Woolton, who for over three years was Britain's popular Minister of Food, has said: "We have made a beginning, at any rate, in establishing a nutritional standard for this country." And, in his new office as Minister of Reconstruction, he is hardly likely to risk losing his well deserved popularity by falling short of the promise implied in that statement.

More Medical Care

The war has also seen some far-reaching changes in Britain's health services which are certain to outlast the crisis which brought them into being. Before the war, Britain had many fine hospitals but no single, integrated hospital system. The wartime Emergency Medical Service has changed all this. Hospitals, clinics, consultant specialists, and general practitioners have all been organized as a great national service to meet the challenge of war casualties, industrial accidents, and ordinary civilian illness.

Many new hospitals have come into being. Badly equipped hospitals have been brought up to first class standards. Special treatment centers have been set up to

deal with particular injuries and conditions such as neurosis, orthopedic cases, and head injuries. An extensive blood transfusion service has been developed. And an intensive drive has been made to deal with the two great danger spots in the nation's health—tuberculosis and venereal disease.

Mass miniature radiography is revolutionizing the diagnosis of tuberculosis. Generous state maintenance allowances are enabling the poorest citizen to undergo early treatment. The traditional voluntary basis of treatment in cases of venereal disease has been modified by making treatment compulsory for any person indicated by two infected persons as the source of their infection, and making it an offense for such a person to give up treatment before a complete cure has been effected. Meanwhile, a nationwide publicity campaign has already had considerable success in changing the public attitude toward this subject.

The effectiveness of Britain's wartime health policy is demonstrated by results. In 1942, the deathrate among civilians was the lowest ever recorded, although it included deaths from enemy action and in spite of the fact that large numbers of the healthiest sections of the population were in the armed forces. The maternity mortality rate and the infant deathrate were also the lowest on record. The incidence of most infectious diseases has declined, and the absence of epidemics from the use of crowded public shelters during air raids has been a triumph of preventive medicine.

With these object lessons in view, there can be no question of going back to 1939.

On the contrary, the intention of the government—with the full backing of public opinion—is to use the experience of wartime health administration as the basis for a fundamental reorganization and wide extension of Britain's health services. The nation has been promised a national health service which will make available to every citizen, rich and poor, all the medical advice and treatment which is needed. It is a promise no government, whatever its political complexion, dares fail to fulfil.

Wartime progress has not been confined to purely physical welfare; one of the most revolutionary developments has occurred in the cultural sphere. C.E.M.A.—the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts—created in 1940 through the beneficence of the Pilgrim Trust and sponsored by the Board of Education, is now supported wholly out of state funds. Its object is to take plays, music, and art to the people in all parts of the country.

The leading symphony orchestras, most of the painters, and a large majority of the opera, ballet, and drama companies are now working in occasional or continuous association with C.E.M.A. Plays and concerts are given in munition factories, wartime hostels, air raid shelters and in the parks, and exhibitions of paintings and drawings are also arranged. Music and drama are taken to remote places where the people have never before seen living players. One theater—at Bristol—has been entirely taken over by C.E.M.A., becoming the first "State Theater" in Britain. The most significant result of this development is the discovery

of the volume of popular demand for music and art, and the rise in popular taste which must lead to a permanent enrichment of national life.

Children Under Five

No branch of Britain's social life has been so disrupted during the war as the organization of public education. The evacuation of school children from target areas, the requisitioning of school buildings for war purposes, and the destruction of many schools and much equipment, have caused no small upheaval.

But a great deal has been learned from the measures adopted to deal with these difficulties; and the tremendous challenge of war itself to accepted values has led to a remarkable ferment of thought and discussion concerning the future of education.

One striking development has been the provision of day nurseries where married women employed in industry may leave their young children while they are at work. Nurseries of this kind existed on a small scale before the war. There are now over 1,300 of them, with hundreds more in preparation. These nurseries are not merely places where babies and children under five can be kept quiet while their mothers are working in munition factories. They play an important part in the health and early education of the children.

Besides regular medical inspections, they provide nourishing meals, rest and cleanliness, and they encourage self-reliance. They are staffed by fully trained nurses and nursery teachers; and a small daily charge is made to the mothers whose active cooperation in the work is encouraged.

For some young children evacuated from danger areas, residential nurseries and nursery schools have been started, and the experiences gained in this work have formed the basis of some important contributions to educational psychology. Evacuation schools and camps for older children, together with many other suitable buildings now in military hands, have been earmarked for permanent use after the war as camp schools for city children.

Counseling for Youth

The social training of boys and girls between fourteen and eighteen was a blind spot in Britain's educational arrangements before the war, though consciences were stirring and some good work was being done by local education authorities and voluntary societies. The war has focused attention on the needs of these young people and there has been a remarkable extension of youth organizations throughout the country.

National youth advisory councils have been set up in London and Edinburgh. Youth committees have been appointed by local authorities. And there has been a vast increase in the number of young people engaged in organized clubs, educational classes, and various forms of community service such as domestic work in hospitals, first aid, and messenger work in connection

Educational Reform

The government's purpose in putting forward the reforms described . . . is to secure for children a happier childhood and a better start in life; to insure a fuller measure of education and opportunity for young people, and to provide means for all of developing the various talents with which they are endowed and so enriching the inheritance of the country whose citizens they are. The new educational opportunities must not, therefore, be of a single pattern. It is just as important to achieve diversity as it is to insure equality of educational opportunity. But such diversity must not impair the social unity within the educational system which will open the way to a more closely knit society and give us strength to face the tasks ahead.

With these ends in view the government proposes to recast the national education service. The new layout is based on a recognition of the principle that education is a continuous process conducted in successive stages. For children below the compulsory school age of five, there must be a sufficient supply of nursery schools. The period of compulsory school attendance will be extended to fifteen without exemptions and with provision for its subsequent extension to sixteen as soon

as circumstances permit. The period of five to the leaving age will be divided into two stages: the first, to be known as primary, covering the years up to about eleven. After eleven secondary education, of diversified types but of equal standing, will be provided for all children. At the primary stage, the large classes and bad conditions which at present are a reproach to many elementary schools will be systematically eliminated; at the secondary stage, the standard of accommodation and amenities will be steadily raised. . . . This provision of school meals and milk will be made obligatory.

When the period of full time compulsory schooling ends, the young person will continue under educational influences up to eighteen years of age either by remaining in full time attendance at a secondary school, or by part time day attendance at a young people's college. Throughout all the foregoing stages, the benefits of medical inspection and treatment will be available without charge. Opportunities for technical and adult education will be increased.—From "Educational Reconstruction," a White Paper presented to Parliament in July 1943 by the president of the Board of Education

A Proposed Health Service

Objects in View

To insure that everybody in the country—irrespective of means, age, sex, or occupation—shall have equal opportunity to benefit from the best and most up-to-date medical and allied services available.

To provide, therefore, for all who want it, a comprehensive service covering every branch of medical and allied activity, from the care of minor ailments to major medicine and surgery; to include the care of mental as well as physical health, and all specialist services . . . to include all normal general services, e.g. the family doctor, midwife, and nurse, the care of the teeth and of the eyes, the day-to-day care of the child; and to include all necessary drugs and medicines and a wide range of appliances.

To divorce the care of health from questions of personal means or other factors irrelevant to it; to provide the service free of charge (apart from certain possible charges in respect of appliances) and to encourage a new attitude to health—the easier obtaining of advice early, the promotion of good health rather than only the treatment of bad.

General Principles to be Observed

Freedom for people to use or not to use these facilities at their own wish; no compulsion into the new service, either for patient or for doctor; no interference with the making of private arrangements at private cost, if anyone still prefers to do so.

Freedom for people to choose their own medical advisers under the new arrangements as much as they do now; and to continue with their present advisers, if they wish, when the latter take part in the new arrangements.

Freedom for the doctor to pursue his professional methods in

his own individual way, and not to be subject to outside clinical interference.

The personal doctor-patient relationship to be preserved, and the whole service founded on the "family doctor" idea.

These principles to be combined with the degree and kind of public organization needed to see that the service is properly provided. . . .

General Method of Organizing the Service

The maximum use of good existing facilities and experience; no unnecessary uprooting of established services, but the welding together of what is there already, adapting it and adding to it and incorporating it in the larger organization.

The basis to be the creation of a new public responsibility; to make it in future somebody's clear duty to see that all medical facilities are available to all people; the placing of this duty on an organization answerable to the public in the democratic way, while enjoying the fullest expert and professional guidance.

Some temporary limitations of the full service inevitable . . . but the design to be comprehensive from the outset, and to be fulfilled as fast as resources and manpower allow.

The first step to be the making of positive plans for each area of the country, determining what is needed for all people in that area; this to be followed by measures to insure that what is needed is then secured.

A combination, for all this, of central and local responsibility, to insure that both general national requirements and varying local requirements are equally met.—From "A National Health Service," a White Paper presented to Parliament in February 1944 by the Minister of Health

with the civil defense and fire services.

Compulsory registration of boys and girls between sixteen and eighteen has been introduced to encourage but not to compel them to take part in youth activities of some kind; and there has been an unmistakably enthusiastic response to a recruiting appeal from the uniformed pre-service training organizations. There are now about 45,000 Sea Cadets, 180,000 Army Cadets, and 181,000 members of the Air Training Corps. These organizations provide specialized training and are run by the Service Ministries. The Girls Training Corps, on the other hand, although uniformed, provides a more general training and is not directly connected with the Women's Services.

These educational developments are not likely to become casualties of victory. The wartime nurseries and nursery schools, the residential camp schools for city children, the youth organizations and the pre-service cadet corps have all come to stay—however they may be modified to meet the needs of a more peaceful world.

Far-Reaching Reforms

This is not all. The great Education bill which recently passed the House of Commons makes provisions for a new leap forward all along the line in Britain's education. Based on the White Paper published in July 1943, it has been hailed by educational reformers throughout the country as a landmark in social progress.

War on the industrial front has called for unparalleled exertions and readjustments by management and workers alike. The

transference of thousands of workers away from their homes and the large scale employment of women in war factories have given rise to many new problems. The dangers of overstrain, maladjustment, and friction need no emphasis—but the development of a constructive industrial welfare policy has done much to mitigate them.

Welfare officers have been appointed by the Ministry of Labor in every important industrial area to supervise medical services, industrial canteen facilities, billeting, the organization of recreation, and special measures for the welfare of boys and girls in industry. Industrial welfare officers, doctors, and nurses have been appointed by hundreds of large firms; and in some parts of the country, notably in Scotland, arrangements have been made with the local medical profession for a continuous watch for symptoms of overstrain and disease in factories and workshops. The scientific study of industrial health problems has been given a new impetus, and great progress has been made in rehabilitating injured workers and training the permanently disabled for new occupations.

The need for maximum industrial efficiency in wartime has led to close collaboration between management and union representatives, and to the widespread formation of joint production committees which enable management and workers in particular factories to pool ideas for increasing output. This development has been welcomed in Britain, not merely as a means of improving industrial relations which have been astonishingly good throughout the war, but

also as an extension of democratic principles to an authoritarian sphere.

Shall These Things Endure?

Whether it will outlast the war will depend on the lead which is given by the government. The cooperative spirit of wartime industry is based on a common interest in defeating the enemy. What is to be the common basis of cooperation when the enemy is destroyed? Mr. Churchill has answered: "Food, work, and homes" for the people as a whole, and he has appointed the best man he could find—Lord Woolton—to make the plans.

Meanwhile, the members of the government have committed themselves to a thoroughgoing social security plan along the lines of the Beveridge Report, and Ernest Bevin, the Minister of Labor, has affirmed that it is his intention, at any rate, that the constructive achievements of his department shall long outlast the war which has made them possible.

Prophecy is dangerous; and the record of past wars and their aftermaths gives no encouragement to facile optimism. But this can be said of the people of Britain: The experience of total war has deepened and strengthened their traditional democracy and it has opened their eyes to what can be achieved by constructive statesmanship for the betterment of the community even under adverse conditions. Disaster will befall any government or party which seeks to persuade them that these things are no longer possible, that—once again—the promise has been vain.



Tenement Window

Childhood's Brief Hour

Paintings by Lily Harmon

"To be young once more and bite my thumb at the world and all its cares," seems to be the wistful theme of these charming paintings by an American artist. Glowing with light and soft colors, they give the impression of spring and tender young growth. They have the fragility of the small moment of happy childhood.

Miss Harmon has been represented in national art exhibitions for the past few years; she has just had her first "one-man" show at the galleries of the Associated American Artists in New York.



Lipstick



Confirmation



Homecoming



Sky-High

Father Andrews and His Parishioners

It could hardly be said that Father Andrews of St. Louis sat for this vital portrait by a well known writer from a neighboring town — he is far too active for that.

ALBERTA WILLIAMS

IT WAS A BITTER COLD JANUARY EVENING when I saw the line of Negroes buying their next day's fuel at the Consumers Cooperative Coal Company station on St. Louis' Market Street. A boy of thirteen or fourteen had a dilapidated wicker baby carriage in which to haul home his coal. Two small girls had a little wagon, and several of the men and women had brought wheelbarrows. But most of those awaiting their turn at the shed window would cheerfully carry their bags of coal in their arms. The majority of them came from crowded tenements where they have no place to store a large supply of coal, even had they money to buy it in quantity. The thing that made this a laughing, joking line that winter evening was that here, through the efforts of Father George Andrews, S.J., was coal for sale at a price they could pay.

The coal cooperatives that today dot St. Louis' poor Negro districts are just one of a number of practical projects that the thirty-eight-year-old Jesuit priest has started in the two and a half years since he became the white pastor of St. Elizabeth's Church, in the heart of the Negro slum section. Father Andrews had taught social theory and social action at Regis College in Denver, and at Marquette University in Milwaukee. St. Elizabeth's is not only the church of more than a thousand colored families, but it is a friend to the city's entire Negro population of approximately 110,000.

"My first purpose in life is, of course, to save souls," I was told by the tall, smiling priest who wears a patched cassock and doesn't dream that his working hours should or could have any limits. "But you can't expect people to be much interested in their spiritual well-being if their material well-being is utterly neglected."

Basket Coal

It was just three days before Christmas in 1941, only a couple of months after Father Andrews became pastor of St. Elizabeth's, that he organized the coal cooperatives. That year, in distributing Christmas baskets which St. Louis University supplies annually for Negroes in want, Father Andrews went into many miserable homes where the children were kept in bed cold winter days because there was no heat whatever in the house. In these homes—many of them just one crowded room in a wretched tenement—coal could never be bought economically in quantity; tenants had to buy "basket coal" (a basket is about a bushel) off peddlers' carts.

"Basket coal's so high this year we only

have heat every other day, Father," explained one mother whose three wide-eyed youngsters were huddled together in bed.

St. Louis' new anti-smoke ordinance required everybody to use smokeless fuel and such coal bought in large quantities was too expensive for them. Father Andrews did some rapid thinking and double-quick investigating. The need, obviously, was for smokeless coal these people could afford and it had to be fuel that would burn well in their stoves.

Where were similar stoves being used effectively? He found out that in army tents at Jefferson Barracks solarite, an inexpensive soft coal processed to make it smokeless, was burned. Where could he get it? Millstadt, Illinois. Coal could be hauled into St. Louis from there in trailers, quickly and cheaply. How could the retail cost be kept down? By buying in large quantities and eliminating the retail dealer's profits. In short, by organizing coal cooperatives that the coal consumers themselves would in time own, through receiving with each coal purchase coupons that could later be redeemed in shares of stock.

The Coal Cooperatives

Father Andrews brought his plan to the attention of the mayor and aldermen, reminding them that, in the campaign to pass the ordinance, fine but unimplemented pledges had been made that the proposed law would "work no hardship on any St. Louis citizen." Mayor William Dee Becker, now deceased, was heartily in favor of the plan and asked Charles Reilly, his secretary, to serve on Father Andrews' organizing committee to insure municipal cooperation. Moreover, the city leased vacant lots to them at a dollar a year to be used as coalyards.

December 26, just four days after Father Andrews set out to deliver Christmas baskets, the first coal cooperative opened. Business was brisk. Within a week there were seven coalyards in operation and the enterprise rapidly expanded until today there are fifteen of them in St. Louis' Negro area. The cooperatives sold over 2,000 tons of coal during the balance of their first winter. They sold it at 15 cents a basket. Consumers who had been buying it off wagons for 45 to 60 cents gladly walked to the coalyards and carried their fuel home.

The Coal Exchange, an association of St. Louis retail coal dealers, tried to compromise with the cooperatives, suggesting that they could come down somewhat in price and the cooperatives could advance to

theirs. Father Andrews replied pleasantly but firmly that the cooperatives were doing nicely on the 15-cent price.

When the 1942-43 season started, it looked as if the combined buying power of the coal dealers might shut the little cooperatives off from their supply of coal. Secretary Reilly thumbed through some musty municipal statutes that were good though forgotten. Among them was one authorizing the mayor to open municipal coalyards when and if need for them arose. From then on the cooperatives were unhampered.

This year there is no longer a struggling experimental enterprise, but a solid, substantial, thoroughly solvent organization with a credit rating that is excellent. The cooperatives have sold more than 3,000 tons of coal. They have added a warmhearted personal delivery service, which hangs on to the judgment of their coalyard employees. They deliver by truck, without additional charge, to customers too aged or ill to carry their purchases.

The operation of the stations is done by Negroes. Harold Coleman, the manager, has had ten years' experience in the coal business. Working under him are teenagers who do the office work, and several men, as well as a number of boys who do odd jobs after school hours. Father Andrews, still the guiding hand of the board of directors, makes informal rounds of the yards about once a week.

The Chicken Cooperative

In February 1943, meat was so scarce to be frequently unobtainable and the uncontrolled price of chickens was soaring. Father Andrews, after some little study of the methods and costs of raising battery chickens, proposed a chicken cooperative. He talked up his idea enough to get it in circulation and then called a meeting which was organized a board of directors whose membership included both parishioners of St. Elizabeth's and other Negroes.

The chicken cooperative offered stock for sale. Stockholders would share in the eventual moderate profits and would get their fryers at cost, whereas the general public would have to pay cost plus 10 percent. This cooperative started life with 131 stockholders, many of whom owned several shares.

With the assurance that came from success in the coal venture, the members had needed little assistance to make the chicken cooperative a success. Father Andrews presented the idea, helped with the work

(Continued on page 265)

The Idea and Origins of Nationalism

HARRY HANSEN

THE IMPRESSIVE VOLUME THAT HANS KOHN calls "The Idea of Nationalism: A Study of Its Origins" (Macmillan; \$7.50) is the first half of a comprehensive survey of nationalism from its earliest manifestations in Greek and Jewish civilization to its present extreme status as a political religion. The survey marks the culmination of thirty years' concentration on the subject by Mr. Kohn, who for the past ten years has been professor of history at Smith College.

This volume closes with a consideration of the effects of the French Revolution, which ushered in the modern period of nationalism. A second book, "The Age of Nationalism: A Study in the Growth and Fulfillment of an Idea," as outlined by the author, will deal with nationalism in the age of democracy and industry, from 1798 to 1919, which Mr. Kohn describes as the morning, noon, and evening of "the historical day of nationalism." He suggests that, just as political religion survived its most powerful period by several centuries, so the evening of nationalism may be considerably prolonged before the new dawn comes. But of the coming of that dawn he has no doubts.

From a European Perspective

The origins of this study go back to the earliest association of the author with the young Zionist movement just prior to the first World War. Though only twenty at the time, he formed the conclusions that are the recurring themes of his life work: that justice, liberty of conscience, and human dignity are ineradicable factors of man's welfare on earth and that the repressive and aggressive state is incompatible with their continued expression.

In 1922, Mr. Kohn brought together a group of his papers under the title, "*Nationalismus im Judentum und in der Gegenwart*," in which he admonished Jews that their legacy of human values crosses political frontiers in a true moral and philosophical internationalism, and that the state was only an expedient way of conserving the community of interests of those who lived in it. At that time he was deeply pessimistic over the results of the Paris peace conference, which he declared had ignored the just aspirations of the common people. He predicted the demoralization of Europe under the conflicting claims of the intensified nationalism of petty states and the rise of the Fuehrer principle in minorities. He expressed his concern in a trenchant

sentence: "*Jeder kauft sich eine Kanone und macht sich selbständig*" (Every man buys himself a cannon and makes himself self-sufficient), and warned that every reaction is a direct danger to the Jews.

Hans Kohn was not to remain long in the welter of European politics after 1922. Despite his preoccupation with Zionism, which led to a sojourn in Palestine, and his satisfactory life in Paris, he came to the United States in 1931 and began his distinguished career as an invigorating preacher of the democratic faith.

This transfer to the United States was of inestimable value to his studies in nationalism. It brought him firsthand experience of the way the successors of Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Hamilton, and Madison used the democratic liberties of the American Revolution, which he already had identified as the superlative expression of man's social progress of the time. He had made an intensive study of Hebrew and German culture; he had discovered why the Enlightenment failed to influence Germany; and had traced the liberation of mankind by way of England to the United States. He saw the American Revolution and the democratic revival of the 1790's as inspired by the English revolutionary tradition and French liberalizing influences. The American Revolution was not a new link in the chain of English liberty but the "venture of a nascent nation which undertook to build its life on the new foundations of the human rights of the eighteenth century." In it lived the "vision" of Milton, Sidney, Locke, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, and to its aid came the democratic vision of Jefferson, intensified by his observation of the beginnings of national life in France.

In thus relating the American experiment to the bloodstream of European ideas, Mr. Kohn gives it the necessary perspective. He demonstrates that the liberating ideas traveled a difficult road in Europe because nations were rooted to their past, to the traditions, the soil, and the long historical continuity—whereas America was an unused domain in which a man could establish a new way of living. Thus the author gives us a basis for considering co-operation with other nations as a logical development of that democracy that crosses frontiers and at the same time permits us to wonder whether the pull of tradition is exerting a restraining influence in our own land.

Our historians have ably presented the source of American political and social ideas, but usually have looked back at Europe from America. Mr. Kohn looks forward to America from Europe. If we will recall the clarifying work the Beards did in "The Rise of American Civilization," we can estimate the value of Mr. Kohn's book by describing it as necessary to complete the American landscape that the Beards and others have portrayed. Carlton J. H. Hayes discussed varieties of nationalism in his "Essays on Nationalism" (1926), and gave much attention to the growth of nationalism in nineteenth century America in his "Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism" (1931), but Mr. Kohn has widened and deepened the study and contributed much more historical evidence.

From King to Nation

In tracing nationalism through the centuries, Mr. Kohn demonstrates what extraordinary changes in human society made the nation-state possible. Men had a common language, common trading interests, and a common religion long before they acknowledged themselves members of a common nationality. In the middle ages, religion animated the western world and even moved armies; Mr. Kohn declares that the Thirty Years War, which had a religious basis, did not make the Germans conscious of a united nationality.

After medieval universalism disintegrated, statism—not nationalism—followed; loyalty to a dynasty took the place of loyalty to the church, and reasons of state displaced reasons of faith. Religion became associated with national groups, probably the first step in subordinating the church to the political fortunes of the state. It is interesting to note that the Hessian soldiers, sold on the hoof to the British by their prince, did not object on the basis of nationality. In France the word *patrie* did not develop its patriotic connotations until fifty years after Louis XIV.

Mr. Kohn shows how nationalism grew from the natural cohesion of growing communities, from group interests—whereas democracy was based on principles, on the assertion that the individual had natural rights. Since his interest lies more in the field of ideas than in economic forces, he possibly neglects to give adequate credit to the latter in the development of the national state. For many of the ideas that followed the Reformation and the Renais-

(All books ordered through Survey Associates, Inc., will be postpaid)

sance can be traced back to economic factors.

Mr. Kohn's work is especially valuable in giving each thinker credit for what he presented and in defining the limits of his influence. He shows that while Rousseau emphasized the natural rights of the individual, he also desired to unite the individual to his community, and thus helped to "shift the base" from king to nation in a way that was to be exploited culturally later by Herder. Mr. Kohn is wholly just to Herder and restores him to his proper place among German thinkers. Herder's name has been under a cloud because, presumably, he gave the Nazis the opportunity to develop their racial myth. Mr. Kohn shows that Herder hated the Prussian state—he considered the state artificial and accidental, and nationality natural and essential. He was a humanitarian and a democrat and his folk concept has been distorted into a myth by modern Germans who, re-

WHAT KIND OF POSTWAR WORLD?

POSTWAR PLANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, by Lewis L. Lorwin. Twentieth Century Fund. \$2.50.

POSTWAR YOUTH EMPLOYMENT—A Study of Long Term Trends, by Paul T. David. Prepared for the American Youth Commission by the American Council on Education. \$2.

MR. LORWIN HAS PERFORMED AN INVALUABLE service by assembling in one place the public and unofficial plans for postwar economic and social reorganization in the several united nations. While the volume will be useful primarily for reference purposes because of its encyclopedic documentation, the author philosophizes in a helpful way on the broad trends disclosed.

Among the noteworthy features of this book are its revelation that in the United States the plans of private agencies are more important and abundant than those publicly sponsored—the opposite is true in other countries—and the significant disclosure that a clear conflict of interests exists between the fulfillment of national policies of economic advancement and those international measures of economic control which are dictated by the desire to lessen international tension.

Indeed this latter truth is perhaps the most valuable collateral contribution of a book which points out with unmistakable clarity that, in economic matters especially, one nation cannot plan unto itself alone. There has soon or late to be a thinking through of raw material deficiencies, food scarcities, machine tool resources, patent restrictions, and other cartel activities on a basis of global utilization.

In other words, Mr. Lorwin makes an unanswerable case for the need of responsible official planning which is both comprehensive in quality and universal in reach. Those who consider planning quixotic or inevitably undemocratic and autocratic in essence will find here inescapable proof of the inadequacy of such a

jecting his moderation, raised it to a "sovereign totality."

These brief notes should give an indication of the high value of this book. Only a true democrat and well-wisher of mankind could have written it. Mr. Kohn's outlook is that of an optimist whose views are based not on hope but a knowledge of historical forces. To his mind tyrannies, despotisms, totalitarian oppressions can retard the liberation of mankind, but they cannot stop it. They can stifle free inquiry, but not forever. The inner urge of mankind is toward the light—toward individual freedom and responsibility to the common welfare, ideas that cross the boundaries of states and cannot be demolished by guns.

The author sees nationalism as "the first period of universal history." He has not only clarified it with his firm grasp on relative values but has presented it in such a form that it becomes a necessary chapter in the political education of every American.

premise. It becomes clear in these pages that the nature of the problems of international, political, and economic interdependence are such as to require thinking together by nations; and equally that to leave any such thinking together to private groups solely to carry on with their own interests uppermost is a dictate of anarchy.

Mr. David's study, confined to a consideration of the future employment of youth in the United States, is as disquieting as it is searching, both as to the conditions revealed and the trends impending. He offers statistical support for the view held by many forward looking educators that the postwar period is likely to see the demand for youthful labor at a heavy discount. He calls special attention to two groups whose integration into the economic scene promises to be tremendously difficult. These are the "unskilled casual laborer, white and Negro, and his brood of children," who are the "product of the social stratification of cities"; and the children from the agricultural areas, impoverished economically and educationally for generations. There is the additional factor, becoming more and more pronounced, of an increasing preponderance of old persons in American society and the claim they make upon the employment available.

The author wisely points out that the problem is not solely one of youth employment but of the total operation of our economic system; and that there must be constant consideration of the interests of those underprivileged groups of youth who have thus far been virtually disenfranchised in our economic life.

No more sobering nor more factually impressive problem could be posed than this one, which goes to the roots of our social future. From whatever point of view one approaches the problems of social welfare after the war—whether from that of education, social work, or economic activities—this central maladjustment in our national

life has to be coped with and planned for.

The two books have this in common, that they exhibit a strong faith in the assumption that our society by taking thought can face constructively its internal weaknesses and dangers. But to take thought vigorously enough, we must be willing to face the facts fully and rapidly.

Editor of economic books ORDWAY TEAR
Harper & Brothers

TOTAL PEACE—What Makes Wars and How to Organize Peace, by Ely Culbertson. Doubleday, Doran. \$2.50.

BUILDING FOR PEACE AT HOME AND ABROAD, by Maxwell S. Stewart. Harper. \$2.50.

THESE TWO BOOKS ANALYZE THE PROBLEM of world peace on a very concrete plane. Mr. Culbertson projects the reasons and possible mechanisms for enforcing peace with a tightly organized imaginative logic. Mr. Stewart reports the here-and-now conditions (with special emphasis on America) upon which a cooperative postwar world may be built.

Let us cease identifying the author of "Total Peace" as "the former bridge expert." Mr. Culbertson's primary interest in politics is attested by the fact that the Tsar of All the Russians put him in prison in the Caucasus during the counter-revolution of 1908. He was no Bolshevik, but rather a Kropotkin "cooperationist," and such he remains to this day. He is seeking in his book for a severely practical method of international organization which will suffice to prevent future military aggression with a maximum of voluntary cooperation and a minimum of force.

"Total Peace" contains Mr. Culbertson's proposed scheme of world military and political organization already published in booklet form and widely discussed, praised and damned. The first part of the present volume is almost entirely new. It is a compact and spirited survey of world conditions today as they may affect world peace fifty or so years hence. There are provocative generalizations: "The greatest trap of a times was built in Western Europe by the machine age during the nineteenth century . . . The British Empire is the sick man of the world . . . The Axis powers were totally oblivious of the difficult art of force, with its vast possibilities when used properly and its grim limitations when abused."

Mr. Culbertson believes America's postwar position on this globe will become steadily less brilliant as the hundreds of millions of Asiatic peoples become progressively industrialized. For sheer self-preservation, he believes, America must immediately begin to help inaugurate a World Federation to protect all nations from future aggression. He calls the first part of his book, without modesty, *What Makes Wars*. He calls his famous Quota For Principle—whereby the smaller nations of the world shall contribute rationed forces to a world anti-aggression army—"the solution of the dilemma which has thwarted a peace planners." Yet the intricate details with which his plan is presented is no

dogmatic in spirit. It is rather an experimental contribution to accurate thinking about world organization. The substance may be all wrong, yet the precision quality of Mr. Culbertson's thinking is what we most need today.

Mr. Stewart's book tells us what we all know vaguely, but tells it concretely. His underlying assumption is that America's most effective contribution to international peace will be the achievement of domestic peace and well being. He succinctly summarizes our problems of national production and distribution, fiscal policy, public health and welfare, and of our eventual relations to the nations of the postwar world. "The only safe answer to national power," he says, "is international power." And he makes it abundantly clear where the source of both domestic and foreign policy lies—with us, the voters.

HIRAM MOTHERWELL

Author of "The Peace We Fight For" (1943)

WAR AND PEACE AIMS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, edited by Louise W. Holborn. World Peace Foundation. \$2.50.

IN COMPILING SUCH A COMPREHENSIVE collection of documents, Miss Holborn has rendered an invaluable service to students of today and to historians of the future. The introduction states that "this volume undertakes to record the growth of the war and peace aims of the United Nations from the outbreak of the war to the first anniversary of the Declaration of the United Nations on January 1, 1943." The objective is admirably attained and the method used is most satisfactory.

Presented are the Joint Declarations of the Allies, agreements that resulted from the meetings of representatives of the American Republics, and from such organizations as the International Labor Office, as well as excerpts from addresses of the heads of States, including those of the men who continue to represent the occupied countries officially.

The trend of public opinion is likewise shown by statements issued by church groups and political parties, and speeches made by diplomats, officials, and representative citizens of the United Nations. The range of subjects includes military cooperation, economic problems, colonial policies, and the foreign policies to which the various nations will probably commit themselves.

The material is well organized under national headings, such as the United States or the South American Republics, and, when logical, under political groupings, such as the British Commonwealth. The Occupied Nations are incorporated in one section. The material pertaining to each nation is preceded by a factual statement of its political organization and a chronological summary of important actions and events through the war period until January 1, 1943.

Through a study of documents, and documents only, without comment and without interpretation, the progressive opinions on

war aims to peace aims are seen to be remarkable in their similarity while, at the same time, there are clearly revealed the specific problems, interests, and fears of the various States, pointing up with vivid clarity the issues that must be amicably settled by the United Nations, if the future peace is to be made permanent.

One hopes that this masterly work of research will be supplemented by a later volume that will take up where this leaves off and cover the period to the conclusion of the war.

CHARLOTTE BURNETT MAISON

Director of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, New York

VICTORY WITHOUT PEACE, by Roger Burlingame and Alden Stevens. Harcourt, Brace. \$2.75.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS, by Stephen Bonsal. Doubleday, Doran. \$3.

THE APPEARANCE OF THESE TWO BOOKS almost simultaneously is not merely a coincidence; it is an event of real importance to Americans thinking about the next peace. From a different perspective but with equal forthrightness, even urgency, each reappraises the last peacemaking and our share in it. They give direction to the future by stating with clarity and precision the alternatives before us then—and the consequences for our generation of the choice of roads we made.

"Victory Without Peace" paints a broader canvass than "Unfinished Business." It includes the Versailles Conference and Wilson's role in that troubled bit of history. But it also sketches in the background of American opinion and action on the war in Europe from 1916 on, and traces the aftermath of frustration in popular feeling reflected in the debates on the treaty in the Senate and in the country.

"Unfinished Business" records the con-

temporary observations of an acute American participant "on the inside" of the Conference. By the very clarity of the outlines of the Conference's secret and not always genuine efforts to design a lasting peace, Bonsal throws into high relief the tragedy of Paris in the spring of 1919. Refracted now in the perspective of a quarter century, these observations will rank among the most important American contributions to an understanding of the tragedy.

"Victory Without Peace" deserves all the clichés of the book trade—really deserves them. It is a people's rather than a scholar's book, but it is carefully documented throughout; whenever the authors have breathed the life of the present tense into the episodes they interpret, there is a reference to the sources, most of them original. It is a people's book, because it tells their story in terms of their thinking and feeling, outside the closed doors of the diplomats but desperately concerned—in Europe as well as in America—about what was going on behind them. It is a people's book, because it casts the alternatives of 1919 in the mold of 1944—the mold which we are now shaping, so we hope, to better purpose than did that other generation. It is a people's book, because it makes history interesting, even dramatic, and easy and exciting to read. The characters are alive, the scene sharply etched.

No previous book has traced the crucial significance of our national attitudes and reactions during the crisis of neutrality, war, and peacemaking. None has so cogently described the European conditions, material and psychological, or their peoples' response to Wilson as the symbol of a just peace. Broad as the canvas is, each episode stands out in intimate detail. The reader catches the throb of the successive scenes with almost the same impact of actuality as the men and women experienced who move across the printed pages.



A.C.A. Gallery, New York

Painting by William Gropper

Dedicated to the Memory of Art Young

"Victory Without Peace" is important because it traces the psychological conditions of the future peace as well as interprets those surrounding the now broken peace of 1919. It tells the story of our failure so vividly and so dispassionately that we are able to learn from our past mistakes. It places the fate of the treaty itself in the context of the wider implications of popular unpreparedness. It must not happen again.

There is no prescription here, but there is profound diagnosis, hardly less valid for our own time than for the past. We still have time; whether we shall make better use of it is in our own hands. If, from these pages, we can learn how the opportunity can slip away—because of misunderstanding, of failure to ratify the people's will to peace in the clauses of the treaty, of separation between the people and their leaders — "Victory Without Peace" will make history, as well as make history interesting.

"Unfinished Business" underlines this lesson for the inner councils of the Versailles Conference. It is the unadorned, day-by-day diary of an official American interpreter, who was also an intimate friend and confidant of Colonel House. The author knew most of the principal leaders unofficially as well as in his official capacity. His record is much more than a record of events; it is infused with the personal and psychological atmosphere of Versailles. This is perhaps the most American contribution so far made to the inside story of the cross currents of policy and national interest which clashed continuously and often violently behind its closed doors. The deliberations of the Big Four, the Big Ten, and the Commissions are portrayed with complete frankness by the man who sat in on nearly all of them.

The diary begins just before the Armistice and includes almost daily notes made during the following thirteen months. There were official trips to Germany and other countries; there were confidential negotiations in this country at the end of 1919

in the attempt to save the treaty in the Senate. Perhaps little new factual information is presented, except for many hitherto unrecorded conversations among the principals.

Thoughtful analysis of the meaning of the events of 1919 by a shrewd and informed observer makes this book a bright illuminant of the dark tragedy of frustration of a Grand Design for World Peace. Read with "Victory Without Peace," it provides a deeper understanding and a more searching appraisal of the failure than—for our guidance in the days of peace-making which lie ahead.

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

Professor of Political Science
Queens College

DEMOCRACY: SHOULD IT SURVIVE?

Issued by the William J. Kerby Foundation, Bruce Publishing Co. \$2.

A GROUP OF DISTINGUISHED WRITERS, TEACHERS, and social workers offers a tribute to the late Monsignor Kerby, who for years taught sociology at the Catholic University of America. It is a quotation from his writings which gives the theme: "No adequate view of modern poverty may fail to see in it a defeat of justice." Monsignor John A. Ryan, Jane M. Hoey, and others are concerned with finding a democratic solution of the problem of unjust penury.

Others treat of the history of the democratic idea. In a brilliant and thoughtful paper, Don Luigi Sturzo finds the clue to the nature of totalitarianism in the institution of secret police, and traces the development of that institution since Napoleon's time. He contends that democracy is "a continuous process of realization" of the social values implicit in the idea of human dignity. Walter Lippmann and Jacques Maritain discuss the humanistic values inherent in the democratic tradition at its best. Maritain believes that the modern Christian thinker must be eager to accept the results of modern science and thought, while being opposed to the spirit in which these are formulated by secularist thinkers. He is

gloomily conscious of the threat to both Christianity and civilization from the "pagan Empire," latterly so powerful.

Three interesting papers have to do with industrial relations. David McCabe bases a theory of industrial democracy upon the natural law. That the welfare of labor depends upon the survival of the concept of human dignity is the contention of Philip Murray. Raymond H. Reiss speaks for the employer.

There is much else of interest in the book. Richard J. Purcell contributes a scholarly essay on the background of the Declaration of Independence. Karl F. Herzfeld discusses man in his relations with natural science. As a whole, the book is an interesting contribution to the literature of Christian democracy. It is a symposium of remarkably high and quite as remarkably even quality.

GEORGE N. SCHUSTER

President, Hunter College

THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PLACE IN WORLD AFFAIRS 1918-1943, by Allan Nevins, Louis M. Hacker, and others. Heath. \$3.25.

THIS NEW TEXT IS THE PRODUCT OF THE joint enterprise of several eminent historians and economists. Originally planned by teachers at Columbia University, in its final form it is the work of nine from Columbia, two each from Yale and the University of Minnesota, and one from Wayne University.

The blending of the chapters has produced, on the whole, a well written and instructive volume, which tells clearly how the world, staggering from the aftermath of World War I through the Twenties and Thirties, was thrown into the second World War by the aggression of the Nazi-Fascist Japanese coalition. The relation and interaction between American conditions and policies and the major factors that were shaping events in Europe and the Far East are well drawn.

All the essays are good; those written by Herbert Heaton, Louis M. Hacker, and Alfred L. Burt are especially notable. The last two chapters, one by Horace Taylor of Columbia, the other by A. Whitney Griswold of Yale, forecast the nature of the economic problems we shall have to face after the war, suggest possible solutions to those problems, and predict the general course of our postwar foreign policy. These are sober and thoughtful analyses and might be read with profit by every American.

There are some minor flaws which stem chiefly from the organization of the book. At times the same subjects are discussed by different authors—thus the history of the reparations and war debt problems, of the League of Nations and the disarmament conferences is told several times. In at least one place this results not in repetition but in contradiction: Professor Nevins somewhat idealistically describes America's foreign policy as "always . . . a democratic foreign policy," while Professor Burt calls the product of our Latin American policy between 1898 and the early 1920's "im-



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STRANGE FRUIT

by *Lillian Smith* Editor of SOUTH TODAY

Reynal & Hitchcock, New York \$2.75



perialist crimes." But such things do not detract from the general excellence of the book, which should be useful both in and outside the classroom.

History Department OSCAR ZEIGNER
College of the City of New York

MY REVOLUTIONARY YEARS: The Autobiography of Mme. Wei Tao-ming. Scribner. \$2.75.

MME. WEI SPEAKS OF HER EXUBERANT CHILDHOOD as that of a "roaring extrovert." She ran around "like an excited puppy in a state of incessant and highly vocal excitement." In maturity today, she is still very much an extrovert, but tempered by life so that she no longer has the utter abandonment of childhood; she is so forth-going, so openhanded in friendliness that she sweeps one along on the wave of her vivacious enthusiasm until barriers of a different race, culture, even language are swept away.

She has not written a political treatise, though political factors are interwoven with every stage of the story. Mme. Wei has told the story of her development and its relation to the emerging China of today. The pace of her narrative is swift and at times the story assumes the pace of melodrama.

Born of a conservative Mandarin family, Soumay Tcheng early showed signs of revolt from her traditions and environment. But those early years contained the seeds of something besides rebellion. Her close companionship with her broadminded though essentially conservative father, and the understanding between herself and her keen, alive, but patiently submissive mother sharpened her intellect. Then came a growing

realization that all was not well with the life of China, and with it her attachment to the revolutionary movement.

To get her away from China and her revolutionary activities, Soumay was sent to France to study. In 1915, when she was fifteen years old, she entered the Law School of the Sorbonne, for she had begun to realize that legal training would best fit her for service to her country. The war, brought disillusionment to one who had been enthusiastic about Western civilization. When she was sent as delegate of the Extraordinary Congress of Canton to the Peace Conference, her public service had begun.

In 1924, Soumay Tcheng graduated from the Sorbonne with the degree of Doctor of Laws. From then on she began what she regards as the constructive phase of her life in relation to the new China. In the same class in the law school was Wei Tao-ming, calm, sympathetic, keenly intelligent and forward-looking. He suggested that they form a law partnership together in Shanghai. The partnership proved eminently successful in the law and later in marriage.

The law partnership was "more than just a means of earning money." They were to work together toward betterment of conditions in Shanghai. Throughout the account of their law work together runs the thread of their ever-present interest in human beings. As Mme. Wei tells the story of the divorce cases they handled, she says quite simply, "Dr. Wei and I were deeply moved and I often wanted to cry."

She became the first woman judge in China. Together with Mme. Chiang Kai-shek she became a member of the first leg-

islative Yuan convened in 1928, and a member of the Civil Codification Commission to draft the civil law of China.

Dr. Wei Tao-ming is now Ambassador of China and Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington. Mme. Wei is a kind of ambassador at his side, with her warmth, friendliness and outgoing charm. She writes of one of her earlier visits to this country:

"In talking to Americans I felt an ease—an absence of barrier—a kind of mental kinship which was not so apparent with other peoples. Americans might not know any more about me than I knew about them. The same differences of race and culture persisted, but Americans laughed and cried over the same things as I did." Today many Americans feel the same mental kinship with her and are glad she is here.

JANE PERRY CLARK CAREY

Barnard College

CARTOON CAVALCADE, edited by Thomas Craven, assisted by Florence and Sydney Weiss. Simon & Schuster. \$3.95.

ALTHOUGH IT WAS NOT THE EDITOR'S INTENTION to get together another *New York Album*, the results of his research into the developments in domestic graphic humor from the turn of the century to today is yet another tribute to the medium which, more than any other, has raised the American laugh from belly to cerebrum.

In spite of the fact that Mr. Craven has divided his material into three sections: American Humor and the New Century (Cartoons from 1900 to 1916); World War I and the Impudent Decade (Cartoons from 1916 to 1933) and The New Deal (Cartoons from 1933 to 1943), the real break

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

in style and taste comes in 1925 with Harold Ross's declaration of faith in the state of the nation's sophistication. Before that, with the exception of such skilled work as that of M. A. Woolf and Art Young, the selections seem largely dated deadwood. For while wit can survive the centuries there is nothing more ephemeral than fashions in funniness, and today the obvious antics of Foxy Grandpa and the Katzenjammers can interest only students of the comic strip.

Where "Cartoon Cavalcade" cannot fail to make friends (or renew them) is in its generous and well chosen excerpts from *The New Yorker* which run the gamut of this extraordinary sheet's variety of genres. Arno is here at his most brutal, Hokinson at her most benign, the fey school of Addams and Thurber, with its flair for the unexpected and fantastic—perhaps *The New Yorker's* most original contribution to the world of wit—are well represented. And

if Mr. Craven, in his rather rambling fore-words, sidesteps the distinction between the pathos of the purely humorous drawing (Woolf's waifs inquiring at a saloon "Has father got here yet?") and the Little King kind of graphic wit, his anthology offers examples of both.

Probably because the editor gives as first consideration in selecting the illustrations for this book the requirement that "the drawing must be funny," there is a paucity of satiric cartoons. Yet it is the all too few pieces with social or political significance which give the volume something more than passing entertainment value. For if Reginald Marsh's magnificent "It's her first lynching," two or three pieces by Art Young, and Steinberg's superb line drawing (reproduced on page 254) are too trenchant to come under the comic category, theirs is the stuff which survives.

VIRGINIA N. WHITEHILL
Formerly editor of Parnassus

UNDERSTANDING RUSSIA

THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA, by William Henry Chamberlin. Scribner. \$2.75.

THE SECRET OF SOVIET STRENGTH, by Hewlett Johnson. International Publishers. \$1.50.

USSR, THE STORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA, by Walter Duranty. Lippincott. \$3.

SOVIET POETS AND POETRY, by Alexander Kaun. University of California Press. \$2.50

RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES, by Pitirim A. Sorokin. Dutton. \$3.

RUSSIAN CAVALCADE: A MILITARY RECORD, by Albert Parry. Washburn. \$3.50.

THE ROAD TO TEHERAN: The Story of Russia and America, 1781-1943, by Foster Rhea Dulles. Princeton University Press. \$2.50.

THOUGH LIBERTY AND INDIVIDUALISM WERE unknown in Russia, the nation has been like England in the immense vitality of its imperial development from the seventeenth century on. The Russians, in spite of all the apparent backwardness and inefficiency of their regime, always showed great confidence in their strength and their superiority over the outside world. Seen against its historical background, Russia is no enigma.

In the last twenty years the Russian masses have been set free under the impact of the modern world, which arose for western continental Europe with the French Revolution. But under the historical conditions of Russia this transformation was brought about not in the form of Western freedom and legal rights, but in the form of the autocracy's struggle against inertia and traditionalism under a system of total regimentation and arbitrariness, reminiscent of Peter the Great. Peter's work—on an infinitely broader basis and with the more penetrating methods of contemporary techniques—has been successfully resumed by Stalin. Russia is in the midst of an all-involving process of transformation.

For an understanding of this process the

American reader will gain much from Mr. Chamberlin's sober and well informed book. It is remarkable for two qualities, both equally rare in contemporary popular books on Russia: a real knowledge based not only upon years of residence but also upon long serious study, and a sincere effort at objectivity and dispassionate analysis. Perhaps some of the conclusions may appear too optimistic, but in any case the reader will derive great benefit from the valuable information imparted in this guide to a better understanding of Russia.

The absolute autocracy of Stalin, the lack of all liberty under law, so incomprehensible to those reared under the influence of English political ideas, are accepted by the Russian masses because they are an integral part of the Russian tradition. The Russian intelligentsia of the nineteenth century, animated by highest ideals and deep devotion, fought against that tradition. They did not prevail; the revolution liquidated them. It also aroused the Russian masses from their lethargy, liberated them to a new sense of activity, to a consciousness of their power and mission, but all that firmly in the mold of the Russian past.

There seems no end to books on Russia. Like the books of the war correspondents they begin to tell the same story, sometimes in laudatory approval like the Dean of Canterbury's estimate of the moral and scientific sources of Soviet strength, sometimes in a more critical mood. Walter Duranty has been for many years one of the foremost American newspaper correspondents in Russia, and he has done pioneer work in explaining Russia and communism to American readers. This latest book, his third on Russia, sums up his experiences and his reflections. It contains much interesting material, though it is not as well integrated nor as detached as Mr. Chamberlin's book.

During the last ten years the Russian revolution has changed most of its funda-

mental attitudes: its evaluation of history, its consideration for rank and discipline in the army, for authority in education and respect for the institution of family, all that has changed to the definite acceptance of Russian traditional ways. A similar change, less familiar on account of the barrier of the language, has happened in Russian literature.

Professor Kaun, who came from Russia, in his study of Soviet poetry throws much light on this transformation. In April 1932 the Communist Party dissolved the Association of Proletarian Writers and denounced the "proletarian" regimentation so highly praised and so strictly enforced to that day. That of course did not mean liberty of expression thereafter. A new official school called socialist realism was ordered into being. It reflects in many ways the feelings of the newly awakened Russian masses. It has produced writers like S. Kirsanov, A. Tvardovsky and Marfa Kryukova, with whom Professor Kaun acquaints us. His book, written with warm sympathy for the Russian people, is made even more valuable by its many direct quotations.

Professor Sorokin, a sociologist, also born in Russia and teaching at Harvard, hopes that the United States will strongly influence the Soviet regime in the direction of terminating its dictatorial violation of the elementary rights of Russian citizens, while Russia will fructify the fine arts in the United States and help to decrease "the commercial hypocrisy, selfishness, and exploitation inherent, to a certain extent, in any private business on a large scale." In addition, the author looks forward to a collaboration of both nations in diffusing a spirit of universal brotherhood throughout the world. According to him, as these two nations show an unflinching determination to build a new world of lasting peace, "the rest of mankind will gladly follow their leadership. If one or a few recalcitrant nations should try to oppose it, their puny and shameful efforts will be easily brushed aside." For "with vision, courage, and faith we can, to the greater glory of God and the greater nobility of man, build the Temple of Lasting Peace."

The two remaining books, written by historians, present less known aspects of the Russian problem. Mr. Parry's book offers much interesting material to the general reader, while his information on the leading Soviet generals and the Soviet campaign also will be of good service to those to whom the Russian sources are inaccessible. The book unfolds the history of Russia's war heroes and military deeds from the eighteenth century—when the Russian marched for the first time into Central Europe and occupied Berlin in 1760, and when thirty-five years later Stalin's great hero, General Suvorov, defeated, on behalf of Tsarist autocracy and monarchical counter-revolution, the forces of the French Revolution and of liberty in northern Italy—to the German collapse before Stalingrad. The events of the last twenty-five years occupy more than half of the book. Mr. Parry

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who was born in the Cossack country of southeastern Russia, writes in a popular style and his sympathies undoubtedly lie with Stalin and with the men faithful to his interpretation of recent Russian history.

Different in treatment and outlook is the book by Professor Dulles. It is a scholarly study of the relations between the United States and Russia. For more than a century and a half the two nations have never found ground for conflict, though there have been periods of marked friction between them. Their relations are reported here from an American point of view, using American sources and mirroring the reaction of the American public to Russian development.

Mr. Dulles does not wish to prove a point, he tries to narrate what actually happened and what were the probable motives behind the actions and reactions of the two nations. It emerges from the pages of this book, so crammed with facts, that the peace between the two nations was maintained in the past by the needs of an intelligent balance of power policy, based upon each nation's realistic appraisal of its own national interests. "There should be no reason, having for so long endured the perils of conflicting ideologies, why we should not respect one another's rights to self-government in a future world" wherein America and Russia can collaborate with other nations for the maintenance of peace.

HANS KOHN

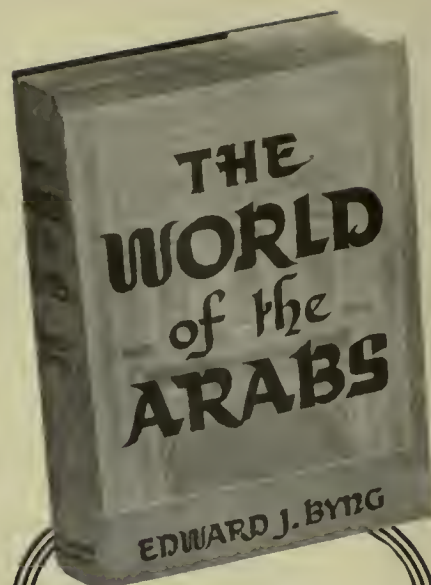
Professor of History, Smith College

SUBJECT INDIA, by H. N. Brailsford. John Day. \$2.50.

TO THE EXTENT TO WHICH THERE IS AN American public opinion on India, it supports the belief that Great Britain and the empire would be better off with an immediate, unconditional grant of independence to India—a belief which is shared by some Englishmen. Mr. Brailsford, who has broken a journalistic lance in many a good cause, belongs to this English minority. The American attitude, we have often been told, is based on sentiment and not on a complete comprehension of the facts. No such charge can be sustained against this helpful little hook which, indeed, should do much to provide Americans with indisputable reasons for their belief.

We learn, for example, that the Cripps plan could not be accepted by Indian patriots because it would have injected into a democratic structure of the Indian state the perpetuation of the princes' autocracy as an instrument of British and not of Indian power politics. And those politics would continue to prevent that growth of economic enterprise without which there can be no solution for India's primary problem, its appalling poverty.

India's weakness, as Mr. Brailsford describes it, does not derive from its religious schism nor even from the drainage of much of its wealth during the centuries of British rule. It derives from an abnormally low productivity, a result of imperial policy. The caste system no longer seriously interferes with economic life. Not overpopulation but



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the apathy of the masses prevents a proper use of the nation's resources.

Trifling difficulties have in recent debates been allowed to obscure the central issue. Pakistan, the creation of a separate Moslem state, has become a movement of dangerous proportions, not because Indians differ from other peoples who have succeeded in bringing cultural majorities and minorities into a single nationality, but because differences in economic interest have been prevented from finding their natural expression in class organization.

EDUCATIONAL CHANGES

VITALIZING LIBERAL EDUCATION—A Study of the Liberal Arts Program, by Algo D. Henderson. Harper. \$2.50.

BREAKING THE ACADEMIC LOCK-STEP—The Development of Honors Work in American Colleges and Universities, by Frank Aydelotte. Harper. \$2.50.

THESE TWO BOOKS, WRITTEN BY TWO OF America's outstanding educational leaders, are among the most significant to come out of the recent literature on the problems of higher education in America. President Henderson of Antioch, and Mr. Aydelotte, the former president of Swarthmore, both speak from the point of view of practical college administrators; they are both pioneers of educational change and they are at one in their devotion to the values of liberal education.

Mr. Aydelotte's book is a report on the development of honors work in American colleges and universities. He begins with an interesting description of the history of the honors program at Swarthmore which was inaugurated under his leadership on his appointment as president in 1921. His account deals frankly with the problems and difficulties of the honors plans as well as with its achievements.

From its beginnings at Swarthmore, various adaptations of the honors plan have been made in three quarters of the two hundred colleges and universities in the list approved by the Association of American Universities. Mr. Aydelotte, with the assistance of the Swarthmore faculty, has made a detailed study of the honors programs as they exist in about 130 colleges. His volume is not, however, an exhaustive description of all these programs or of any particular honors plan, but rather a concrete discussion of the general principles involved.

Mr. Aydelotte, in the writing of this book, has not only made a great contribution to the history of higher education in America between the two world wars but he has also pointed the direction toward the reconstruction of liberal education in this country.

President Henderson's book is more a statement of educational philosophy and faith than it is a study of methods and procedures. He is filled with a burning passion for educational reforms which will vitalize liberal education and bring its values into active operation in the world of affairs. He would break down the false antithesis between liberal and vocational education and

Mr. Brailsford's clear and well documented statement of the situation confirms the impression that Anglo-American unity in the pursuit of the war is actually jeopardized by our quiescent acceptance of the official British view. Our position in Asia and the Pacific is as much endangered as is the British by the festering of an old wound that could be healed with good will on all sides.

BRUNO LASKER

*Research Secretary, American Council
Institute of Pacific Relations*

bring the two together in the education of the whole person. Liberal education as it has been known in America, he implies, has become non-functional, and "culture has been made an artificial badge of social prestige.

"The term 'liberal education,' then, today needs a new definition. It is an education that tends to produce the liberal individual—the person who, because of his perspective of history, his critical observation of contemporary society and his understanding of social dynamics, helps to facilitate needed change in the world. The function of liberal education is to help advance contemporary culture."

While President Henderson starts with the problems of contemporary society and the moral obligation to realize experimentally the more perfect society, he would not neglect the study of the past of his own or other cultures. He states that the primary goal of the liberal college must always be that of developing the power to think; yet he does not confine thinking purely to academic matters but pleads for the development of a functioning intelligence which is to be applied to the whole of social and individual existence.

President Henderson's book is a stimulating antidote to the Hutchins' school of educational theory. LEWIS WEBSTER JONES *President, Bennington College, Vermont*

THE LOOM OF LANGUAGE, by Frederick Bodmer, edited by Lancelot Hogben. Norton. \$3.75.

THIS BOOK HAS TWO AIMS: TO EASE AND speed up the effort of learning any foreign language; and to establish the essential features for a global "interlanguage." It starts by stressing the need of zest in the learner. Ordinary language study at school creates a discouraging sense of difficulty by its failure to focus on essentials—largely because of its polite anxiety over the mere table manners of idiom. Zest in learning comes by reducing the thankless period of effort before self-expression and successful reading bring their own reward. It has full vigor where the learner comes with an informed and aroused language-consciousness. This makes him curious as to the expressive efficiency of what he is learning—in the way its symbolisms and mechanisms of meaning are addressed to their communicative purposes.

A brief review must pass reluctantly over the admirable chapters in which major languages are critically inspected. They result in valuable advice to the beginner in any one, and together they build a basis of semantic comprehension for judging the claims of any "interlanguage."

So much of uncomprehending snap judgment has lately been heard in opposition to Basic English that it is refreshing to read Bodmer's discriminating comment on its distinctive merits. These are the selective principle of its minimum vocabulary—giving the words that will combine to say the most things (instead of the words that merely are met the most times); and its simplified grammar—presenting little but patterns of word-order, easy to learn. Not that Bodmer and Hogben are advocating Basic. Their scientific zeal looks to a constructed interlanguage, profiting by all previous experiments to achieve something even more rigorously streamlined. But while their hearts are perhaps with Hogben's new *Interglossa*, their words about Basic suggest a Balaam whose detraction has turned into pretty conclusive benison.

A. D. SHEFFIELD

*Formerly of the staff of Webster's New
International Dictionary*

BREAD AND DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY, by Alexander Gerschenkron. University of California Press. \$2.75.

LET US ASSUME THAT THE "CAVALIERS" WHO arrived in this country about 1650 became the chief factor in the making of the United States; that there never was an American Revolution nor a Civil War; that while there is quite a bit of industrial life and progressive spirit in the northeastern states, the voice of the wealthy landowners of the South is predominant in the Congress, where they are the spearhead of reaction; that no person in the United States has more than a slim chance of becoming president, or a general, a judge, even police commissioner unless he is of "Cavalier" stock or at least persona grata with that powerful clique.

If that gloomy picture were true, our South would now be playing the fatal role Prussia played in German history for several centuries. The author of the present study, a graduate of the University of Vienna, now lecturer in economics in the University of California, almost goes so far as to blame Hitlerism entirely on Germany's "Cavaliers," the Junkers. Those aristocratic owners of vast but thinly populated and mostly ill-managed agricultural estates on the land east of the Elbe River converted the greater part of Prussia, Germany's largest state, into a citadel of feudalism.

England became a manufacturing state; certain smaller agricultural countries, like Denmark, developed cooperatives to solve their political and economic problems; but the Junkers stubbornly clung to their medieval ideas and methods. Therefore, they were always in need of state help. Through a price and tariff policy that favored the

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at the expense of the German masses, and even through huge financial contributions, both Imperial and Republican Germany came to their rescue; because the Junkers claimed that without a large domestic grain production the country would not survive a blockade, and that, without a strong agricultural population, the manpower of the German army would be exhausted.

In 1918-19 the Weimar Republic had the chance to break up the power of the Junkers by radical land reform, creation of a democratic army under the command of democrats, and dismissal of the Junkers from the realm of bureaucracy. But nothing of that sort was done by the Weimar Coalition which, instead, used the Junkers to combat the specter of Bolshevism. Subsequently the reorganized clique backed Hitlerism, trusting that it would destroy the hated republic and restore the Hohenzollerns; they were, at least temporarily, outsmarted by the Nazis who pushed them back. In either case one is reminded of the sorcerer's apprentice in Goethe's ballad, who exclaims in anguish: "I cannot get rid of the host of spirits I have called up!"

Will the Junkers survive unscathed Germany's coming catastrophe, fool victors and defeated alike, retain their latifundia, furnish a Badoglio of their choice and disintegrate the Second German Republic? Mr. Gerschenkron suggests a limitation of the Junker estates, reorganization of the agricultural production in Germany on a basis of competition with the world agriculture, and a decrease of its volume in order to concentrate on the most fertile and best located soils and the fittest farmers. This program, he maintains, should be included in the peace treaty, and its execution and supervision entrusted to an international economic agency. The democratic reconstruction of postwar Germany and the insurance of world peace call "for a radical elimination of the Junkers as a social and economic group."

Occasionally the author goes too far in his attempts to make the Junkers appear responsible for Hitlerism: the Nazi mentality and philosophy did not grow in East Elbia alone, nor was the success of National Socialism due to the support of only one group. Nevertheless the study is highly valuable; it should be perused by all those who want to see postwar Germany grow out of the bread of hatred and destruction, but not the bread of democracy. ALFRED WERNER

Austrian poet and essayist
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HOW NAZI GERMANY HAS CONTROLLED BUSINESS, by L. Hamburger. Brookings Institution, \$1.

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TONI STOLPER

Former Associate Editor
Deutscher Volks-wirt

DER FUEHRER: HITLER'S RISE TO POWER, by Konrad Heiden. Lexington Press. Distributed by Houghton, Mifflin, \$3.

THIS MONUMENTAL BOOK OF NEARLY 800 pages is nothing less than an encyclopedia of all possible information about Hitler and Hitlerism: the Fuehrer's henchmen and party, his foes and followers; the broad background of German and European politics; the economic and social problems of the twentieth century, and the various physical and psychological forces connected with them. The ex-German author concentrated for more than twenty years on the history of National Socialism (the subject of his earlier book) and Hitler's rise and regime until the blood purge in 1934 (the field of this volume).

Ending with the blood purge year is "less arbitrary than may, perhaps, appear. For by that time, the pattern was set and the weapon forged. . . . Having enslaved his own people, Hitler was ready to use the techniques he had learned . . . to enslave the continent. The shots in the Stadelheim Prison were the first shots of the second World War. Hitler was able to enslave his own people because he seemed to give them something that even the traditional religions could no longer provide; the belief in a meaning to existence beyond the narrowest self-interest. . . . The real degradation began when people realized that they were in league with the Devil, but felt that even the Devil was preferable to the emptiness of an existence which lacked a larger significance."

Heiden's analysis of Devil Hitler is similar to what I termed "satanocracy" in my book "War for Man's Soul." [See review in *Survey Graphic* for November 1943.] Without any personal contact or knowledge of each other's manuscripts, Heiden and I arrived at the same analysis of this Pan-German Messiah of world mastery.

Heiden calls Hitler "an image, a product and an executant of a social revolution which has spread in great waves throughout the globe, the greatest probably since the fall of the Roman Empire." "Adolph Hit-

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er," he says again, "is a true child of the old German self-contempt . . . a new national character, an *ersatz* character, an attitude created in accordance with an artificial plan." He is "in the world of normalcy a Nothing, in chaos a Titan—his extraordinary powers did not develop in supporting the edifice; they flowered when it came to giving it one last shove. Swimming in wreckage, climbing over ruins: that is his gift; and seldom has a man possessed it to a greater degree."

His speeches "can be refuted by reason, but they follow the far mightier logic of the subconscious, which no refutation can touch. Hitler has given speech to the speechless terror of the modern mass, and to the nameless fear he has given a name. That makes him the greatest mass orator of the mass age."

While my book deliberately confined itself to the outlines of a sketch, Heiden's fills in every imaginable detail and succeeds in amplifying not only a colossal and formidable portrait but the pandemonium of our apocalyptic age.

ERNEST JACKII

Former president of the liberal Hochschule für Politik of Berlin; now at Columbia University

WAR AND THE LAW, edited by Ernst W. Puttkammer. University of Chicago Press. \$2.

THIS BOOK IS REALLY TWO BOOKS. THE LAST chapter is dessert for those who, unlike myself, enjoy a carousal in semantics, a typical Mortimer J. Adler discussion of war and the rule of law full of ten dollar words. Frankly, it does not mean anything to me; but on the other hand, I am sure Clifton Fadiman would love it. So take your choice.

The balance of the book is a very dignified and substantial interpretation of the impact of war on civil liberties, alien enemies, alien friends, armed forces and the civilian population, the labor movement, international cartels, price controls, and military justice. Separate papers on these separate subjects do not purport to be highly critical or even to point to plans for the future. The professors have picked up the material of the war period with well chosen references to prior American experiences, and without long-winged, elaborate factual surveys have painted a very adequate picture of the effect of the war on these various folkways of our nation.

It is a book of some courage, with most of the chapters being mindful of the fact that it is practically impossible, in the mood of the American press, to have an informed American public. Criticism of the University of Chicago is to be found in this very volume, thus distinguishing these chapters published under the aegis of that university from articles which might appear in most of our magazines and newspapers.

By and large, the volume confirms my impression that one of the great miracles of our lifetime is that during the hysteria and the conflicts of war we have surrendered practically none of our liberties. No wonder

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the American Civil Liberties Union has very little defensive business on hand.

As to aliens, it is well to remember the magnificent job done by the Hearing Boards whose recommendations, although merely advisory, were normally followed. To have interned less than four tenths of 1 percent of our aliens is a compliment to the nation. It is too bad that we took a racist position with respect to American citizens of Japanese descent, but it is equally too bad that this issue was not presented to the Supreme Court in proper fashion to be passed on by that body. The Hawaiian danger having evaporated, it was wholesome that the abandonment of the writ of *habeas corpus* should have been subjected to high criticism. In the review of the War Labor Board situation, I like the approaches of the author because they agree with mine, namely: that employers in this country dislike closed or union shops chiefly because they believe that unionism is harmful to American industry.

I wish that the author of the chapter on international cartels had helped clarify the use of this weasel word. Surely international agreements under government aegis may very well be the prevailing method of operating in the future. Or shouldn't we really smash through the giants of industry on the mere basis of excessive size with the full knowledge that cartels are only for the giants. All those who have attacked Leon Henderson while he was head of the Office of Price Administration, should read the James chapter—and I even include those who have tried to retain Henderson since he left the government. Or maybe those are the same people.

I have no comments to make on the chapter on Military Justice. It is not my dish but I enjoyed reading it. All in all the volume is one of craftsmanship rather than mere criticism and sniping. I wish our liberal journals would take note.

Lawyer, New York MORRIS L. ERNST

CHARTS FOR THE FUTURE

BRIDGING THE ATLANTIC, edited by Philip Gibbs. Doubleday, Doran. \$2.75.

WHICH KIND OF REVOLUTION? by W. D. Herridge. Little, Brown. \$1.75.

THEY WORK FOR TOMORROW, edited by Robert M. Bartlett. Association Press. \$1.50.

A CERTAIN BLIND MAN, Essays on the American Mood, by Robert Elliot Fitch. Scribner. \$2.

SIR PHILIP GIBB'S COLLECTION OF SEVENTEEN essays was prepared for the primary purpose of advancing the cause of Anglo-American unity and, toward that end, of developing better understanding between the British and the Americans. Thus, the editor himself in the essay, "The American People," Viscount Samuel in "Anglo-

American Relations," and Harold Callender in "American Postwar Policy," realistically and sympathetically interpret the national characteristics, moods, backgrounds, prejudices and common aspirations of both peoples. Particularly serviceable in this respect is Sir Philip's lucid and sensitive appraisal not only of American customs, education, idealism, and so on, but of American political attitudes, especially with regard to the British and to Europe in general. The surest road, if not the only one, to Anglo-American unity and cooperation, according to him, is the emergence and predominance of an activated spirit of economic, political, and social liberalism in both nations.

This conviction is shared and stressed by most of the other contributors to the vol-

ume. Each puts his main faith in the ultimate ascendancy of social idealism in Britain and America. Viscount Samuel bolsters his hope by liberal quotations from the speeches and writings of Roosevelt, Hull, Welles, Willkie and Wallace—particularly Wallace. The assumption throughout is that these men are truly representative of the trend of American thinking. One cannot suppress the fear that the assumption is too readily accepted by most of these authors.

For all their faith and idealism, none of these authors lacks an essential realism of outlook or is unmindful of the difficulties which lie in the way of world peace and security. This is true even of Nora Waln and Ulric Nesbit, whose essays deal directly with the basically ethical and spiritual aspects of the problem. But in the last analysis they do pin their hopes upon the general acceptance of the principles embodied in the Sermon on the Mount and in the idealism of Henry A. Wallace.

Wallace is also the white hope of W. D. Herridge, former Canadian Minister to the United States, who is by no means as confident of the future as are Sir Philip's essayists. In concise, vigorous, hard hitting and even impassioned language, he drives home one all-consuming idea—the conversion of our economy to a basis of total use of resources. Nothing short of complete economic conversion along this line can save English-speaking democracy and nothing short of revolution can effect this conversion. The time is now too short for evolution. The democracies must either make the full transition to an economy of total use or degenerate, even before the war is ended, into fascism. In the latter eventuality, a third world war, with the English-speaking nations and communists, Russia as the chief antagonists, is inevitable says Mr. Herridge.

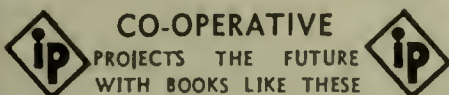
As a diagnosis of existing social and economic ills, this book is fearless, clear-thinking and refreshingly realistic. It contains much solid matter which must be reckoned with by those who think that a new world can be achieved through a few slight readjustments in the present scheme of things. Its chief weakness lies in its failure to be more specific in suggesting both the immediate and long range procedures to be followed in bringing about the conversion of total use along peaceful lines. Nevertheless the book deserves more wide and serious attention than it is likely to receive.

Mr. Herridge, too, sees the need for resurgence of spiritual values, though the signs of it may be few. Some of the subjects of Charles E. Bartlett's new series of interviews, biographical sketches and excerpts should afford Mr. Herridge an additional glimmer of hope. Several of the contemporary leaders who "chart the course toward a better world" apparently agree with his main thesis and are even more specific in their positive recommendations.

On the whole, Mr. Bartlett has brought together an important group of liberal thinkers, including Wendell Willkie, Peter Buck, Cordell Hull, Henry Wallace, Charles E. Wilson, Louis Adamic, Pitirim A. Sor-

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kin, and others, to make a total of fifteen chapters. To those already familiar with the ideas and careers of these people, the book offers little that is new. It does a service, however, in bringing within the compass of a comparatively few pages the essential concepts of this group of rather widely representative leaders of contemporary progressive thought.

In this hook once again, the keynote is clearly struck in the last chapter by Professor Sorokin who pleads for a "great moral reawakening" as the only effective way out of the present world crisis. This is, in fact, the central thesis of Robert Elliot Fitch's collection of five "Essays on the American Mood." Dr. Fitch, professor of philosophy and religion at Occidental College, uses as texts for each of his essays passages from the New Testament, and evaluates contemporary American society on the basis of the following aspects of our character and culture: first, materialism and spiritual blindness; second, the temper of isolationism or the general withdrawal from social and moral responsibility; third, sentimental complacency and optimism; fourth, the loss of moral idealism and personal discipline; and fifth, the challenge to American democracy for world leadership in spiritual and social enlightenment.

This group of highly readable essays constitutes a vigorous, realistic and astutely critical appraisal of certain dominant trends in contemporary thought. They reveal the underlying moral and spiritual bankruptcy which afflicts large sections of the modern world, including our own corner of it. Reading them in conjunction with the other books discussed, one finds in them a striking synthesis, in philosophical terms, of the spiritual needs of which the turmoil of our age is largely symptomatic.

HOWARD W. HINTZ

Associate Professor of English
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ROOTS IN THE EARTH: The Small Farmer Looks Ahead, by P. Alston Waring and Walter Manges Teller. Introduction by Louis Bromfield. Harper. \$2.50.

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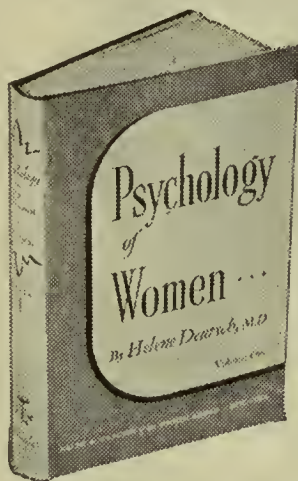
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dred acres. They have not only been thinking about the agricultural dilemma between wars; they have been working out their own salvation, along with their neighbors, on their own land. They are good men and gentle men, deeply and passionately concerned to find ways in this machine age to preserve the Jefferson idyl of the freehold, one-family farm.

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anchors to windward, selling enough to gether to live a spacious and civilized life and to bequeath a moderate but secure and increasingly fertile heritage to their young.

Louis Bromfield says that this is one of "the most vital books to be published in America within the past fifty years." Pearl Buck, who knows China and knows what followed land wastage and dispossession there, agrees. So do I. We have had good books from overhead, by Henry Wallace, Howard Tolley, M. L. Wilson, and others, describing the possibilities of "economic democracy." But this one is written by farmers who actually are making democracy, in this new but old and basically local sense, work from the ground up.

Editor of *The Land*

RUSSELL LORD

THE PASSING OF THE EUROPEAN AGE, a Study of the Transfer of Western Civilization and Its Renewal in Other Continents, by Eric Fischer. Harvard University Press. \$2.50.

"IN GENERAL," STATES MR. FISCHER, "THE Age of European Western Civilization is gone, but transformed Western Civilization may survive in new centers outside Europe."

This is no mere thesis of World War II, for the author draws his evidence of the diffusion of Europe's culture overseas and to Asia from tendencies stretching back over several generations. Without disregarding native cultures, Mr. Fischer shows the transfer of Hispanic culture to Latin America, of Anglo-Saxon culture to the dominions, and of Leningrad's Russian civilization to the Asiatic steppes. In this process, economic as well as cultural, he finds a cheerful prospect for the United States, which has for some decades at least been influential in shaping Europe's destiny. This nation which produced pragmatism, rationalization, standardization, jazz, among other native trends, seems to be a leading heir of Europe's hoary traditions of culture.

Without overemphasizing the influence of the present war on the transfer of power, Mr. Fischer suggests the abiding results of fascism in draining Europe of its creative minds as well as of its wealth. On more debatable ground, he seeks to prove a historical parallel between the ancient transfer of cultural leadership from Greece to the Hellenistic world centering in Alexandria, and the Europe-overseas shift today. However much one might be inclined to defend the potentialities of a reconstructed Europe along an enlightened path, one dares not lightly dismiss Mr. Fischer's thoughtful and provocative thesis of the "passing of the European Age."

Harvard Research Fellow HARVEY WISH

MONTANA: High, Wide and Handsome, by Joseph Kinsey Howard. Yale University Press. \$3.

THE TITLE OF MR. HOWARD'S BOOK SUBTLY suggests its main theme. Used by Donald Culross Peattie to indicate the spectacular physical features of the great empire of high plains and mountains which was one of the last American frontiers, the descriptive ad-

atives serve also to connote the devil-may-care recklessness with which the state's natural resources have been looted and abused. That is Mr. Howard's main theme. Montana is singular mainly in its concentration and highlighting of what happened elsewhere. It had something of everything that other areas of the West had and its turbulent history recapitulates the whole story of the advance from the Mississippi. Due attention is paid by Mr. Howard to the "robber barons" of copper, to the iron-handed rule of "the Company" (Anaconda Copper) over the affairs of the state, to the struggle of the cattlemen and cattle companies for the open range and the Indian lands, to Jim Hill's sorry adventure in promoting homesteading; but none of these is the real villain of the piece. The real villain is a planless national policy or lack of policy that resulted in wasteful exploitation instead of a sane development of the state's resources.

There was a voice crying in the wilderness as early as 1878. It was that of John Wesley Powell, director of the United States Geological Survey, who proposed fitting settlement to the capacity of the land, which meant large balanced farming units and cooperative use of water and range. But he suffered under the double handicap of being both a bureaucrat and a professor and naturally nobody paid any attention to him. The result was an economy as upside-down as the sod that should never have been turned, and ruin to many thousands of homeseekers.

Now, Mr. Howard notes hopefully, farmers and stockmen of Montana, with the aid of soil scientists, are trying through cooperative action to catch up with Powell and repair some of the damage that has been done. The book is a grimly realistic footnote to the romantic tales of the winning of the West and a somewhat better guide for future policy.

HERBERT E. GASTON

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury

THE PROGRESS OF PAN-AMERICANISM: A Historical Survey of Latin-American Opinion. Translated and edited by T. H. Reynolds. Public Affairs Press. \$4.

VALUABLE SAMPLING OF OPINION ON inter-American relations has been compiled by the head of the history department of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical college. Expressions of Leo S. Rowe of the Pan-American Union and Secretary of State Hull and Sumner Welles are printed; Lewis Hanke's "A Goose on the Ramparts" from *Survey Graphic* for March 1941 is largely reprinted. The historical background, including the conference called by Bolivar at Panama in 1826, is sketched, and source materials on recent Pan-American conferences, mostly official, are supplemented from the Latin American press.

Other major sections deal with the world conflict and economic aspects. The material on the oil expropriation in Mexico shows the pulls that may be exerted by

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capitalism, Latin American nationalism, and Pan-Americanism; the equally interesting expropriation in Bolivia is not covered.

The quotations, largely from Argentine, Cuban, and Mexican publications, represent sober and considered opinion, without much controversial spice. An ex-secretary of the Mexican communists thought that "in North America embattled Hitlerism is reaching proportions of madness"—though this was before the lines were redrawn by Hitler's attack on Russia. It is scarcely indicated that inter-American understanding is a working arrangement for a time of crisis and that we have barely laid the firm, broad basis for collaboration in peace. Nevertheless books like this are essential stepping stones to the knowledge we need of the other Americas. The volume would be more usable with a table of contents and an index.

Milo, Me.

DOROTHY TEALL

THE LEGACY OF THE LIBERAL SPIRIT: Men and Movements in the Making of Modern Thought, by Fred Gladstone Bratton. Scribner. \$2.75.

LIBERALISM IS A TERM THAT HAS BEEN variously understood—and misunderstood. For a couple of decades now, in certain quarters, it has been almost unforgivable to be a liberal. Liberals—so the word ran—were washed up, anemic, sitters-on-the-fence; they were political, economic, and philosophical eunuchs. You had to be something more virile if you wanted to get anywhere in this fearsome world.

This book is a salutary reminder that liberalism has been and still is the grandest of all the movements of the human spirit. The book does not exactly say this. It merely calls the roll of the truly great ones who have advanced what is obviously the genuine human cause.

It will be a surprise to the reader to find Origen leading off the procession. What, it may be asked, does a musty old theologian long since buried out of sight and mind have to do with a militant movement of liberalism? Origen is the forgotten man of Christianity, worth remembering now, as one who might have saved Christianity when, at the crossroads of its history, it chose the wrong road—the road which led away from reason and tolerance into the ugly swamp lands of unreason and intolerance. The reader is well reminded of the tragedy of that choice.

"In rejecting Origen, Arius, and Pelagius and accepting Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine, Christianity turned its back on tolerance, culture and rational thinking and embraced dogmatism, legalism and sacramentalism. Christianity could have profited by the wisdom of the Greeks, but instead it cast its lot with the supernaturalism of the Latins . . . The rejection of Hellenism brought on a thousand years of darkness. . . . Paganism had medicine and physics; Christianity, believing in demon possession, resorted to incantation. Paganism, with its profound belief in man, would have benefited Christianity a thousand times more than African sacramentalism, with its dis-

trust of man. When Christianity turned a deaf ear to Origen, who would have baptized religion with reason, and elected instead to follow Augustine, who plunged it into the dark night of supernaturalism, it stooped to conquer."

It is well to be reminded that Christianity, as credalized and institutionalized, has never ceased to stoop, has never yet become fully erect. The long history of its incredible bigotries is the sad reminder of what happens to man when he chooses the way of supernatural magic and of unreason. A religion radiant with reason has still to be born.

The book is an amazingly vivid account of the great fighters for the liberal way of life—"a way of life which emphasizes the primary importance of the person, the freedom of the individual, free press, free speech, constitutional government, tolerance the scientific spirit of inquiry, the rational outlook, social reform, popular education a relativistic philosophy and an ethical social religion." Among the leaders in support of this way of life, Mr. Bratton writes about Erasmus, the Renaissance Humanists, Voltaire, the French Rationalists, Tom Paine, the American Deists, the New England Unitarians, Charles Darwin, John Dewey, and the Twentieth Century Naturalists.

I have the feeling that it is about time for liberals to reassert themselves and no longer slide unobtrusively into a corner when the rough boys appear. Liberalism is still the most powerful affirmation of what a free man can and should be. This book returns the lost liberal to his proper line of march; joins him up with his companions; gives him heart for today's fight.

H. A. OVERSTREET

Former head of the Department of Philosophy and Psychology
 College of the City of New York

FATHER ANDREWS
 (Continued from page 250)

organization, and still gives occasional advice. Otherwise, the chicken cooperative is entirely a colored enterprise. Mother Bertha Jones, a St. Elizabeth's parishioner who is a graduate of Tennessee Agricultural College, is a member of the board of directors, and her advice on caring for and feeding the fowls has kept the casualty rate low and made the meat succulent and tender.

Every week the chicken cooperative purchased from a hatchery 800 to 1,000 one-day-old White Plymouth Rock baby chicks. Installed on three-tiered batteries, the birds spent the first third of their lives in the humid old basement of St. Elizabeth's Parish House; during the second third they were housed in a cement-floored vacant garage put at the cooperative's disposal by the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament at the convent; and the last third, as they approached the skillet stage, they were kept in a centrally located building on Market Street

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where the cooperative also had its salesroom.

The salesroom was open six days a week, and often on Saturdays 500 chickens were sold. Altogether, more than 25,000 chickens were raised and marketed by the cooperative last spring and summer. When the market price of chicken was 56 cents a pound, the cooperative was charging stockholders 18, and its general buying public, 20 cents.

This year the cooperative has leased plots of ground in St. Louis County and is raising most of the fowls' feed.

Vacant Lots as Parks

Shortly after the Detroit race riot, Father Andrews and a number of other St. Louis citizens, Negro and white, formed an interracial committee. The present mayor, Aloys Kaufman, deeply interested in any move to forestall interracial troubles in St. Louis, proposed that the committee be enlarged, divided into subcommittees, each one charged with some specific phase of Negro welfare, and given official standing as the St. Louis Race Relations Commission.

Through this official committee, Father Andrews is getting results on a recreation project that for over a year he has been promoting by word of mouth wherever he could get a listener: remodelling vacant lots into small playgrounds and parks in Negro slum areas. Most of the crowded houses have no porches and no yards. The public parks are miles distant. In hot St. Louis summers the residents have had either to stay cooped up in their rooms or hang round on the streets.

Sprinkled over this area are parcels of and in 25, 50, and 75-foot lots that the city acquired for delinquent taxes. For years most of these vacant lots had been cluttered with rubble and wreckage after buildings were condemned and torn down. Father Andrews proposed that some of these lots be cleared, planted with grass seed, furnished with swings and sand piles for children and benches for older people. With Edwin B. Meissner, president of the St. Louis Car Company and chairman of the Race Relations Commission, in the lead his inexpensive conversion is now under way. Some will be ready for use by late spring, others by summer. The tiny, pleasant parks will make the city attractive and will help siphon off hot weather tension.

Advice from a Friend

Father Andrews' time and interest are given generously to non-Catholics as well as to his own parishioners. At the high columned, white brick pre-Civil War mansion that today, stripped of its former elegance but preserving a certain dignity in its slum setting, serves as parish house, priest's home, and offices of St. Elizabeth's, the heavy doors stand open to all. Colored people of varied religious faiths or of no faith whatever come to Father Andrews with an endless stream of problems — material, spiritual, social.

A nineteen-year-old colored girl who became expert at stenography thought she



faced a brick wall. The personnel director of a war plant, urgently in need of office help, felt that his other clerical employes would object to his putting her on the payroll. A letter went off from St. Elizabeth's parish house, persuasive, reasonable, calm. As a result the girl got and held the job on her merits. And today, six months later, she has overcome whatever prejudices her white fellow workers may have held against her.

Residents of a white block adjoining a colored one strenuously objected to a Negro's moving to the house he had bought there. The demarcation in St. Louis' residential districts is rigid—a block is colored or it is white. When a Negro succeeds in acquiring property across the color line he may find stink bombs thrown into his home, his windows smashed, and his property defaced.

This Negro property owner asked Father Andrews what to do. The question was really a poser. "Nobody can deny your legal and moral right to the use of your house," the priest said. It was up to that owner whether or not he would make a move which would provoke race hatred. Father Andrews went on to tell the man of the efforts that the housing committee of the mayor's commission was making to get additional blocks opened up to overcrowded Negroes. Was the owner willing to sacrifice his personal wishes for the sake of slow but orderly and peaceful progress? The colored property owner agreed to keep on renting his house to a white tenant until the time came when he could move in without the risk of violence.

Many colored soldiers come to talk over what they consider unfair treatment at camps. Father Andrews does not minimize their very real grievances, for which he has no blanket panacea, but he does point out to them that they have a tremendous responsibility towards their race. He urges them to do their utmost with every opportunity open to them, to prove their ability wherever possible. Talking things over with the white priest seems to help them. Only the other day, Father Andrews received a letter from a sergeant who, when he came to the parish house some weeks before, had been so embittered that a few days earlier he had ripped off his stripes

and thrown them at his lieutenant. He reported his progress and summed up: "Well, I guess life in the army's about what you make it—even for a colored man!"

Similarly Father Andrews is adviser for a group of colored parolees from penal institutions. The group ranges from a middle-aged ex-marijuana purveyor who served time in a federal prison, to a sixteen-year-old boy who was sentenced to the state reformatory for automobile theft. About half are non-Catholics. They are Negroes who, having heard of Father Andrews' interest in their race, had asked to be paroled to him. His prescription for parolees varies in detail but in broad outline includes: (1) a job; (2) good clothes, and (3) a savings account, to be started just as soon as a suitable sum has been spent on new clothes.

Recently at a celebration of the 81st anniversary of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, Father Andrews was awarded a citation for leadership in interracial matters. I saw a less formal but equally convincing testimonial to him when he drove me through the city's Negro section. Everywhere groups of youngsters broke into broad, delighted smiles at the sight of the priest's car and, until we were out of sight and hearing, waved and shouted, "Hi, Father," "Hey, Father!" He is one of them.

3.2 DEMOCRACY (Continued from page 241)

The 1942 Filibuster

When the Pepper bill finally came before Congress in 1942, the House passed it by the overwhelming majority of 252 to 84. A substantial majority was also assured in the Senate, but it was then that the filibuster took place.

A "gentlemen's agreement" finally was reached that a vote be taken on the question of whether or not further debate should be limited, with the understanding that if the vote were against limitation, the bill would be shelved until the next session. To invoke cloture (debate limitation) requires a two thirds majority, but the vote was 41

(Continued on page 270)

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(Continued from page 267) to 37 against it.

So damaging was the affair that U. S. Navy censors refused to let correspondents report it to British newspapers. But as *The New York Times* rightly observed: "Word will go out—and no censorship can keep it from going out—that this truly democratic country, standing in this war for the right of all peoples to be ruled by governments of their own choosing, permits that right to be denied to a substantial number of its citizens."

Much to its credit, even the southern press (in non-poll tax states) condemned the filibusterers and the agreement to shelve the bill. "Some kind of inter-party chicanery, deeper than anything yet revealed, must have underlain that deal," observed the *Asheville* (N.C.) *Citizen-Times*. And the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* declared: "The anti-poll tax bill died in the last Congress, but the necessity for removing this negation of democracy will not die. Do the obstructionists who stand in the way of this measure not realize how they mock our war aims?"

When the House again took up the bill

last year, a young navy man, Evan Owen Jones, Jr., mounted the railing surrounding the visitors' gallery and, interrupting the interminable debate, demanded: "If a man doesn't have to pay to fight, why should he be made to pay tribute to vote?" Taken to the capitol police room, Jones said he had come to Washington during his 48-hour leave, "just to see what makes this country click."

"And I'm disgusted," he said. "Those people in there are fighting the Civil War all over again, when they should be giving all their time to fighting this war." He admitted that he had "spoken out of turn," but added, "They were just wasting their time anyhow."

The House eventually passed the bill again, this time by a vote of 265 to 110.

As this went to press the senatorial stage for the coming drama had been set, and the act begun. Whether it ends with curtains for the poll tax or curtains for the hope of a greater democracy depends upon a two thirds vote to limit debate—and that in turn depends upon what the American people say to their Senators on the subject.

CIVILIAN INTERNMENT—AMERICAN WAY

(Continued from page 233)

you. I am very happy and you can be sure that I will show myself worthy of the trust you put into me. I am doing my best to help America win the war to make the world free again so that we all can live in peace again. Dear Sir, I am so thankful that you paroled me. Some day I hope to become a citizen of the U.S.A., until that time I will do my best to show myself worthy of that honor.

Another, addressed to the officer in charge by his first name, read:

I am really very eager to see you once more. Its been a year now, and even though friends need not see or hear about one another for a long time and yet remain friends, the desire to shake hands and talk face to face becomes very strong sometimes. . . .

The news from home have not been very good. Naturally, our house and everything my parents worked for is gone. They are alive though, living somewhere in the country, and that is all that matters. I would so much like to give them a few years of real peace and worryless comfort. Maybe I can soon after the war. You don't know how lucky you are to have your mother near to you all the time. You can only appreciate it fully when you don't. Please extend my sincerest regards to her.

Two instances may serve to show the approach used by camp officers toward problems which might conceivably be permitted to assume greater proportions. The Japanese in one camp were engaged upon a landscaping project about the camp hospital. They were doing a really remarkable job and were taking great pride in it. They were handicapped by the absence of nearby water outlets and for weeks patiently carried bucket after bucket. Asking for

pipe, the internees were told that none was available for the purpose.

Shortly thereafter it was reported to the officer in charge that small sections of pipe, intended for other purposes, were mysteriously disappearing. At once he *knew*, but he *said* nothing. Then one day the leaders of the project came to him, their faces wreathed in smiles, and informed him there was now a completely laid water line—no more carrying of buckets. The camp leader was astonished and asked how in the world they had accomplished it and there were more smiles.

As a second instance: a German, excited but morose, asked to see the head of his camp. When admitted, he exclaimed: "Shoot me, kill me. I can stand this no longer."

The officer in charge, known for his quick wit and good humor, said quietly: "Why you know, Mr. A, we don't shoot *anybody* on Tuesdays."

In spite of himself, the internee smiled and they got down to business. Today Mr. A is the "best farmer in the camp."

These officers in charge are, after a fashion, genuine social workers but they would never admit it. More than that, they are experts in public relations. Each one of them has "sold" his camp to the community in which it is located. One even brought conditions to the point where almost the entire nearby town turned out to hear an orchestral and choral concert given in the camp by the "alien enemies." What a tribute to American understanding, as well.

Things of the Spirit

At the headquarters office, the internment work nationally has from the beginning been under the supervision and

direction of Willard F. Kelly, assistant commissioner for alien control. Among Immigration Service personnel, Mr. Kelly has long been known outstandingly for his fairness, coolness, and direct dealing. He is a career man with a wide background of experience in the Border Patrol and other phases of the Service work. He has brought to his job remarkable understanding.

A letter written some time ago to the Attorney General is interesting, not only for its characteristic style but for the sentiments expressed:

Recently we were favored by meeting Honorable Willard F. Kelly. . . . We were made so happy by learning that he has a definite plan and a real intention to fulfill the humane [Family Reunion] program within a very short time. We are now fully confident that Mr. Kelly, Your Excellency's one of the most capable officials, are capable of putting this program through and that by doing so all of the civilian internees at this camp will surely appreciate the humane treatment of the United States of America in which we lived practically our whole active lives.

We also wish to express our thanks to Your Excellency for our being treated with kindness by the officials in charge of this camp. By their kind and skilful management, this difficult Internment Camp is now one of the best-managed model camps in the United States.

These career men of the Immigration Service have carried on the finest tradition of an American Department of Justice quietly, without publicity, they have made one of the great untold stories of the war.

An internment program is a necessary by-product of war.

Some day when the full story can be written, it will become known that in the United States that program has been carried out with all the strictness required to protect the country and at the same time with a spirit and understanding that have made new friends for the democratic way. After these years of bitterness and fighting have passed, no American need have any regret over the manner in which his government's representatives treated "alien enemies" during their days of internment.

Only recently, a foreign representative of the International YMCA, who had visited internment camps in many countries, came to my office after his visit to one of our camps—one for men, not the attractive camp described earlier. He said: "I can make my report to you very brief. You is the best internment camp I have seen anywhere in the world."

Maybe that had something to do with little incident that occurred recently. Early in the morning, before dawn, a group of internees was preparing to leave the camp to join a "repatriation party." Time came to raise the American flag over the camp administration building nearby. It was to be marked by no ceremony because this was a civilian camp. Two boys, aged ten and eight, sons of "alien enemies" about to be released from internment and sent back to their homeland, stepped a little near the flagpole and in the still of the early dawn, sang "God Bless America."

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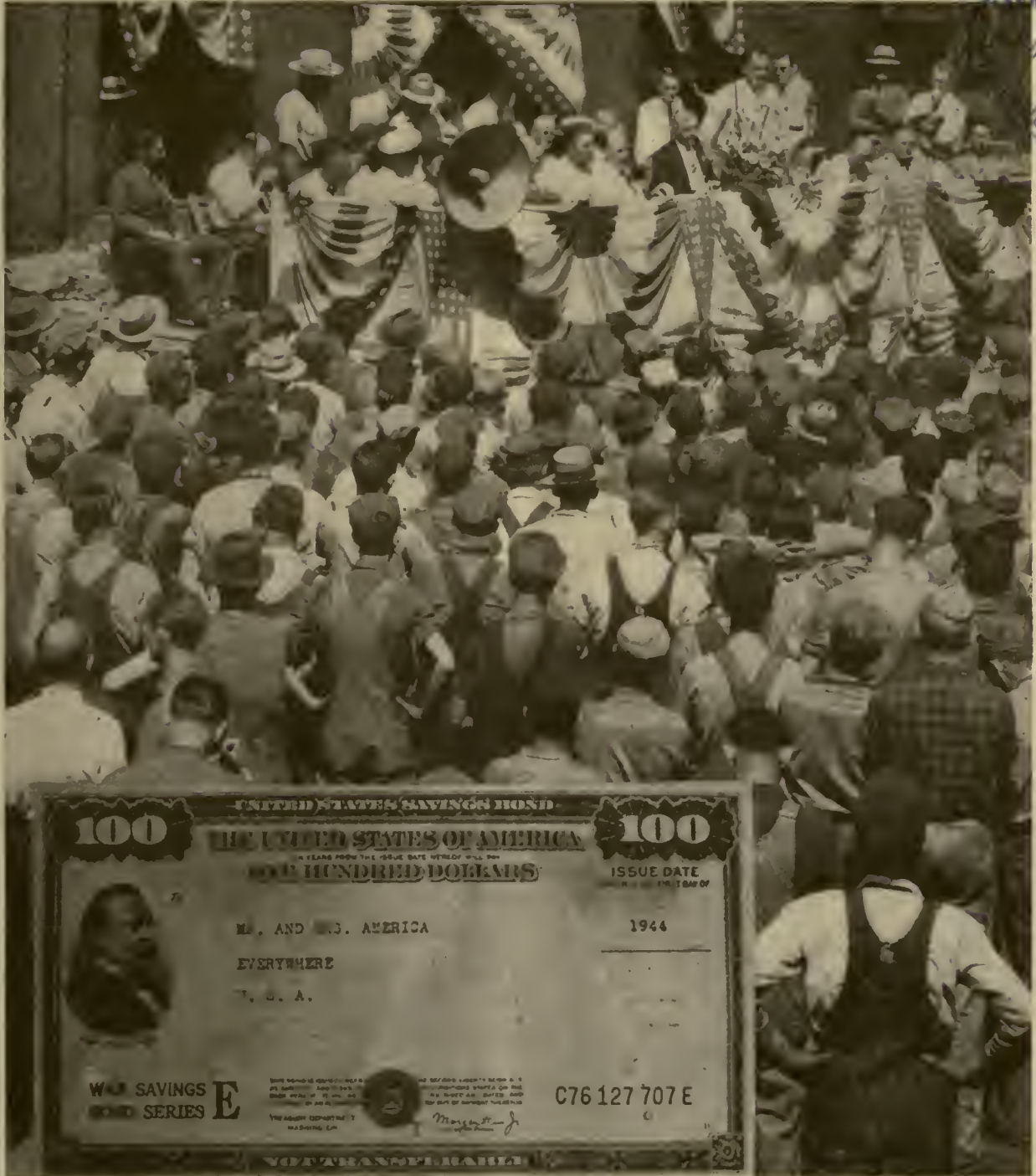
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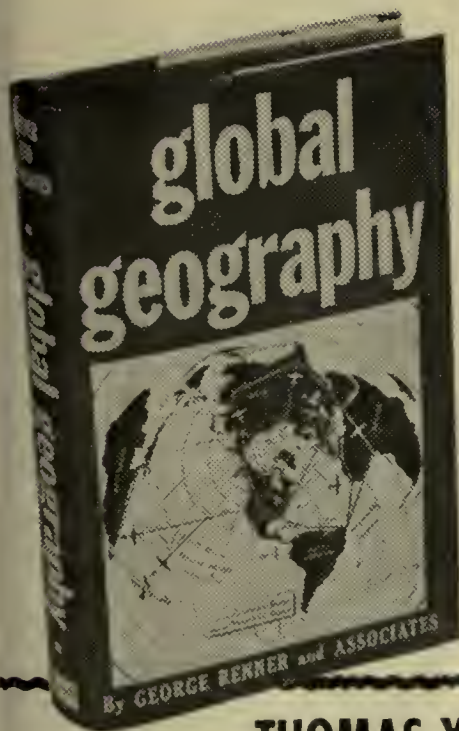
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JOHN G. WINANT, U. S. AMBASSADOR TO BRITAIN

With Mrs. Winant, left, the Ambassador opens a British exhibition on the USA and its people

GRAPHIC

Magazine of
Interpretation



Published by
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London Embassy

Americans very different in experience, background, politics and in temperament make up the "streamlined team" of Ambassador Winant.

GEORGE SOLOVEYCHIK

WITH THE EVER GROWING AMERICAN ARMED forces stationed in the British Isles, it is not altogether surprising that the spotlight of public interest should be mainly directed on the military and naval commanders, their officers and men. A fascinating study of human relationships, with much scope for social as well as national interpretation, could be undertaken in connection with this peaceful American invasion of Britain; but the moment is not yet. What is much overdue is a little attention to the great part played in our midst by the American civilians—ranging from the regular Embassy staff to the various wartime agencies, and including among their number some very remarkable men.

First of all there is the Ambassador himself. John Gilbert Winant requires no introduction to an American public, but it may be less well known that the problems he faced when he took up his immensely important duties in London just over three years ago were of a very different nature from those he mastered so successfully during his memorable three-term governorship of New Hampshire, or his short but constructive career as chairman of the federal Social Security Board and then as director of the International Labor Office at Geneva.

"Governor Winant"

In London, the new Ambassador ("Gil" to his intimate friends, and "Governor Winant" to many others), had to overcome two initial difficulties. One was of a purely personal nature. His immediate predecessor, Joseph P. Kennedy, had been much overpublicized both at the beginning and at the end of his London career. He was neither

—By a visitor from England, who gives Americans his impressions of their representatives on the regular Embassy staff and in civilian wartime agencies in London. A well known author, journalist, and radio commentator, Mr. Soloveytschik's duties and personal friendships have brought him in close contact with those of whom he writes.

quite the conquering hero he was purported to be when he arrived, nor the villain his critics proclaimed him to be at the time he left; yet there is no denying that Mr. Kennedy had caused a certain amount of resentment and that, with his slant on foreign affairs, the publicity boomeranged against him.

Mr. Winant's second difficulty lay in the fact that he came to London at a time when America was still "neutral," and when even the lend-lease program had not yet been set in proper motion. Every kind of assistance "short of war" was to be forthcoming, but nevertheless Britain and her exiled European Allies were in those days still facing the onslaught of the Axis in the West quite alone; China was still valiantly bearing the ordeal of Japanese invasion without help.

In this situation Mr. Winant's diplomatic talents were taxed more than to the full. What counted was his high-mindedness and sincerity, his humane approach to people and their problems, and a peculiar radiant moral integrity that cannot but strike anybody who comes in contact with him. These soon won for the American Ambassador a unique position at the British

capital. Shy, reticent, almost awkward, a poor public speaker but a fascinating conversationalist in private (if interested in the subject), this "Lincolnesque" figure of whom it has been said that he possesses a greater collection of shirts with frayed cuffs and collars than any living person, brought something into the public life of London that was badly wanted.

But from all the above remarks it should not be inferred either that Ambassador Winant's mind is dwelling somewhere in the clouds, or that he is in any way aloof and ascetic. It was not for nothing that he was an outstanding oarsman in his college days, or a member of Rickenbacker's flying team in World War I. His mind may have academic habits, but the body is that of an athlete. Nor does he scorn a good meal, or a cigar. He is still an omnivorous reader of books, and current literature on social and economic problems naturally has a special appeal to him.

Anything connected with the ILO occupies a place in his thoughts and his loyal affections.

An Independent Thinker

When the Ambassador is invited to make a speech or to contribute something in writing to the innumerable wartime publications that matter, he does not hesitate to state quite clearly his non-revolutionary but strongly progressive views. A member of the Republican party, Mr. Winant is essentially an independent thinker. Though he is apt to start a discussion with members of his staff, or a British colleague, or a visitor, from some angle of no apparent relevance, he invariably surprises them by suddenly

coming to the point in a flash, which shows how his ostensible digressions form an integral part of the subject.

A tremendously hard-working man, he expects his staff on call at almost any time of day or night. Frequently he slips across the road to the Connaught Hotel—that haven of the two American Embassies and all the wartime agencies—for a quick dinner in company with one of his secretaries, only to return to the office for the whole evening and perhaps the greater part of the night.

Mr. and Mrs. Winant occupy a small apartment in the same building as the Embassy, but have little time or inclination for society life. As simple in her human approach and as unaffected in her manner as the Ambassador, Mrs. Winant devotes time and energy to welfare work. Among her rare relaxations is an occasional game of bridge with three senior members of the Embassy staff to whom she invariably loses a few shillings. Humbly anticipating the inevitable, she once arrived at the party with three small packages neatly marked, "For R," "For D," "For G," and when these three gentlemen duly won she handed them their spoils. Said a rather crusty member of the Embassy when hearing this story, "In my young days we did not win at bridge from Ambassadors."

But then, perhaps, in his younger days Ambassadors and their wives were far more formidable and far less attractive; certainly they were much less effective.

The Two Embassies

Most of the social activities which normally would devolve on the Winants are being carried out by the Biddles. Until quite recently, Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, Jr.—to give him his full name which nobody ever uses—was accredited as Minister-Ambassador to the exiled Allied governments in London. Now he is a lieutenant colonel on General Eisenhower's staff, with special political duties assigned to him. But whether as a soldier or a civilian, Tony Biddle, with the brilliant assistance of his wife Margaret, is doing a splendid job in bringing Britishers and Americans of all ranks and classes together at the now famous informal parties given at their private residence every Wednesday night.

His work with the British and the Americans is certainly no less valuable than that which he did with our European Allies, all of whom without exception lamented his transfer from diplomatic to military duties. His former second-in-command, now his successor as Minister-Chargé d'Affaires to the exiled governments, is "Rudi" Schoenfeld—one of the star career members of the State Department, who for years has been carrying a particularly heavy load of work.

The staffs of the two Embassies have been doing yeoman work against great odds. Among Mr. Winant's chief assistants, Howard Bucknell, Jr., (minister-counsellor), Waldemar Gallman (counsellor), and Dorsey Fisher (press attaché), deserve spe-

cial mention. Also the numerous technical and administrative officers; and finally, two members of the staff who have recently been assigned to other duties: Glen Abbey (head of the Consular Department), and Alan Steyne (economic reporting, inter-allied and especially postwar problems, as well as raw materials and endless other technical questions).

The Ambassador has a number of "special assistants" from time to time. For the past ten months Frieda S. Miller, formerly New York State industrial commissioner, was one of these. She made a study of the British government's responsibility for labor standards, including both war adjustments and postwar plans.

Extra-Extraordinary

Mr. Winant's own duties today go far beyond those of an Ambassador—even of the most "extraordinary and plenipotentiary" kind. The fact is, that quite apart from his Embassy (whose staff has naturally been greatly augmented to suit the present requirements), the Ambassador also heads up practically all the American civilian wartime agencies in Britain, and thus directs a complex organization of many hundreds of men and women. Most of these agencies were originally established in London as bodies independent of the Embassy, and directly responsible to their Washington or New York offices. Of late they have been made part of the Embassy. They still maintain their specific functions,



Harris & Ewing

Mr. Winant and representatives of the Durham miners whom he addressed at their hall in that North of England city. Second from the left is Will Lawther, president of the British Mineworkers Federation



In the library of the National Council of Social Service, London. At the left, holding a copy of *Survey Midmonthly*, is Fred K. Hoehler; beside him is Margaret G. Bondfield, Britain's outstanding woman labor leader, who has hosts of friends in the U. S. In the center of the group, Frieda S. Miller is talking to Mary Craig McGeachy, formerly of the British Embassy in Washington and now chief of UNRRA's welfare division. Third from the right, with pipe, is *Survey Graphic's* Victor Weybright, who is now in Britain with OWI

of course, but they exercise them under Mr. Winant's supervision. These include the Office of Economic Warfare, the Mission for Economic Affairs (formerly the Harri-man mission), the Office of War Information, the American Section of UNRRA (formerly the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation), and innumerable others. At the head of them, or on their staff, will be found many outstanding representatives of industry, finance, the academic world, and the press.

Economic Warfare, Economic Affairs

Thus the chief of the Office of Economic Warfare, with the rank of Minister, is Winfield William Riefler, of the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study. A soldier in the last war, who won the Croix de Guerre in France, for many years with the Federal Reserve Board, and on committees of the League of Nations, "Win" (nobody has ever called him anything else), possesses a unique range of friendships and contacts in London. It can be said without exaggeration that there is no American there more beloved or more profoundly respected than this whimsical, modest, brilliant man, who has already a great career behind him, and quite obviously an even greater one in store.

The head of the Mission for Economic Affairs, also with the rank of Minister, is Philip Dunham Reed. Like Professor Riefler, who is forty-seven, "Phil" Reed at

forty-five can look back on a life already full of achievement. A graduate in both law and engineering, he made a name for himself as a patent counsel before joining (in 1926) the General Electric Company's legal department. In 1940 he was made chairman of the board of that company. After serving as deputy-head of the London mission under William Averell Harriman, he succeeded him when the latter was sent to Moscow as Ambassador late in 1943.

Second in command today is Amory Houghton, son of the late Ambassador Alanson B. Houghton. During his father's ambassadorship in Berlin, and then in London, Amory Houghton managed the family firm—the Corning Glass Works—and also accumulated a large number of other important business and public responsibilities. Like Ambassador Winant, "Phil" and "Am" are Republicans, with a strong progressive outlook linked with a firm belief in individualism. Both are men of great drive, ability, and a definite sense of social responsibility. They make a perfect team.

Two other members of this extremely heterogeneous Mission for Economic Affairs, which is full of talent, must be mentioned here. They are as different in age, background, and experience as two men can be: Arthur Notman, aged sixty, is a mining engineer of international renown and equally famed as an able administrator; Sam Berger, some thirty years his junior, began public life as a young trade union

official, and then taught labor relations at Wisconsin. Today, as members of the mission, they are both concerned with industrial problems which, needless to say, they approach from opposite angles. But such is their respect for each other's ability and intellectual integrity, and such is the personal friendship that has developed between them, that frequently they work as a team—with electrifying results.

OWI and UNRRA

In the Office of War Information many changes have taken place, but the British division is now firmly in the hands of Herbert Agar. Pulitzer prizewinner for "The People's Choice" (1933), author of that truly inspiring book, "A Time for Greatness" (1942), editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, founder of Freedom House in New York, and a lieutenant commander in the U. S. Navy, he combines with his duties at the OWI those of personal assistant to the Ambassador and also those of civilian adviser to the Army Educational Authorities. Though he is thus doing three jobs, all of them important, and to each of which he devotes a great deal of energy and time, he has succeeded in organizing his life in such a way that he not only gets through a vast volume of work completely unruffled, but still finds time for seeing people and getting around. Herbert Agar is by far the most popular American public

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Trouble at the Grass Roots

Growing confusions, fears, and hates found in a swing through mid-America — the danger in their spread — their antidote.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

WHEN THE TERM "GRASS ROOTS" IS USED these days, one detects at least four shades of meaning. In the first place the term is used to distinguish between city and country and the usual assumption is that public opinion in the country, where grass grows, is likely to be steadier and healthier than in cities. Second, grass roots citizens are distinguished from sophisticates and ideologists, and here it is assumed that those who think grass roots fashion are more realistic, closer to the earth, their feet on the ground. Occasionally one hears the word used as antithesis for the federal bureaucracy, that is, Washington opinion *versus* grass roots opinion. And finally, one finds that the term "grass roots" is used merely as a symbol for mid-America.

In one sense the late William Allen White may be taken as a composite grass roots thinker. On his regular visits to New York City, he was usually interviewed by reporters from the metropolitan press and they invariably interpreted his opinions as in contrast to the prevailing temper on the eastern seacoast.

I fell into this habit myself and when I greeted him at breakfast on more than one occasion, my first question was likely to be: "Well, how do the people out your way feel about . . .?" And I discovered that I expected a reassuring answer. I hoped that he would say, as indeed he did say in one of his editorials: "The American people . . . have pulled the old chariot along quite a ways in the last seventy-five or eighty years and we may survive the present tangle, bewilderment, and discouragement, bad as they seem."

Midwestern Changes

I have long believed in the grass roots theory of public opinion and I still do, but recent experiences in mid-America have brought a shocked realization that I could no longer use my older perspectives in interpreting this region. I say this realization came as a shock because this is my country; this is where I was born and where I grew to maturity. There is a natural inclination to believe that we know the place of our origins. I must now confess that what is happening in the great middle region, the area which must always be a powerful determinant for the nation as a whole, perplexes and disturbs me. Certainly, the grass above the roots is wilted. I do not know whether to attribute this wilt to grubs working at the roots or to fumes which may be poisoning the blades of grass. Perhaps I can clarify some of my perplexities if I attempt to share my impressions with others.

—By a peripatetic educator, widely in demand as conference speaker and leader of discussion groups. Born and bred in the Middle West, Mr. Lindeman has been for twenty years on the faculty of the New York School of Social Work. He is also a member of the New Jersey Social Planning Commission, adviser to the National Housing Association, a member of the committee on research and education of the Federal Council of Churches, and a member of the board of the Council Against Intolerance.

The cultural complexion of this region is being altered to a remarkable degree. That mythical Mason-Dixon line which we always have believed separated North from South is gradually being obliterated. The major population movement is from South to North and *vice versa*. One now discovers cultural manifestations in Detroit, Mich., which one could have found three decades ago only in a community of the Deep South; and in Houston, Tex., one comes upon patterns of life which were formerly characteristic of northern cities.

In Oklahoma City, I observed a cattlemen's convention. When I saw tall, tanned, and high cheek-boned ranchmen wearing their broad brimmed Stetson hats and riding boots in the lobby of the hotel, I said to myself: Here is something distinctly of mid-America, indigenous, something symbolic of the grass roots. As I listened to the speeches and debates on resolutions, I soon came to the conclusion that the cowboy hats and boots had become mere nostalgic affectations. Irascible voices spoke out against the "Washington bureaucracy," against rationing rules, and indeed against everything governmental except protective tariffs. And, when I heard a fundamentalist preacher in a northern city raise high the banner of "white supremacy" I knew that I was no longer confronted with a mere paradox but with a profound cultural transformation.

Is Mid-America Isolationist?

Upon my return from a three months visit to this region, I was interrogated by a group of New Yorkers who were interested in public opinion, among them writers, and one of the questions they put to me was this: "How large a vote will Willkie get in the Wisconsin primary?" And when I replied that his vote would be negligible they burst out in laughter, indicating their contempt for my judgment. But when they asked for explanations and

wanted to know whether my estimate was based upon the conviction that mid-America had become isolationist, I had no direct or simple answer to give.

The attempt to divide the nation into isolationist and non-isolationist blocs will lead, I believe, to error. The word itself—*isolationism*—is no longer appropriate. Those groups which are likely to prevent this country from full and genuine collaboration in international organization do not wish to be known as isolationists. They wish to be called nationalists, and this is a more difficult label because it easily may be expanded into imperialism. And, strangely enough, it is now my opinion that if a powerful imperialistic movement arises after the war, it will draw its chief support not from the Atlantic or Pacific areas but from the middle southwest.

Mass newspaper circulation in mid-America is preponderantly isolationist in temper. There are noteworthy exceptions (Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, St. Louis *Post Dispatch*, Chicago *Sun*, Milwaukee *Sentinel*, Des Moines *Register*, and so on), but it still remains true that, in terms of circulation, midwesterners read pro-isolationist opinion and slanted news probably in a ratio of eight to one when compared with pro-collaborationist opinion. This situation raises the old question of whether or not readers follow the editorial opinion of the papers they read. I assume that they do not necessarily do so but that they are nevertheless affected by the constant "drip" of biased opinion. It seems to me that the fairest interpretation one may make is that the isolationist press confuses people and hence leaves them exposed to irrational ideas.

In fact, I have now come to the conclusion that the present situation can be explained only as public confusion. Clarity might follow if we could reach some conclusions with respect to the causes of confusion.

Gospels of Hate

Among the varied reactionary tendencies which I observed in this area, none disturbed me more deeply than the large scale expansion of certain extremes of fundamentalist religion. The multiplication of dissident sects is so obvious a fact that an observer can fail to see its open manifestations throughout this region, North as well as South. Meetings are held in churches (and where the new sect is currently schismatic it usually takes the church property when it separates), in vacant stores, tents, and in homes. There are ordained preachers, lay preachers, and what is known

as "jack-rabbit" preachers— itinerants who travel from city to city.

The theological tendency seems to be in the direction of Christian millenarianism which is based upon belief in the Second Coming of Christ. I heard a startling interpretation of this doctrine from a preacher in a large church in Dallas, Tex., in which he stated that the world is to pass through seven stages of degeneration, all precisely prophesied in the Old Testament; we are now in the midst of the fifth stage of degeneration; obviously, Christ cannot return until this cycle has been completed and consequently those who now strive to improve the world through remedial measures automatically postpone the Second Coming. These reformers are, then, the evil ones and must be kept in subjection through some form of authority.

Until I had heard this weird doctrine, I had experienced considerable difficulty in understanding how these fundamentalists could possibly hate so many enemies. I had listened to attacks upon Jews, Negroes, sympathizers with Negroes, trade union leaders, New Dealers, progressive educators, and so on, and now I began to comprehend the reasons for so long a list. Anybody who impedes the Second Coming is *ipso facto* anti-Christ.

Now I also began to understand why these fundamentalist preachers so frequently attacked the regular Protestant denominations from which most of them had come. It became very clear when I heard one preacher describe a conference of Jews, Catholics, and Protestants. He began by giving a vivid word picture of the three representatives of these religions as they sat on the platform. In the case of the rabbi, he described his personal and physical characteristics in unflattering terms; he furnished the Catholic priest with satanic features; and when he reached the Protestant minister he described him as a poor, naive, and frightened "sheep" who was about to be devoured by his wolfish companions. When he finished this description he shouted in a contemptuous voice: "Brotherhood; Brotherhood! Bunk!"

I had seen from the beginning where he was heading, but I was wholly unprepared for the enthusiastic shouts of approval which came from his audience.

Shifts in Leadership

The present widespread revival of extreme fundamentalism is primarily an urban phenomenon. It is most pronounced in industrial communities* with large transient populations. So far as I could gather, this movement has made little headway in rural areas, and it seems not to have affected Negroes in large numbers. But the second source of confusion which seems to me important is general and affects rural as well as industrial people.

* One of our mass circulation magazines recently published an article on the fundamentalists in Detroit and its author seemed to attribute the whole movement to prosperity among the workers. He seemed to assume that the new breed of revivalists is only another species of racketeer. This is, I believe, a superficial viewpoint.

Democratic societies can remain stable and progressive only if there exists a working basis between liberals and conservatives. To maintain such a relationship requires exceptional leadership. If the stronger leadership falls to reactionaries and radicals (extremists of right and left), it becomes difficult if not impossible to discover formulae for action in which means and ends are partially reconciled. When this situation prevails, confusion and chaos follow.

And this is what seems to have happened—to a marked degree in mid-America and to a large extent throughout the nation. It is impossible to say how far the situation is due to the dislocations of war. Certainly, there has been a marked genetic shift in leadership processes; most of the leadership in community and institutional life has moved to the older age groups. It is not merely that ten million of our young people are in the armed services, but perhaps an equal number of civilian young people are not now living in their accustomed communities.

It is my opinion, however, that progressive leadership has deteriorated primarily because of the ideological conflict which has bedeviled this country during the past decade and a half. Reactionary forces in the United States have confounded the people by directing their verbal attacks upon communists but their real aim has always been to knock out progressives, and they have almost succeeded in their goal.

At the same time, one must admit still another contributory element, namely, the inability of liberals and progressives to adapt themselves and their traditional methods to a changed situation. Too many liberals are still fighting nineteenth century battles.

In Cleveland, Indianapolis, Detroit, Chicago, Denver, St. Louis, Kansas City, Dallas, Houston, and other cities, I sought to find signs of a strong progressive leadership but my search was for the most part discouraging. This same inquiry was continued in the universities I visited and with similar results, although I must add in fairness that I found university students pining for something constructive to do.

Here and there one discovers the qualities of sound leadership in trade unions, especially in the newer ones, but again one encounters a curious situation. Local units of labor organizations rarely, if ever, in these days, think of themselves as sources of policy making. At one session with trade unionists, a joint legislative council composed of both AFL and CIO representatives, I attempted to get an expression of opinion on two important postwar problems—free trade and a liberal immigration policy. In the halting discussion which followed, I became aware of the fact that the delegates refrained from expressing themselves because they were not entirely certain about the official attitudes of their respective national union leaders. When at last I finally asked whether this was the reason for their hesitancy, they admitted that it was.

In spite of this lack of independence, and it is a serious handicap for unions in a democratic setting, I am of the opinion that in organized labor we will find our most powerful resource for stemming the tide of reaction. Agricultural leadership has also deteriorated and, in the midst of confusion, farmers turn to the more conservative leaders whose negative programs offer at least an outlet for their feelings.

The Prevailing Climate

The underlying psychological mood or temper of this region seems to me describable in these terms:

CONFUSION

FEAR

HATRED

Although these items of temper may be interrelated, each deserves separate exposition.

Prevailing *confusions* are derived from failure to understand the nature of World War II; lack of comprehension regarding the relation between the war and domestic problems; absence of a clear-cut foreign policy which makes sense to the common man; precipitation of race issues and other disunifying tensions; misconceptions regarding the operation of selective service, rationing, and price and wage controls.

The *fears* which animate the people may be enumerated as fear of unemployment after the war; fear of what is called bureaucratic control; personal fear associated with anticipated casualties; fear of coming race conflicts; and fear that the enormous costs of the war will be wasted and that no plan for preventing future wars is feasible. Together, these fears constitute an awesome apprehension regarding the future. The people fear that when the war ends some kind of hell will break loose.

Hatred, which is a near neighbor of confusion and fear and in reality constitutes their end-result, is unpredictable. Once the ground has been prepared through confusion and fear there is no telling where hatred will take its course. I have already indicated the objects of most of the hatreds—Jews, Negroes, labor leaders, government officials (usually lumped together as the "bureaucracy" and not to be confused with the terrifying hatred often expressed toward President and Mrs. Roosevelt), and liberal educators. There are to be found sharp criticisms of our two allies, Russia and England, but these are never as vehement as the expressions against American groups. In fact, one of the surprising features of the present mood is the altered attitude towards Russia. It is now far more favorable than even one year ago when I traversed much of this same region.

Incipient Fascism?

I am frequently asked whether I see in the existing mood, the makings of an American variety of fascism. My answer is direct and plain: This is the very stuff out of



Fitzpatrick in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

Democracy's Essential Light

which American fascism could be constructed. All the necessary elements are present, save one, namely cohesion. So far as I know, there has been no attempt to bring the dissident groups with their fears and hatreds together into a coalition. I have no doubt that this effort sooner or later will be made. Its most dangerous form would be an amalgamation of the dissident groups described above with our sophisticated authoritarians. If these low I.Q.'s and high I.Q.'s should discover that the logic of their position carries them to the same place, they might find it expedient to join ranks. This appears to be an incredible form of collaboration, but confusion leads to fantastic consequences.

Do I, therefore, anticipate the emergence of a coherent fascist movement in the United States? My answer to this query is likewise direct and plain: I do not expect this to happen because I believe it can be prevented, and because I have faith in our ability to remove the confusions from which fascism grows. This may be wishful thinking, but I happen to believe in wishful thinking. I reject all "wave" theories

of history. I reject all European analogies. What happened in Germany need not happen here. In other words, I believe that there are strengths in American democracy which, once tapped, have the power to reverse the present trend.

How to Reverse the Trend

But how can these deeper democratic resources be released? The appropriate answer is both simple to state and difficult to execute. The type of thinking which leads to confusion and fear and hate does not grow from the grass roots. It comes from propaganda and there is only one antidote for propaganda—education. By education I do not mean "telling the people what's what." On the contrary, I mean furnishing the people with an opportunity for discovering "what's what." Propaganda is a one-way track; education is a two-way track.

If democratic processes are to be revived, we must find ways of counteracting the influence of radio commentators and newspaper columnists who, with rare exceptions, speak *ex-cathedra*. They need not listen

to their audiences, but the teacher cannot escape his audience. It is my firm conviction that if we had in this country three thousand well trained adult educators (one for each county) who were prepared to go forth into the highways and byways organizing small groups in which neighbors could talk with neighbors, there would soon arise an awakened self-confidence which would bring us back to essential democratic tradition.

What would these neighbors talk about? Where would the adult educators begin? Precisely where the people's worries begin: They would discuss concrete proposals for preventing unemployment, definite plans for world collaboration, and specific programs for interracial cooperation. They would speak of their sons and brothers and husbands who are now fighting on foreign soil and they would examine themselves to see whether or not they were prepared to meet these men on their return. And, if their thought were directed to concrete proposals, they would discuss jobs and homes and education for the returning soldiers and sailors. If they were wise, they would also talk about ways of giving these ex-servicemen new opportunities for community leadership.

Some critics of my simple program will insist that the people are not in the mood for this type of education. I say that the mood can be readily created and I say this because I have tried it. Others of a more cynical turn of mind will say that the people are not sufficiently informed to come to wise decisions and my rejoinder here is that in those who lack this faith the spirit of democracy is already dead. Besides, I do not mean to imply that *all* the people will devote themselves to this type of study. They never have and I suspect they never will. We don't need all. We need only so many as will offset negative tendencies. In a community, one small leadership group with a sense of direction can modify the entire climate of opinion.

I have called this a simple remedy but a difficult one. What makes it so difficult? Surely not financial resources since such a program would cost very little. Two or three of the large foundations could finance it with ease, and I believe the universities, colleges, schools and other cultural institutions of the country would respond to such a challenge with enthusiasm. The funds and the latent leadership are, I believe, available. The two requisites which are lacking are: first, the awareness of our national danger; and second, determination on the part of sensitive Americans to use the only instrument available for our salvation—intelligence.

We shall, without doubt, win a military victory in this fateful war, but the more important victory is at this moment in balance. The truth I am striving to state comes to me now in the voice of the late George Russell (AE): "... intellectual victories are the only ones which do not leave the victors bankrupt and desolate in spirit when the goal is won."

Physical Medicine Gets a Boost

As the need mounts for rehabilitation of those injured in war and industry, a generous benefaction, wisely put to use, begins a new era in physical therapy.

RAY LYMAN WILBUR, M.D.

WHEN I WAS A STUDENT IN PHYSIOLOGY—that was before entering medical school—I became interested in experiments showing how much more the blood flow of a limb could be influenced by heat and cold than by any safe drug. Later in my life I was to have patients who considered any year incomplete that did not include a few weeks at some health resort or spa in Europe or elsewhere. Through my work in the physiology laboratory, then in medical school and in medical practice, I gained a firm impression that physical medicine should be developed hand in hand with the striking advances in the medical uses of chemistry, physics and bacteriology, and in surgery. By neglecting physical measures, such as hydrotherapy, massage, electricity, or the application of heat and cold, the medical profession has left a wide field open for cultivation by illy trained individuals, cult practitioners, and quacks.

The great obstacle to the development of physical medicine has been that the medical schools have provided no adequate instruction in it, largely because of the steady engorgement of their curriculum as a result of the rapid advances in scientific research and discovery.

Some years ago as a professor in a medical school I conducted a course in physical therapy which was somewhat of a pioneer venture in this field in the western U.S.A. In those days typhoid fever, of which we had tens of thousands of cases, was being treated to a considerable extent by various forms of hydrotherapy. During this period I met at meetings of the American Academy of Medicine a tall, dignified physician from New York who was profoundly trained in hydrotherapy. He was an interesting figure. The first time I heard him speak, someone whispered to me that he had been a surgeon in the Confederate Army and had been wounded at Gettysburg. This was Dr. Simon Baruch, one of the country's foremost experimenters in the field of physical medicine.

The Advisory Committee

All of these points came vividly to my mind recently when I received a letter from Bernard M. Baruch asking me whether I would accept the chairmanship of a committee of physicians to advise him as to how he could best advance the field of medicine in which his father had shown so much interest. He told me that he would be glad to pay the committee's expenses and assist in selecting its members. He said he would ask the committee to make a report upon which he could de-

termine how he could be most helpful. The report, which was to cover the whole field of physical medicine, was to be made public.

We at once began to build up the Baruch Committee on Physical Medicine, with offices at 597 Madison Avenue, New York. Its final composition included myself as chairman; William Thomas Sanger, Ph.D. LL.D., L.H.D., president of the Medical College of Virginia, vice-chairman; Frank Hammond Krusen, M.D., head of the section on physical medicine at the Mayo Clinic, director-secretary; Charles Frederick Behrens, M.D., Captain in the Medical Corps, U. S. Navy; Carl R. Comstock, M.D., Saratoga Springs, New York; John Stanley Coulter, M.D., member of the faculty of the physical therapy department Northwestern University Medical School, and chairman of the Council on Physical Therapy of the American Medical Association; Kristian Gosta Hansson, M.D., medical director of the School of Physical Therapy, Hospital for Special Surgery, New York City; Benjamin Anderson Strickland, Jr., M.D., Lieutenant Colonel in the Medical Corps, U. S. Army.

For survey purposes, subcommittees were appointed on teaching, basic research, clinical research, public relations, rehabilitation, hydrology and health resorts, occupational therapy, and prevention and body mechanics. Their members were all persons of established professional reputations and leaders in the special fields concerned. In addition, some four hundred outstanding scientists were consulted regarding vari-

—By the chairman of the new Baruch Committee on Physical Medicine. An outstanding public figure, Dr. Wilbur has had a distinguished career as statesman, educator, and medical authority.

A devoted conservationist, he was Secretary of the Interior in President Hoover's Cabinet. President of Stanford University from 1916-42, he is now chancellor. A physician himself and professor of physiology and medicine for many years, his activities in the interest of medicine and public health have been unceasing: he was head of the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care, 1927-35; chairman of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, 1929-31; is president of the American Social Hygiene Association, and chairman of the council on medical education and hospitals of the American Medical Association.

ous phases of the committee's survey.

At the beginning, it was announced that the policy of the committee would be to "make a study of the broad field of the use of physical procedures and facilities in the care of the sick, and to make a report on the programs deemed best to advance the development of adequate educational and training plans and places in the United States." Special emphasis was to be placed on "ways in which physical medicine can contribute most in the care of soldiers and sailors."

Discovering Chief Needs

While many surveys have been made, this one by the Baruch committee was somewhat unique in its combination of fortunate factors. It was for a specific purpose; it was adequately financed; efforts were made to have the field covered within three or four months if possible; the expenses of all committee members were amply provided for. The aim in this whole report was to find out what was going on in the field of physical medicine, what should go on, what could be accomplished if some additional funds were given, and how to make these funds count most in the development of this branch of medicine.

The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis has been doing unusually splendid work in its particular area of physical medicine. In addition to providing care for persons stricken with the disease, it has set up training places for physical therapy technicians, and established research facilities for studies on the pathology, epidemiology, and treatment of infantile paralysis. Consequently our committee consulted with officials of the Foundation in order to avoid duplication of program or support.

Almost as soon as the survey got under way, it became obvious that the chief needs for the proper development of physical medicine are an adequate supply of physicians who can teach it and use it; more extensive basic research in the subject; proper use of this branch of medicine in relation to wartime rehabilitation and peacetime physical preparedness.

In order to meet these needs, the committee recommended that an immediate program should be adopted. This would include the organization of a central office to coordinate and promote teaching and research in physical medicine, the establishment of teaching and research centers of physical medicine at certain interested and well qualified medical schools, the establishment of fellowships in physical medicine, the promotion of the teaching of

physical medicine in all medical schools, the preparation of reports by the committee, and the promotion of wartime and postwar physical rehabilitation.

Physical Medicine

The trend of the thinking that resulted in these recommendations is indicated in the introductory statement of the committee's letter transmitting its final report to Mr. Baruch:

"Your committee has been deeply impressed by the wide scope of physical medicine and by its possible application to nearly all fields of medical practice and to a very large number of diseases or pathologic states of the body. Consequently, we consider as primary the education of those who will elect to specialize in this branch of medicine. . . .

"Medicine based exclusively on empirical use of pills and potions is becoming obsolete. However, medicine based on the precision of physics and chemistry is amply proving its value. The last war is said to have put orthopedic surgery on its feet. This war may well do the same for physical medicine. Physical agents produce striking biologic responses, including effects on psychic reactions more potent than the effects of many of the drugs gathered through many centuries by trial and error. It seems well to fan over the grist of the past and to select carefully those subjects on which the medical student can best spend the limited period of his training. It seems apparent to the committee that more attention should be paid to the broad field of physical medicine, which ramifies into so many branches of medical treatment. It is believed that these newer developments in physical medicine should be organized by the physician and not for him. The manner in which we use the hospitals and medical schools of today will largely determine the medical future of our people, and it seems evident that a tremendously

significant contribution can be made by providing, at this time, a completely adequate, widespread teaching and research program in physical medicine on a national scale.

"This extensive field of medical practice includes the employment of the physical and other effective properties of light, heat, cold, water, electricity, massage, manipulation, exercise, and mechanical devices for physical and occupational therapy, in the diagnosis and treatment of disease. Physical medicine includes the employment of physical procedures not only for diagnosis but also for prevention of disease, especially of joints and muscles. It embraces occupational, recreational, and physical therapy. The study of spa therapy, of climatology, and of hydrology looms large. The employment of physical agents in the field of industrial medicine, geriatrics (treatment of the aged), treatment of arthritis, treatment of diseases of the blood vessels, and treatment of diseases of the nervous system is becoming increasingly important. The problems of wartime rehabilitation have vastly increased the need for adequate knowledge of physical medicine on the part of all persons who treat the sick and disabled."

Centers for Teaching and Research

The full report emphasizes the need for adequate teaching in physical medicine in medical schools, since the whole program depends on the availability of physicians who are able to make full use of it in the care of the sick and the injured. One of the great difficulties in the use of physical therapy has been the time required to give treatments and to give them intelligently. The physician has had little time at his disposal, nurses have not been trained in this field to any great extent, and physical therapy technicians have been inadequate in training and in numbers. The physician has had to gather about him a whole series

of assistants, such as nurses, X-ray and laboratory technicians, office secretaries, and others, in order to care for the sick in a way that would save his time for the particular parts of medical diagnosis and treatment for which he is specifically and highly trained. Since a doctor's work is completely dependent upon his time, he needs to have as much of it saved as possible by the help of others. But if he does not have familiarity with the procedures of physical medicine he cannot guide assistants in the use of its methods. For this reason, the committee recommended to Mr. Baruch that he make large gifts to three or more centers for the development of significant departments of physical medicine and that he also provide funds for equipment or assistance in other medical schools.

War and Industrial Injuries

Mr. Baruch's gift is particularly timely and important because there is now so much need for the relief of human suffering by the known procedures of physical medicine, were these adequately and promptly applied. We have a responsibility for the rehabilitation of our soldiers, sailors, and marines who come back with war injuries, and of the industrial workers hurt in our war plants. This problem will soon be of staggering proportions. The restoration of men who have lost parts of their bodies or who have sustained injury of the soft parts of the skeleton is a difficult and time consuming process. Merely to take medicine three times a day is not likely to be very effective. Procedures that develop and encourage improvement—particularly if they can be combined with occupational therapy that will lead to wage earning—can do a great deal more to restore the morale of the wounded and the injured. The necessity of planning for rehabilitation can be rated among our large war and postwar problems.

In 1940, some 4,000,000 persons were suffering from permanent physical disabilities, and the annual increment of newly afflicted was 800,000. Those figures seem enormous, but they will be markedly increased as a result of the war. And while the problem is mounting, we are facing a shortage of physicians and trained technicians. This means that we must make the most of all our facilities.

Just as we must put the wounded veteran back into a position to take care of himself and his family, so must we deal with the handicapped persons who have been injured in industry. An estimate has been made that for every dollar spent for rehabilitation, forty-seven dollars are returned to society. The Baruch committee has been working closely with the War and Navy Departments and the Veterans Administration, for it is upon these branches of the government that much of the burden of rehabilitation will fall.

Among other recommendations in its report the committee included specific suggestions pertaining to hydrology and health resorts, occupational therapy, and body me-

For Research and Teaching

Mr. Baruch's recent gift of \$1,100,000 for the advancement of physical medicine is to be distributed as follows:

To Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons, \$400,000, for the establishment of a key center of research and teaching of physical medicine, with particular reference to its application for returning veterans. This sum is to be expended over a ten-year period. The center is to give immediate assistance in maintaining an adequate supply of medical specialists to handle the problems of war and postwar physical rehabilitation.

To New York University College of Medicine, \$250,000, to be spent in ten years in establishing a center for teaching and special research in preventive and manipulative structural mechanics of physical medicine.

To the Medical College of Virginia (from which Mr. Baruch's father, the late Dr. Simon Baruch, graduated in 1862) \$250,000, to be expended in ten years in establishing a center for teaching and research with particular reference to hydrology, climatology, and spa therapy.

To selected medical schools, \$100,000, to develop an immediate program for the physical rehabilitation of war casualties and those injured in industry.

For the establishment of fellowships and residencies, \$100,000, to be used for the benefit of qualified physicians or other scientists who are selected to be trained in this field.

chanics. In regard to water and spa therapy, it recommended: Basic research in laboratories to evaluate the effects of hydrotherapeutic procedures and spa therapy; improved teaching of hydrology and spa therapy in medical schools; better medical supervision of the therapeutic procedures employed at health resorts; more extensive use of existing health resorts for rehabilitation of war casualties; efforts to prevent the alarming tendency to abandon the use of valuable spas.

Occupational Therapy

Occupational therapy was defined as the provision of a graded program of activity to restore maximal physical and mental function or to divert a person and improve morale by arousing his interest, courage, and confidence. The committee pointed out the needs in this area as: medical direction of hospital departments of occupational therapy; encouragement of programs for training volunteer aids to assist qualified occupational therapy technicians; appointment of a qualified field secretary in occupational therapy to assist in spreading correct information, recruiting students, and standardizing courses; establishment of an information center to demonstrate new educational methods, corrective techniques, and apparatus; development of a program to encourage the teaching of occupational therapy as part of a course in physical medicine in the medical schools.

The committee urged the further development of the curative and sheltered workshops in which both occupational and physical therapy are administered, but stipulated that these should be operated under direct medical supervision. Since physical and occupational rehabilitation is often needed simultaneously with medical and surgical treatment, the workshops should be organized in conjunction with general hospitals.

The committee also recommended that steps be taken to make industrial management and labor cognizant of the importance of rehabilitation centers in which injured war workers can be given occupational therapy and vocational and avocational retraining.

In regard to body mechanics, which refers to the mechanical correlation of the various systems of the body, the committee pointed out that there is need not only for further investigation from the standpoint of static posture but also for a more detailed study of human motion. It also recommended a careful study of the various manipulative procedures which are employed therapeutically to alter the structural mechanics of the human body.

One of the jobs the committee has set itself for the future is a study of the claims of the osteopaths, chiropractors, and others who emphasize the structure of the body and its variations as the cause of pain, incapacity, and disease.

As an outcome of these recommendations, Mr. Baruch made the generous gifts which are listed on the opposite page. These do-



BERNARD M. BARUCH

His purpose is to develop the field of medicine in which his father was a pioneer

nations, particularly the funds for fellowships and for the support of departments of physical medicine in medical schools, start a new era in physical therapy at a most significant time.

A New Road Opened

In addition to the tangible results it has produced, this whole study of physical medicine has demonstrated certain outstanding features. One is that with carefully chosen personnel and modest sums of money, a review of any field of science or of medicine can be made in a comparatively short time. A second point demonstrated is that instead of depending on the construction of large institutions of brick and mortar, with large endowments, advantage can be taken of existing institutions by furnishing them with liberal sums of money for a period long enough to determine whether extension in such fields is desirable. Mr. Baruch's plan of liberal support over a ten-year period provides an opportunity for proving the value of the procedures recommended.

The third outstanding feature of the committee's survey is its insistence on the fact that the abuse and misuse of physical medicine by the ignorant and ill trained

is largely the result of its neglect by the better trained. The way to meet these abuses is to have a large body of physicians and surgeons fully informed on the procedures of physical medicine and to have facilities for application of those procedures made available in our hospitals.

A centralization in our hospitals of all medical facilities is already in process. A large part of the facilities at each of these medical centers should be equipment for the application of physical medicine. There should be, also, a development of the medicinal springs, resorts, and spas that are of high quality and available in large numbers in many parts of the United States.

This preliminary survey and report on physical medicine and Mr. Baruch's generosity point the way to further work and further gifts in this important field. Enormous sums will be spent by the government. Industry will soon be cooperating in the use of this method of aiding the sick and disabled. If the work is to be done well, it must be done by trained technicians guided by physicians and surgeons who are familiar with the pathology of disease and equipped to understand those procedures likely to be most effective in the relief of the ill or injured.

National Teamwork

The production miracles of war industry, wrought by labor-management-government cooperation, set new patterns of American unity today, and for the postwar period.

MERLE D. VINCENT

OUT OF THE UNPRECEDENTED DEMANDS OF this war, national unity is emerging. To say this is to run counter to editorial writers, news commentators, headline makers. They are filled with forebodings and anxieties. They report quarreling factions among us, strikes, "recalcitrant employers," "irresponsible unions," "government red tape and bungling."

But there is another side to this story of the United States at war, a story of the creation of vast naval, ground, and air forces, of know-how in the use of resources and productive facilities to set an almost incredible record of speed and efficiency in output and transportation. American teamwork is writing new chapters in the saga of machine age miracles.

There are many examples of this teamwork, none more significant and convincing than the achievements of the labor-management committees in war plants, and the promise they hold for the extension of today's collaboration to the solving of vital production and employment problems in the postwar world.

To understand and appraise the operations of the labor-management committees, we must visit the workbenches and the assembly lines.

Teamwork on the Job

Henry A. Benson is a blacksmith and sheet metal worker at Northrup Aircraft, Hawthorne, Calif. Last year he made a suggestion to management that saves 45 man-hours a day. In the same plant H. G. Elwell, a blockmaker, contrived a device enabling a workman to do in two minutes what previously took forty.

These two incidents may not seem dramatic or very important in a world with daily news of mighty land, air, and naval battles. But nothing on the home front may more vitally affect the postwar destiny of the American people than innovations like these that are cropping up under the labor-management committees now operating in 4,000 war plants employing 7,000,000 workers.

Let us return to the Northrup Aircraft plant, which in a year and a half of such joint labor-management collaboration reports savings totaling 150,000 man-hours. This is the equivalent of 3,000 fifty-hour weeks, or more than six months full time work of a hundred essential war workers. When such showings are multiplied in a thousand plants, their present and postwar significance is obvious.

Labor Management News is one of the most fascinating and informative publica-

—By the director of the exemptions branch of the wage-hour and public contracts division, U. S. Department of Labor. Former president of the State Bar Association in his native Colorado, and vice-president and manager of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, Mr. Vincent came to Washington in 1934 as a divisional administrator of the National Recovery Administration.

tions that comes to my desk. It is a weekly tabloid put out by WPB to report progress under labor-management committees. In its May 13 issue, it was able to state that plants in which these are established led the country in the percentage of Army-Navy "E" awards made for outstanding production records.

In the worldwide war we now are waging, the armed forces and their services of supply are wholly dependent upon this home front production. Much of the time it has overrun goals. This is not due to accident or magic, unless it is the magic of teamwork between scientists, scientific management, technicians, millions of skilled and devoted men and women, and our government. Can this wartime teamwork be carried over into our postwar world? Common sense answers, "Yes, it can." But unfortunately, there are obstacles.

Even in wartime, teamwork faces wasteful and destructive prejudice, intolerance, and hostility. It is the business of these labor-management committees to break down antipathies and frictions by establishing rational human relations that will realize on the potential capacities of management and workers. A start has been made that justifies the verdict of experienced and competent men that, in these committees, we have the germ of new teamwork when it comes to planning how to cushion the shock of changing over from a war to a peace economy.

Sitting Down Together

It is a simple but inspiring story of men and women of good temper and good sense representing both management and labor in several thousand shops and factories. They have been sitting down together at a time of unparalleled national peril to find new ways and means to save materials and time, to increase the efficiency of men and machines, to reduce cost and increase production.

Needless to say, not all these committees have been successful from the start. Some failed for lack of mutual confidence. It

requires more than a truce on ill will and distrust to bring about productive cooperation. But, for the most part, these committees have been favored by an atmosphere of good will and mutual respect. Committees that failed were reorganized with a determination to act together as responsible citizens having common responsibilities to the nation.

In a recent canvass, the *Engineering and Mining Journal* said: "Starting a labor-management committee is a lot like taking a cold shower before breakfast. It's hard to get in, but it feels fine afterward."

Incidentally, the *Journal* quoted an adverse return it had received: "One manager [it said] reported glumly that he didn't think the company's new committee was worth its salt because out of 121 suggestions thus far received, only 'a very few have any value whatever from the standpoint of increasing production.' . . . How long would this manager have held his job, we wonder, if 100 or even 50 of these 121 suggestions had resulted in increased production? He should have regarded it as a compliment. The committee can't be expected to tell you how to run your mine, but it may help you do it better." Contrasted with this ill-natured grumble, returns from several thousand plants disclose wholehearted joint action and vastly increased output, usually at reduced cost.

Most corporation reports are dry reading. I found a recent one on this subject that is exciting. Take these two passages:

"Much credit for good labor relations is due to the close cooperation between our employes and the management. Not one day has been lost because of strikes or disputes. Our labor-management committees, which consist of over 300 representatives from all departments, accomplished many splendid things during the past year, and are now recognized nationally as one of the outstanding labor-management groups in the country. One example of their accomplishments is the bringing in of suggestions for improving efficiency. Approximately 4,000 suggestions were received and considered, and 1,289 were adopted. . . .

"As a result of our safety program, there were approximately 71 percent fewer lost time accidents in 1943 than in 1942, despite the fact that our man-hours increased almost 20 percent during the same period. Furthermore, our safety record is outstandingly better than that of the metalworking industry as a whole."

The Picatinny Arsenal estimates annual savings by July 1 from labor-management suggestions will amount to \$5,000,000. The

Picatinny labor-management committee suggestions which already have been adopted by other arsenal and army ordnance establishments show a saving now estimated at \$70,000,000.

Let us consider the items thus listed by progressive management and their implications: Of 4,000 suggestions made by workers "1,289 were adopted." "Not one day lost because of strikes or disputes." "Accidents cut down 71 percent." "Saving now estimated at \$70,000,000."

Saving Time and Money

Joint committees function by the common sense process of examining and discussing the work to be done, the materials used, the machines, the set-up of equipment, assembly line methods, and other factors that enter into productivity. Everyone is free to make suggestions; each is examined, and then if it appears practicable it is tested. If it works, it is adopted. That held for 1,289 suggestions in the company from whose annual report I have just quoted. The suggestions spell various things in different plants. Here is a device or method which saves time. There is an improvement in a machine, or a better method to utilize equipment or handle material. In still another, it is an improved design resulting in a better product.

For example, the August 23, 1943 issue of *Labor-Management News* carried a report from the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company of Akron, Ohio, which described the development of a channel tread airplane tire by one of its employees. Eugene Roberts' new design of tire makes it possible to land a high speed military plane on rough terrain. It has increased by five- to ten-fold the life of airplane tires under extreme loads. "Planes equipped with the channel tread tire do not require a hard surface runway for taking off and landing, but can be brought down on any reasonably level ground with much less danger of crashing.

"The new tire [the report continues] has resulted in a saving of not only vast quantities of rubber but also has made pos-

sible the simplification of the wheels upon which it is mounted, thereby saving other critical war materials." Aviation authorities have hailed this newly designed tire as an outstanding contribution to the war effort.

Or take a less well known and relatively small plant, the Gussack Machine Products Company of Long Island City, N. Y., in which a labor-management committee has been effectively operating. The management reports that it has been able to reduce the price of war equipment sufficiently to save the government around \$500,000. Further, it attributes a large part of this saving to its labor-management committee. Both plants are under contract with the Congress of Industrial Organizations from whose members the labor representatives on the joint committee are taken.

The Marinship Corporation on the West Coast (under contract with American Federation of Labor unions) credits its labor-management committee with production improvements which effected a saving of 700,000 man-hours. This in turn saved Uncle Sam approximately \$1,000,000 and enabled the shipyard to turn out an extra ship in a given period.

The Kaiser Shipyards are likewise under contract with the International Machinists

Union and other American Federation of Labor organizations. The Kaiser Number 3 shipyard at Richmond, Calif., alone, reports it has received twenty-two national production honors awarded by the War Production Board. Each of these awards was for time-saving, cost-saving, material-conserving devices and improvements recommended by its labor-management committee.

Nothing in this world of factories and production is more significant than the simple fact that skilled, intelligent workmen can make to every aspect of the production processes contributions which ordinarily would be expected to come only from engineers. A point that is too little understood is that their skill and experience make the workers practical technicians. Men and women who can offer such contributions to shipbuilding, steelmaking, automobile, aircraft and rubber manufacture, and to a hundred other fields of production, are competent to sit down with industrial management, farm, and government representatives in planning how best to utilize all our production facilities and resources after the war to provide the highest possible level of employment. In a recent issue of *Labor-Management News* the work of these committees was described as



Illustrations from the "Suggestions Guide," one of the handbooks for labor-management committees issued by the War Production Drive



Labor and management representatives sit down to discuss production problems at the Stromberg-Carlson plant, Rochester, N. Y.

"industrial democracy at work." This is an accurate characterization. It means not only the adoption of improved ways and means of production but also industrial peace, which is the best assurance of uninterrupted production.

This record of effective teamwork is obscured by frequent charges (not always disinterested) that the war effort is impeded by an epidemic of strikes. Reading the front pages, one gets the impression that most war workers are not on the assembly lines but on the picket lines. What are the

facts as to stoppages in war industry?

In many fields of production—aircraft, tank, artillery, small arms, munitions, and supplies of all sorts—the high goals set by the WPB have been surpassed. This production did not come from plants on strike, but from plants operating to capacity with peak forces voluntarily at work.

Right after Pearl Harbor, CIO and AFL leaders gave President Roosevelt a no-strike pledge. They asked in return fair treatment from management and the government during the war. When wildcat

strikes are provoked, or called by local unions without authority, as some have been, labor leaders order the men back to work. Notwithstanding real grievances in some instances, these orders to return to work, with few exceptions, have been obeyed. But there was the coal strike. Coal miners and their leader were under the same pledge to remain at work. Coal miners had grievances against the rising cost of certain food items, other workers had the same grievances, but in general they and their leaders kept their bargains.



Technical experts on the Board for Individual Awards meet in Washington to weigh tested ideas from labor-management committees. Palmer for O.W.

with the government to stay at work. The government had to take over the mines, just as it had to take over a few industrial plants whose managements refused to play ball. These instances are the exceptions. CIO and AFL leaders have cooperated with management and the government in performing what are literal miracles of production.

The Facts About Strikes

But a strike—any strike—costs time and slows up production. What are these strike losses? Are they the chief cause of lost production time?

For the two years, 1942-3, strikes (excluding the coal strike) caused a loss of 8,700,000 man-days. Set over against this total, the reports of the National Council of Safety and the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that in the same period disabling industrial accidents caused the loss of 109,800,000 man-days. Put another way, idleness due to strikes in all industries except coal, amounted to less than 1/12 of one percent of the total time worked in 1942-3. As against some 820,000 workers involved in strikes in 1942, there were 50,000,000 at work. In 1943, the figure was 1,250,000 out of 53,000,000. The 1942-3 figures represent an 82 percent decline in idleness due to strikes, as compared with 1941.

We do have strikes. We do have war frauds and profiteers. But relatively few Americans are strikers and profiteers. One can cite many thousands of instances of labor-management cooperation and unity, with a resulting efficiency that has achieved the maximum. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that national unity of action, now or after the war, is possible only with a high measure of agreement between labor, management, agriculture, and government, and there can be no agreement without mutual good will, confidence, and respect. Good will is a natural attitude. Hatred is not a normal state of mind. It must be fanned into flames by winds of rumor and propaganda. Every effort to prevent cooperation between democratic forces by arousing unfounded prejudice and distrust must be checked by accurately reporting facts which prove the capacity of the American people for teamwork.

Another example of disruptive reporting from the production front is the frequently cited \$100 a week paid shipbuilders, machine tool operators, merchant seamen, and others. Again it should be sufficient to state the simple fact that for every industrial worker who is paid \$100 a week there are 10,000 who have not seen \$40 a week. In fact, many wartime wage levels sag below the essential needs of workers and their families. A Senate subcommittee reported on April 27 that the present wartime wage income of 20,000,000 workers imposes such inequality of sacrifice as to be unjust, unnecessary, and detrimental to the health, morale, and efficiency of a nation at war."

Notwithstanding all the foreign and



Winners of war bonds for production suggestions at Gulf Shipbuilding, Mobile, Ala.

homemade efforts to create distrust among Americans today, there is a deep basic unity of purpose. But we have a great need for honest reporting of information which reveals this fact, and organization to promote joint action. In their field, labor-management committees have proved to be among the most practical instruments to these ends.

Creators of Distrust

But we must not expect to become immune to continued efforts to create distrust and disunity. These efforts sometimes come from influential sources. It may be well to cite one instance, as a warning against similar attempts to come.

Last fall, in the course of a Town Hall radio debate, John L. Lovett, manager of the Michigan Manufacturers Association, stated that "the idea [of labor-management committees] springs from those who believe that mob management is better than the fixing of authority in private industry." What can we do about such a charge and such a mind? The answer is obvious: publish the facts. Apparently he has no conception of the fact that competence, the ability to do a good job, is better authority than the mere possession of a title. This fact is recognized in every well managed plant, mine, and shop. The chief authority of a manager, superintendent, or foreman lies in the fact that he not only knows his job, but also knows the job of those working with him and under him. Those who work under his supervision know whether or not he understands his own job and

theirs. If he does, that fact commands for him more respect and authority than any title or technical authority with which he can be invested.

Men who, like the Town Hall debater, regard labor-management committee cooperation as "mob management," are of course mob minded. Such a statement flows from emotional, not analytical reactions. It betrays ill will, or a distrust that is not natural to men of good sense. Only fear moves men to such speech. But if the speaker knew the minds and the reactions of men at work, he would soon get rid of his fears. If he knew men on the job, he would know that the typical workman respects his work. He loves to do "a good job." He is not satisfied in doing "a bum job." Naturally, he likes to think that his skill and the results of his work are important and he likes to have this understood and acknowledged. The same may be said of every manager, foreman, or chairman of a board of directors. Competent management knows these facts and is willing to utilize the skill and resources of everyone connected with the operation. Workers understand this. They desire happy relations with their foremen and the management. This is the foundation upon which the very effective work of labor-management committees is based.

The drive to establish these committees became a part of the national production program of the War Production Board. The idea was not new. WPB found the mechanism at work in many plants and adopted it.

(Continued on page 299)

Germans and the German Problem

What to do with a defeated Germany—suggestions for the establishment of enduring peace, based on a study of the Germans themselves and their deification of authority.

EGON RANSHOFEN-WERTHEIMER

A BOOK ON ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH character, by an author who had never been to England, might be read as a curiosity but never as an authoritative guide, and certainly not as a textbook for tomorrow's peace conference. Yet a recent book, "What to Do with Germany," written by an American who had never set foot in Germany, is being taken seriously by serious persons. It reflects a bitterness and lack of comprehension rare even in the school to which the author belongs, the school whose master mind and symbol is Lord Vansittart, formerly chief diplomatic adviser to His Majesty's Foreign Secretary.

"Vansittartism," a generic name like Quisling, has become the accepted term for the school of thought which sees the Germans as the eternal aggressors, brutal, bloodthirsty, coveting other people's territories, imperialistic by nature, instinctively cruel. Eagerly or resignedly the adherents of this school accept as the only solution of the German problem the permanent disarmament of the nation, and such pressures upon it as to prevent any freedom of will or action. To them the Germans are a kind of vermin among the peoples of the earth. Vansittartism sees no way to world peace except to administer to the Germans themselves their own medicine of frightfulness.

Two Views of Germany

The opposite pole of opinion on the German question is the theory of the "other Germany." Those holding this view point to the existence of a different Germany, rooted in the great tradition of Goethe, Herder, Heine and Kant, but cowed first by Bismarck and his followers and finally suppressed and silenced by the Third Reich. Germany, to them, is a victim of Hitlerism, exactly as are Hitler's other victims. They see the problem of safeguarding a peaceful, cooperative Germany as the problem of finding ways and means to put this "other Germany" into the saddle and to keep it there.

A solution of the German question along the lines of Vansittartism would be doomed to failure, if for no other reason than that neither London, Washington nor Moscow would be prepared to impose for a generation or longer the political, military, and economic compulsions necessary to a policy of repression. To base the future on the potential power of the "other Germany" would on the other hand involve extraordinary risks, since the only good and peaceful Germany of modern times—the Weimar Republic—showed weakness, lack of self-confidence, and unwillingness to re-

—By one of the first Austrians to lose his citizenship after Hitler marched into Vienna. Holder of a Heidelberg doctorate, and former foreign editor of a Hamburg daily, Professor Ranshofen-Wertheimer was for six years London correspondent for the 180 Social-Democratic papers of Europe; and from 1930 to 1940 a member of the League of Nations secretariat. Now on the faculty of The American University, his recent book, "Victory Is Not Enough" (Norton, 1942) was widely acclaimed.

sist when it was challenged by the forces of aggression.

I share this doubt of the inner strength of the "other Germany" though I am inclined to rate the proportion of peaceful Germans rather higher than do most of the advocates of the "other Germany." I believe that the majority of Germans are individually neither aggressive nor dangerous, in some respects even less so than, for instance, the Russians, whose "popular imperialism" (*Volksimperialismus*) was noted by many writers long before the advent of Bolshevism. I found this lack of aggressiveness a marked characteristic of the German working class and the majority of the peasantry.

I belong to that generation of Austrians who, after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, found in the Germany of the Weimar Republic a friendly welcome, a job, and scope for activity. For a number of years I was closely associated with the élite of the German working class, then organized in the Social-Democratic party. I served as associate editor of one of their daily papers, was offered a seat in the *Reichstag* (which I had to decline because of my Austrian citizenship), and spoke in literally hundreds of meetings—in small monthly gatherings of local party groups, at party conventions, and in political mass meetings, especially in northern Germany.

During these early years I sensed the anxieties, moods, and aspirations of these people, as I answered their questions and listened to their arguments. I have broken bread with them in their homes, danced with their wives and daughters, seen their brave struggles in the months of the inflation. Never once did I come across any sign of violent nationalism, of ambition for foreign (or for that matter, domestic) power, of imperialism—in short, of any of those traits now considered typical of the whole German people.

In these circles criticism of the Versailles

Treaty was mild, expressed more in sorrow than anger, and invariably with an undertone of self-accusation that suggested recognition of German responsibility for the humiliations and the demands for reparation imposed by their former enemies. Territorial claims, so passionately discussed by the representatives of other German classes, were viewed with a kind of resignation as the fads of people who had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. The war guilt clause of the treaty was rarely mentioned. As good socialists, they attributed the origins of World War I not to the failings or machinations of individuals but to an unsound economic system. But characteristically, their discipline, their lack of aggressiveness, and their genuine respect for the feelings of others, prevented them from asserting their views—unless a party slogan or a program sponsored by the party executive stirred them to bear witness to their beliefs.

Following the Leader

So deep was their ingrained respect for authority that it prevented these workers and peasants from challenging not only the government but even their own leaders. The most remarkable instance of this kind of loyalty was the famous affair of the pocket battleship in 1928, one of the turning points in the brief history of the German Republic. There was nothing evil in the decision to replace an obsolete cruiser with a new one. Even the Versailles Treaty, certainly not over-generous to Germany in its military stipulations, authorized this step. But circumstances which, in the words of Burke, render "every civil and political scheme beneficial or noxious to mankind" made the construction of a battleship at that moment an act of defiance likely to cause international nervousness and unrest. The Socialist party fought an election "against the battle cruiser" and won the day.

Yet hardly had the successful socialist leaders taken the helm in a left-center coalition government than they gave way under the combined influence of their partners in the coalition, nationalist press groups, and military advisers. The socialist leaders reversed themselves, abandoned their campaign pledges, and sanctioned the cruiser program—with many misgivings, it is true, and authorizing only part of the construction. But yield they did.

The people were stunned. Rarely have I seen shame so visibly written on human faces as at that time. The common man felt he had been double-crossed. Dem-

Germany had received in the minds and hearts of true German democrats a blow from which it never fully recovered. The lack of resistance to Hitler and his need was one of the fatal after-effects of that disillusionment.

Nevertheless, when the executive committee of the party subsequently appealed to the members and invoked their loyalty, millions of Social-Democratic voters accepted the scorn of their communist colleagues, and the contemptuous criticism of specialists of practically all other countries, rather than desert their leaders and their party. Even in the relationship of a member to his party leaders the loyalty complex of the average German was stronger than his own feelings and judgment. This is the trait which is going to cost the lives of thousands of Nazi party members when, in the final stage of the present war, loyalty rather than conviction will drive young Germans to sacrifice themselves for the lost cause of Nazism.

The Authority Complex

The key to my personal experience and the tragic development which we all have witnessed since 1933 is to be found in its peculiar German phenomenon: the attitude toward authority.

For the last two or three generations authority in Germany has increasingly assumed a quasi-religious character. The deification of authority characteristic of the Third Reich is only the final and logical conclusion of a development of the last century and a half, beginning with Frederick whom the Germans call "the Great," and reaching its peak in Hitler's total dictatorship.

The chief cause is the belated crystallization of Germany as a nation. This lag had some distinct disadvantage by the middle of the nineteenth century when Britain, France, and even Russia began to divide the world among themselves. Whether Germany's delayed nationalism is in itself due to such external reasons as geographical position, or to traits inherent in the German character is a moot question.

But given the fact, the disadvantages became more and more evident as the nineteenth century progressed. Finally, the Germans began to organize themselves into an increasingly strong state and to subordinate individual inclinations to the community in order to gain what they considered equality of status with the great powers. Among the measures taken to catch up with other nations was the progressive centralization of Germany. Another step was the introduction of compulsory military service, originated by the French Revolution. In the case of Germany this had grave psychological consequences. It broke down the old German individualism, the German inclination to "genbrötlei." Further, under the influence of Prussian military traditions universal military service did much to destroy "tribal" differences between the Ger-

man North and South, between Prussia and non-Prussia, between Protestant and Catholic Germany. Moreover, it conditioned Germany to complete submission under authority.

Military discipline, a consequence of the need for authority, in itself stimulated the spirit of submission. Unlike other countries with a fairly well developed military discipline—France or Austria, for example—military hierarchies came to dominate civilian life. In Germany the fact of being an officer in the reserve, of possessing military rank, even in mufti, drew caste lines unknown in other modern nations. The creation of this unity in subordination for military purposes, made the question of subordination to whom and to what purpose more and more a matter of secondary importance in the German mind.

The craving for an authority to offset the disadvantages of their national situation outweighed for the Germans the possible danger of the abuse of authority by those exercising it. Increasingly the people accepted government without questioning its complexion, composition, philosophy, or methods, asking only that the authority be effective and have the color of legality.

This growing deification of authority meant that the relationship between the ruler and the governed in Germany was no longer normal or rational. Disobedience to the state became not resistance to man-made laws but to God. Here is the whole German problem in a nutshell. To overlook this aspect of German development or to fail to understand it is to err in all one's judgments of Germany.

The Third Reich could exact its long, harsh sacrifices because resistance seemed to the people a sacrilege. The Gestapo played its part in breaking any potential resistance before it could gather momentum, but this was not a decisive factor. The relation of the individual to the state became the keystone of the Nazi arch. Gestapo terror was relatively incidental.

To Americans bred in a tradition of "resist much, obey little," such reverence for authority is almost unthinkable. To them, connivance with aggression would mean consent to aggression. Historically, a German may bear the same responsibility for the results of his attitude, but individually his guilt is less because, to him, resistance to authority would amount to high treason. That is why millions of non-Nazis and even anti-Nazis unquestioningly obeyed the Fuehrer's orders from the moment President Hindenburg named him Chancellor—exactly as they would have followed any other German government, right, middle or left, that functioned with the same show of self-assurance and efficiency.

It is my conviction that obedience to orders, without regard to the source of the order, is the ruling trait of modern Germany. This makes me reject most of the proposals based upon the existence of "another Germany." For if, as I hold, the Germans' submissiveness to authority transcends any impulse or resolve to stand up

and fight for their own convictions, then that "other Germany" can only be made effective if plans for Germany's role in the world of tomorrow are based on the dominant, not on a secondary, trait of the German character. As most schemes for Germany's (and the world's) salvation start from a wrong assumption, it is not surprising that they lead to false conclusions and must beget, if they are executed, dangerous consequences.

The whole German question therefore boils down to the necessity of arranging circumstances favorable to the emergence of a good German government *with authority*, in place of the aggressive and internationally non-cooperative German regimes which in the past have challenged the peace of the world.

The Fallacy of a Weak Germany

It would perhaps be possible to cure the German people of their unquestioning submissiveness through a kind of mass psychoanalysis, carried out through the press, group meetings, the radio, mass meetings, and so on. The purpose of such national therapy would be to destroy the psychological bases for the German submissiveness to authority—to resolve the German authority-complex, to use psychoanalytical terminology. But assuming that such mass treatment were technically feasible, and that a cure would result, the consequences would be more dangerous than the original sickness. To destroy the psychological foundations upon which German discipline rests would be to wreck the precarious balance of German self-respect. Only chaos could follow.

For the German is not disciplined by nature. He is torn by contradictory emotions and desires, shaken by a devastating sense of inferiority when he confronts older cultures. In trying to compensate, he is prone to overcompensate this lack of inner unity by yielding himself to authority and its discipline. It was the panicky fear engendered by his own disharmony which became, along with Germany's geographical position, the chief reason for his exaggerated submissiveness, his dependence upon his leaders.

Here, incidentally, is the reason for his adulation of everything which exercises a centripetal pull, which holds him, individually and collectively, in the strong bonds of caste and class—titles, uniforms, societies, administrative hierarchies, military ranks.

A different geography, history, racial composition, national prestige have created in England the gentleman ideal which, like salvation, can be attained only by the individual. This ideal is a product of the educated Englishman's inner strength and also of his inhibitions. It is essentially a civic ideal. The German, having neither the Englishman's reticence nor his sense of security, sets for himself the warrior ideal which is more rigid, which confers status, and which has to be realized by groups rather than by individuals.

As futile as an attempt to "treat" Ger-

many's inferiority complex by mass psycho-analysis and perhaps even more dangerous in its long range consequences, is another proposed solution for the German problem. This is the plan for postwar arrangements, outside and inside Germany, to insure a weak government and to condemn it to weakness for a generation or more. This could be accomplished by splitting up Germany, by imposing permanent unilateral disarmament and prolonged foreign supervision of administration, education, industry, and trade. The record of the Weimar Republic should serve to warn the world that a weak government will not produce a civilized Germany.

I think it can be stated categorically that no weak German government or regime ever will endure. Just as Americans are instinctively opposed to a government which governs—though they accept it grudgingly in wartime—so the Germans will never suffer a government which does *not* govern. If we face this fact, we will save ourselves from the blunder of attempting to preserve peace by deliberately weakening governmental authority in Germany. In this respect, the German is considerably closer to the Briton than to the American, except that the Briton will never suffer misuse of governmental power, while the German may tolerate it, even perversely rejoice in it. Everything points to the necessity for the victors in this war to establish and uphold a government on German soil which is both a good government and a strong government. A sounder constitution than that of Weimar, a smaller number of parties, abandonment of the clumsy system of proportional representation would contribute much to this end, but it would not touch upon the essentials.

Internal Evolution

Before discussing in detail what I believe to be the chief characteristics of a sound German government, let me dispose of a question which inevitably will be raised. Germany lived for nearly fifteen years under a democratic constitution. Its government, up to von Papen's assumption of power in 1932, was, on the whole, peaceful and internationally cooperative. Then, is not the fate of the Weimar Republic proof that authority will be accepted by the Germans only if it is aggressive and autocratic?

The answer is that it was not the democratic character of the Weimar regime but its lack of firmness and of confidence in its own inner strength which alienated a growing proportion of the people. Whenever the Republic showed a determination to carry out its plans, when it expressed self-respect and self-confidence—as for instance in Prussia in the Twenties—it enlisted a surprising volume of good will, even among the traditionally anti-republican Prussian aristocracy. Whenever they, with the rest of the Germans, felt a strong hand in control, the Junker families and the Prussian generals submitted and collaborated. Paradoxically enough, it was

outside Prussia that Hitler achieved his greatest initial successes.

Such non-aggressive states as Bavaria and Thuringia rather than Prussia became the springboard for Nazism. Whatever part Prussianism played in making Nazism in Germany possible, it is an undeniable though to many an unpalatable historical fact that Prussia was next to the last German state to capitulate to Hitler.

If more proof were needed to show that German loyalty is enlisted only by a strong government, the fate of the German monarchy in 1918 will serve as an example. There was something almost cynical in the way in which the Germans, the arch-monarchists of centuries, abandoned monarchy. They dropped it in November 1918 with scarcely a thought or a backward glance. This casual scrapping of the whole kingly institution and tradition was due to the fact that the German monarchy had offered no leadership in the critical summer of 1918. When it ceased to wield its scepter, monarchy lost all meaning in the eyes of the Germans.

A government which would be both good and strong could rest only upon a combination of internal and external circumstances advantageous to its establishment. Internally it would depend upon applying the painful lessons learned through the weaknesses of the Weimar Constitution. This constitution was paper-perfect. But by basing elections upon proportional representation it fostered a host of minor and very minor parties. Instead of integrating the people's will, it split it into fractions. Instead of helping create parliamentary majorities, it made the government dependent upon the coalition of competitive political fragments each trying to outmaneuver the others.

The strong parties, unable to gain clear majorities, were at the mercy of marginal units, with the paradoxical result that the small groups were able not only to weaken the big ones but to block and control their action. It is unlikely that the Germans, left to themselves, will seek to repeat that mistake. Nor after the events of 1940, will they want to emulate the French parliamentary technique with its constant changes of government.

It was perhaps the most serious defect of the Weimar Constitution that instead of creating a democratic system of government combining strong executive power with constitutional safeguards against its abuse, it indulged in a sort of selective borrowing from the democratic schemes of America, Britain, and France. The British system of executive power might have afforded a workable basis for the new German parliamentarism. Yet the fathers of the Weimar Constitution chose the weakest element in the French system, the dependence of the government upon chance majorities, and combined this with a presidential authority halfway between the American and French. Instead of amending the weakness of the constitution by usage and precedent. German inexperience

in democratic processes permitted the state to drift into shoal waters. It put on a new course first by that genius of the German nation, Franz Papen. Then Hitler seized the helm.

The final mistake was thus to allow a democratic elements to use and then abuse established democratic liberties to gain the power to abolish democracy. Democracy can be firmly established in Germany only if it is accompanied by the complete destruction of the social and economic bases upon which rested the aggressive ideologies of the past.

The Problem of the Junkers

In concrete terms this would mean creating comparatively small groups with money, prestige, cunning, and passion. The belief in German superiority long dominated the instruments of public opinion, the minds of civil servants, and military leaders. This would involve expropriation on behalf of the community without accompanying compensation. German heavy industry and big land holdings. Unless these groups lose their economic power they will continue to divert their resources to buy newspapers and channels of opinion. The whole vicious cycle will begin again.

To make the Junkers, aside from the possession of large estates, the scapegoats will be both foolish and futile. Moreover, it would amount to a kind of Nuremberg legislation in reverse, because it would be discrimination for reasons of blood, class and not for individual beliefs and deeds. Expropriation of the big estates would strip the Junkers of whatever economic power they may possess at the end of the war.

Shorn of his economic power, the Junker would cease to exert political influence. Social prestige would fade. But, a servant of the state, under these new circumstances he could be used, and would readily consent to be used, as an administrator under any strong government. The swift integration of many members of Junker families who have emigrated to America, suggests that there is no utopian in this assumption.

Personally, I have not the slightest doubt that even a communistic German government could count upon the loyalty of the Junkers provided it made use of their abilities in administration. In considering the future of the Junkers as a caste, it should not be overlooked that death has taken a tremendous toll in their ranks. Many families have been wiped out in the Russian war, and the Russian occupation of Prussia will increase this casualty list. The Junker will disappear into complete anonymity, exactly as the once powerful French aristocracy of pre-Revolutionary times disappeared into business, diplomacy and administration, producing a class without creating a major political or social problem in the essentially equalitarian French Third Republic of 1879-1940.

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Health service for 128 rural communities in the interior of Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico—Island of Promise

RICHARD J. NEUTRA

PUERTO RICO'S NEEDS ARE DEFINED AND URGENT, even spectacular. There is overpopulation, extreme poverty, malnutrition, sickness, illiteracy; the land and tools that produce wealth are concentrated in only a few hands. Yet Puerto Rico is an exceedingly lovely island behind its coastal fringe of coconut palms.

Windsor G. Tugwell, hailed by the Insular Party as the best American governor ever sent to the islands, is accused by the opposition *coalición* of spending insular funds to acquire utilities and disperse land, while health and education are neglected. Like many such statements, none is made mainly to impress the island, where there is little knowledge of what is being done.

The contrary is true. The Insular Government is working on a far reaching program of rural health centers, village schools, and district hospitals. These projects have priority over the law school, medical college, industrial arts school, which too are in the planning stage. A highway system under construction will bring the people closer together, and new ports on the north and south will lessen the distance to the mainland.

The committee for public works appointed by the governor is composed of Dr. Rafael Picó, chairman of the planning board; Sergio Cuevas, commissioner of the interior; Santiago Iglesias, Jr., son of the former resident commissioner in Washington; Paul Edwards, chief of the war emergency program; Louis Sturcke, Jr., head of

the bureau of the budget. Because I had considerable experience as an architect in the tropics, the committee appointed me director of design. In the fall of 1943 I organized a Puerto Rican office which, with ever growing help from the island engineers, is working with speed and efficiency.

We have designed open air schools to be set up in more than 150 villages, adding outside patios to each classroom and carefully facing the buildings into the prevailing breezes, which are such a boon to the island.

We designed 128 rural health centers to bring health service into the mountains of the interior. In front of the wide opening of the milk dispensaries, we placed a spacious porch with a concrete bench running around it, as a place for meetings, lectures, entertainments, and broadcasts for the mountain community. Our purpose was to avoid any institutional character, making these buildings genuinely belong to the people. Here they can play their dominos, strum their guitars, and dance—and incidentally learn something about child care, diet, and more practical housekeeping.

Usually school and health center are grouped together and placed beside the village fountain and sanitary cistern.

The first of these community centers is located in the new land subdivision project for 450 families in Sabanna Llanna. This project was set up by the Autoridad de Tierras; the land was purchased on the open market and divided among small set-

tlers who cast lots for their sections according to law.

We are planning a number of large district hospitals: one for Ponce with 600 beds; for Mayaguez and Caguas with 500 beds each; and one for Güyama on the south coast with 300 beds. A consolidated laundry and other central facilities, such as laboratories, will serve these hospitals for which spacious sites of thirty to forty acres, overlooking the sea, have been provided.

The patients', nurses' and student nurse buildings, the nursing school, contagious pavilion, dining hall, and resident physicians' homes have been planned to take every possible advantage of land and sea breezes by day and night. The principal buildings rise to eight stories, and their extended "breeze fronts" have a porch-like openness. Mechanical air conditioning and glazed windows are used sparingly and are restricted mostly to surgical, delivery, and certain isolation rooms. Louvered blinds and collapsible "hurricane doors" will turn wards and interiors into semi-interiors at will. Non-corrosive screening protects the entire front and all balconies.

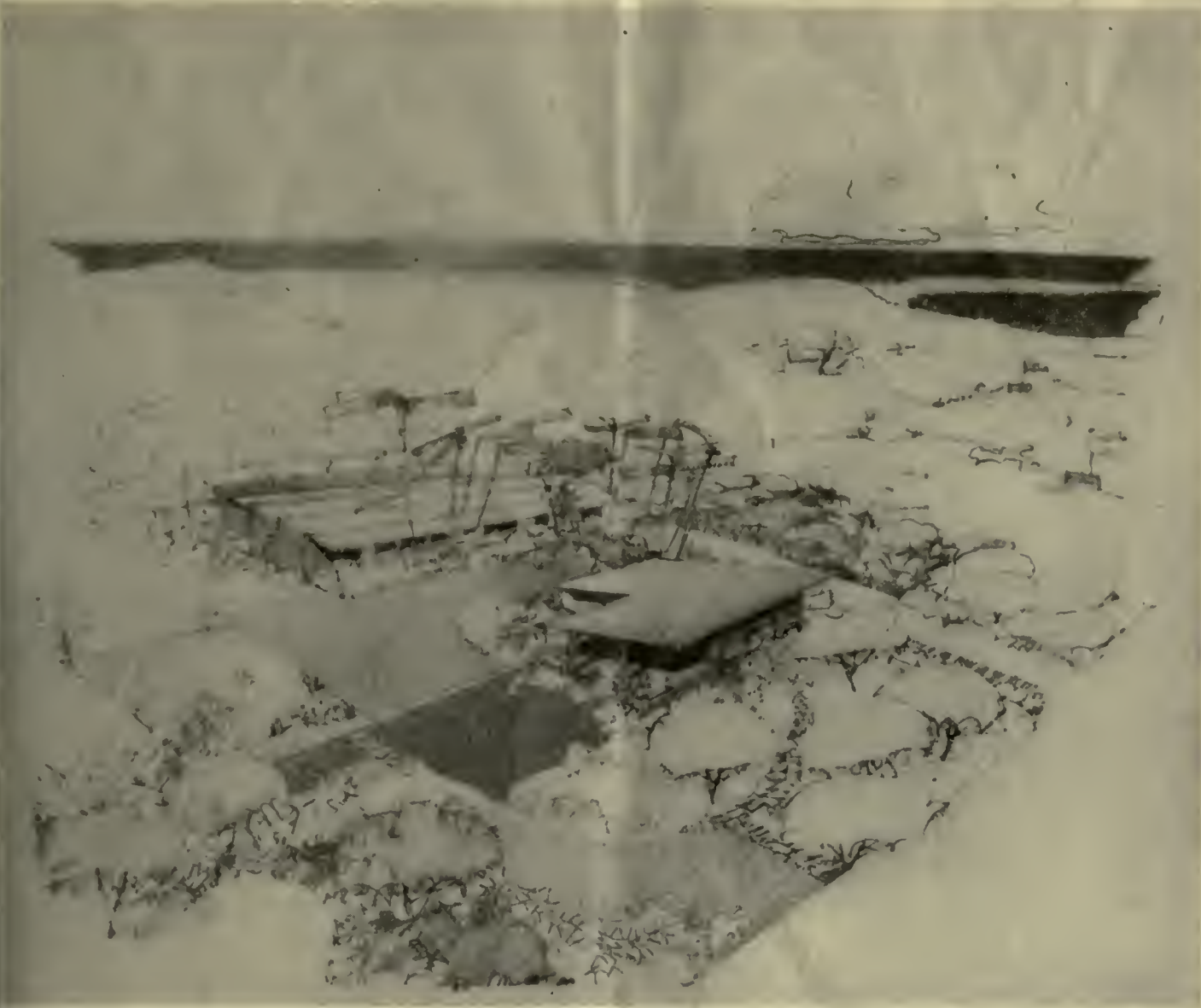
Each hospital is planned with the cooperation of the department of health and a project reviewing board of staff doctors. With the help of Dr. José Gándara, acting for the government, and J. Blumenkranz, hospital consultant from New York, we have a good basis for the design. Simplicity, economy in cost and maintenance, are the keynote for these reinforced concrete structures.



Open air schools for more than 150 villages in Puerto Rico



Design for rural schools, showing covered classroom walk



Rural school and adjoining health station form a community center



Type of ward designed for the four large district hospitals planned for Puerto Rico

Name Calling

Not their big differences of language and customs, but small, thoughtless social errors create barriers between Chinese and Americans, here and in the Far East.

WALTER KONG

IN CONSIDERING HOW TO GET ALONG WITH people of another race, the idea of understanding them as the first step immediately comes to mind. For years this truism has been pointed out by all sorts of teachers—from the philosopher down to the discussion group leader. Yet no serious steps seem to have been taken by members of any one race to understand another with which they live.

Half-hearted attempts in that direction now and then are made by individuals who attend lectures or go on organized "tours" of a local Chinatown or a Harlem. But these moves are prompted more by curiosity and pleasure than by the serious purpose of promoting understanding. There is still to be seen a deliberate, large scale effort on the part of any people to get acquainted with neighbors of another race for the express purpose of friendly living together.

The traffic situation offers a clue to interracial relationships. Our annual toll of automobile victims runs into alarming figures. It frequently has been suggested that if drivers would only learn road manners, this shocking total could be markedly reduced. Such disregard of the rights of others as crowding, cutting in, deliberate blocking, are among the chief causes of traffic accidents. The tragedy is not only that so many should have been killed or injured, but that they could have been saved by such a simple thing as the practice of highway courtesy.

Granting that differences of language and custom are major sources of misunderstanding between peoples of different races, many thoughtless little acts of discourtesy tend to widen the gap. Take, for example, the childish habit of name calling.

Chinese Contempt

The Chinese still call Westerners *Fan Kuai*, "foreign devil." (*Yang Kuei Tse* in the North.) When European traders first landed in China, their white skin, reddish hair, and blue eyes caused consternation among the Chinese. Being seafaring adventurers, these first comers were as a rule big and rough, insolent in speech and cruel in conduct—to the peaceful inhabitants of China, devils indeed. Immediately, the Chinese called them *Fan Kuai* and later the term was indiscriminately applied to all Westerners.

Of course, the unfamiliar and hence terrifying appearance and manners of the early traders were not the only reasons the Chinese called them *Fan Kuai*. The Chinese were then under the illusion that the inhabitants of the Central Flowery Kingdom were the only civilized human

beings on earth. *Fan Kuai* was a term coined to express a feeling of contempt for the Westerner.

There is no way of telling how many Westerners—travelers or residents in China—have been antagonized by this uncomplimentary epithet and returned to their homeland with a dislike for the Chinese because of it. But one thing is certain, the term has never been a generator of good will. "The Chinese despise and hate us. They call us 'foreign devils'."

This familiar comment overlooks the fact that time and frequent usage have robbed the words of their original meaning, and today they carry none of their early contempt. In fact, *Fan Kuai*, to the Chinese, has become a harmless synonym for Occidental. However, that does not soothe a Westerner's feeling nor lessen the offense the words give.

For some time a silent campaign has been going on among the Chinese, notably the Christians and the educated, to refer to an Occidental as *Sai Ying* (Westerner). Even in intimate circles, out of the hearing of any Westerner, this practice is encouraged, and to use *Fan Kuai* is coming to be regarded as a mark of vulgarity.

American Scorn

When the Chinese dubbed Westerners *Fan Kuai*, they did not dream that some day they themselves would be called disparaging names. Self-sufficient and self-satisfied, it did not occur to them that they or their descendants would migrate to other parts of the world. But the gold rush of the Fifties saw them streaming to the Gold Mountain, their name for California then as now. They had hardly finished their first bowl of rice on American soil when agitation was started against them and the name of "Chink" was hurled at them.

If the term *Fan Kuai* has caused Westerners much exasperation, its American counterpart has given the Chinese a host of complexes. Whether it was originated by their competitors for jobs, the Irish immigrants, or by native Americans is of little significance. As an insult to the Chinese, it was a huge success. They hated it from the day it was coined; even today they are perturbed when it is thoughtlessly used. They feel the full impact of its belittling scorn and there is no Chinese who does

not feel indignation and resentment.

It is a tribute to American good taste that the term is now frowned upon. School children using it innocently are corrected by parents and teachers. Newspapers and magazines have deleted it wholly from their columns. To his great relief and gratitude, it is only rarely that a Chinese is offended by hearing it today.

Words With Associations

Frequently, in pursuing my favorite game of golf, a recalcitrant shot leads me to the wrong fairway. And just as frequently some American friend loudly warns me to clear his line of fire lest I become "a dead Chinaman." I always enjoy the banter and contribute my share to it. But what some of my friends do not know is that I resent this word Chinaman. Most Chinese do, especially those of the educated class from China and, to a certain extent, those born in this country. Each prefers to be called a Chinese.

Comparatively few Caucasian Americans are aware of this preference. It is not unusual to hear professors, ministers, and other well educated persons referring to the Chinese as Chinamen. Unquestionably they would be surprised to learn that the Chinese themselves regard the word Chinaman with disfavor. Indeed, they might well wonder why the Chinese have the feeling when Englishman, Frenchman, and Dutchman are considered by the English, French, and Dutch people, respectively, to be in perfectly good taste.

Are the Chinese absurdly sensitive? Are there sound reasons for their objection? "I don't call you American-man, so why should you call me Chinaman?" a young Chinese student once protested.

And that is the only explanation that most Chinese are able to formulate. But the real reasons are in the associations of the word. It conjures up many of the humiliations and indignities to which the Chinese were subjected in the years when agitation was running high against them. In those days anyone who had anything to say against the Chinese used the words Chink or Chinaman, and many ugly things were said. These associations with the word still arouse unpleasant and uneasy feelings in the Chinese.

Then there was the song "Chin Chin Chinaman," making fun of the Chinese. I remember several years back when a group of children hailed me with the alliteration as I strolled along the street in the city of Orange, Calif. Probably they had no more feeling about the jingle than about

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—By a Californian of Chinese descent who was born in Honolulu. Mr. Kong holds degrees from Dartmouth College and from Columbia University, and now is a merchant in Santa Barbara.

These Are Our Stories

HARRY HANSEN

ONE OF THE GRATIFYING FEATURES OF CURRENT publishing is the appearance of numerous anthologies—collections of poems, stories, letters, and biographical sketches, which are especially welcome to the man whose purse is as flat as a collapsed lung and whose shelfroom is rigidly restricted by a landlord who doesn't read. Such collections are not always comprehensive enough for the needs of the special student, but how many of us are specialists, and how many can afford to overlook the opportunity to widen our appreciation and knowledge of the subjects chosen?

These collections owe much of their value to the manner in which their editors fulfill their functions as guide, counsellor, and friendly critic. "A Treasury of American Folklore" (Crown Publishers, \$3) was prepared by B. A. Botkin, keeper of the archives of American folksong in the Library of Congress, and known for his writings on the ballads and tall tales of the Southwest. The anthology has added worth for the general reader because Mr. Botkin leads him carefully through the maze of cowboy songs, plainsmen's tales, memoirs of backwoodsmen and desperadoes, boastful chants of keelboatmen, regional legends, frontier humor, and chronicles of the lumberjacks' supermen, showing how a compost of folklore is built up and where the line lies between naive and artless invention and self-conscious writing. In the past twenty years folklore, folk-songs, and folkways have become the study of scholars and the enthusiasm of amateurs. This movement has run parallel with the attack on "colonialism," the inspiration of which was not purely literary. American writers interested in the Marxian dialectic were among the chief supporters of a *los on England* movement. The general agreement on Mark Twain as a forerunner of plain, American narrative has meaning for folklore, for Mark Twain drew heavily on the tales he had heard in the West.

By Word of Mouth

Mr. Botkin is careful to point out that folklore is told vocally, not written down; it lives by repetition, in the course of which new interpreters arise and embellishments change the original legend. It is "a living literature that has no fixed form," but it has a certain universality that originates in human nature. A folk story is anybody's property: "If you don't like it, you can always change it, and, if you don't, someone else will."

Mr. Botkin makes this distinction between the spoken and written legend:

"Since print tends to freeze a song or a story, folklore is most alive or at home out of print, and in its purest form is associated with the 'grapevine' and the bookless world. But that does not make it synonymous with illiteracy or ignorance, nor is it true that the educated do not also have their lore, or that lore ceases to be lore as soon as it is written down or published."

The publication of these folk stories raises the question whether or not they are now "frozen" beyond further development. It is true that they are no longer "bookless." But as long as unlettered men keep on telling them they are not in their final form. It is also true that no one any longer improves on the jumping frog story of Mark Twain, although jumping frog contests have been held twice in New York City as parts of publicity campaigns. But a number of other stories in this book exist in various versions, some of them better than those printed here. Perhaps Mr. Botkin's conclusions should be revised to the effect that as long as stories circulate outside of print, it does not matter what printed records are available. The men who tell them don't read them.

Mr. Botkin's "Treasury," which runs to over 900 pages, shows the difficulty of trying to classify folk tales, jokes, memoirs, and legends. He, himself, knows that rules cannot be applied here. In a general way folklore is the opposite of formal literature, especially of the academic, which conforms to the conventions, but between them lies the popular field, which produces less genuine material. Some popular writing is just cheap, shoddy stuff; it has neither the true feeling that is characteristic of folklore nor the intellectual discipline that comes with study. Yet Mr. Botkin thinks Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck are "new folk creations," and the basic humor in them may be found in old folk stories.

Folk stories are not dressed up stories. Many of them are vulgar and some are obscene in situation and language. People who tell stories distort them, but this distortion may be a means of meeting the approval and hopes of the listeners. A gunman may be a reckless killer, devoid of any redeeming trait, but folklore likes to mention extenuating circumstances. There is the legend that Jesse James robbed banks to help widows lift the mortgage. Billy the Kid, who was twenty-one when he died, had killed twenty-one men, "not including Indians, which he said didn't count as human beings." He was tough and merciless, but New Mexico folklore recalls him as his mother's darling, a brave and

lovable lad who had bad luck. Mr. Botkin has included the exploits of these badmen, as well as of Wild Bill Hickok, who was quick on the draw but one day made the mistake of sitting with his back to an open door.

But if in legends desperadoes are embellished, it also follows that many tales show the worst sides of human character. Mr. Botkin says that folklore perpetuates human ignorance, perversity, and depravity along with human goodness and wisdom. Since folk tales express the feelings of those who tell them, they also express prejudices and mistaken attitudes and are often anti-social. And they do not always cherish the specific truth.

I suppose the ballad of Casey Jones, the brave engineer, is a folk song by now (it is included here). It owes its origin to the wreck of the Illinois Central's "Canonball" near Memphis in 1900. Casey Jones, the engineer, was well known and a Negro engine wiper started the ballad on its way. But ribaldry added to it. When the news of Casey Jones' death was brought to his widow, she told her children not to mourn, for they had "another Daddy on the Salt Lake line." So runs the ballad. Railroad men resented this slander of a loyal wife. However, the ballad continues on its way, perpetuating inconstancy, amid laughter. It records a specific untruth, but does it speak a general truth about human nature?

Tall Tales from Chicago

While this anthology contains many familiar tales, it also includes original work contributed by members of the WPA Federal Writers' Project of Illinois. This "Chicago industrial folklore" was set down by Jack Conroy, Nelson Algren, Edward Miller, and others.

While the stories have new occupational settings, they conform to older patterns. Several deal with the superman, the big fellow who can work harder as painter, glassblower, bricklayer, than anybody else. How does this story arise? Is it the inner desire of the workman to make his occupation important in the general scheme? Why does he tell about record-breakers in his business? It reminds me of an occasion when I overheard a painter and a carpenter arguing while working on the same job. Each was bragging that men of his trade could drink the most, without getting drunk.

One of these Chicago stories is a new version of a famous old yarn—that of the dog who could run faster than the train.

In the original story the dog disappears and the engineer thinks he has finally left him behind. Investigation shows that the dog has crept under the train to be in the shade while running. Railroadmen have a vast number of stories to tell, many of them based on actual experiences. The present collection includes one from the printing trades, "The Type Louse."

Carl Sandburg always has had an ear for the tales people tell. He has embodied many of them in his writings. He gives Mr. Botkin's collection a breezy introduction. He points to one of the Chicago stories as "a fresh modern masterpiece worth standing along side the well liked antiques." This is the tale of Slappy Hooper, the "world's biggest, fastest and bestest sign painter." Slappy Hooper once painted a billboard for a stove company, showing their latest model, with a good fire inside and heat pouring off. His work was so realistic that dandelions and weeds popped right out of the ground in the coldest January. The "bigger and better" legend, said to have been developed by big business, goes straight back to folklore.

Along Main Street

While on this topic I should like to direct attention to the collection of midwestern stories that John T. Frederick has chosen for "Out of the Midwest." (Whitelsey House, \$3.50). Professor Frederick has always been close to folklore. As editor of the *Midland* he encouraged writers to use the materials they knew and understood. Here he has chosen work by writers associated with the Midwest, but not necessarily limited to one region.

It is worth seeing how writers have used homely topics for their inventions. Here, for instance, is an example of the use of railroad routine by Harold Titus in a story called "A Little Action." The tension that can be generated in a train dispatcher's job is portrayed through the mixed emotions of George Hoskins, who hardly leaves his chair during the whole experience. The resources of diplomacy, tact, courage, and tolerance needed by a small town minister in Iowa are recorded in Hartzell Spence's memories of his father. Exact observation and adherence to the truth are characteristic of the selections from the writings of Willa Cather and Ruth Suckow. There is little in common in the styles of Sherwood Anderson, Della T. Lutes, and William Allen White, but each deals with homely phases of American life, one subjectively, one objectively, and the third with a touch of humor and pathos.

Professor Frederick, who brings dozens of midwestern writers together in these pages, reveals in his comment that he is interested not in what he wants writers to do, but in what they give him. If a writer strikes a true note, then he is worth encouraging. Some write better than others, and a few touch greatness, but all have something valuable to impart about the region they once called their own.

PALESTINE, LAND OF PROMISE, by Walter Clay Lowdermilk. Harper. \$2.50.

THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE AND ZIONISM has given rise to a mass of claims and counter-claims which tends to confuse the public. Moreover, the contention often centers on certain issues which are subsidiary rather than primary—the exact nature of the promises made by the British during and following the First World War, the "economic absorptive capacity" of Palestine, the extent to which Arab leaders speak for and in the interests of the masses of peasants, or Hitler and the Italian Fascists, or the small wealthy land-owning class. In such a controversy, one looks for serious, disinterested observers who might render impartial judgment.

Mr. Lowdermilk—Rhodes scholar, professor of forestry at the University of Nanking for five years, adviser to the Chinese government in soil and forestry conservation and flood control, assistant chief of the U. S. Department of Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service, and neither Arab nor Jew—was sent by the American government in 1938-39 to study the record and methods of land and water utilization and control in Europe and the Near East. In the course of this trip he made a particularly intensive study of Palestine, as a result of which he has written a book which goes far to fill a great need.

Mr. Lowdermilk has no personal stake in the controversy over Palestine. However, although disinterested, he obviously has deep convictions which make it impossible for him to be a mere passive observer. He is an ardent soil conservationist, who believes that the rise and decline of civilizations are intimately related to their methods of land utilization, their use or abuse of natural resources. He marshals abundant evidence of the fruitfulness and prosperity of Palestine and the entire Near East twenty-five to fifteen hundred years ago. Networks of irrigation canals, anti-erosion terraces, dams, aqueducts, the ruins of which he saw everywhere, made these lands rich and bountiful, and enabled them to support populations far above their present level. And it was plunder, exploitation of peasants and neglect and abuse of the land over the succeeding centuries, rather than climatic changes, which reduced Palestine and its neighboring countries to a desolate, arid, malarial land, inhabited by a primitive decadent civilization.

To this tragically neglected land the Jews applied heroic efforts, inspired by idealism and sheer necessity. Their land reclamation and settlement, their adaptation of ancient and modern methods of erosion control, irrigation, agriculture and husbandry, have constituted, in Mr. Lowdermilk's opinion, the most successful colonization effort of modern times. The fruits are there for the observer to see—a richly diversified scientific agriculture, a rapidly expanding industry, modern cities, a growing population and healthy civilization. He documents these accomplishments, and the undeniable economic benefit to the local Arabs and to

the many others attracted from neighboring lands.

Mr. Lowdermilk points the way for far greater development in the future, partly along present lines, and particularly by utilization of Palestine's water resources by some such authority and program as the American TVA. Perhaps the most exciting chapter of an exciting book is that entitled "The Jordan Valley Authority," which outlines a bold and comprehensive project for irrigation and hydroelectric power development modeled upon some of our own great projects in the West and Southwest. By such development, he predicts, an additional 4,000,000 Jewish refugees from Europe could be permanently and productively settled in historic Palestine (including Trans-Jordan), with continued resultant benefit to the Arab inhabitants and, by example and influence, to the entire Middle East.

Explicitly or implicitly, Mr. Lowdermilk has obviously settled the moral issues of Zionism to his own satisfaction. The uprooted Jews are not only desperately in need of a home and haven, but have already shown their ability and eagerness to till the soil lovingly, and make good the neglect and deterioration of centuries. He feels that the great work of reclamation already in progress should be pressed with the blessing and cooperation of the United Nations. His fascinating proposals offer a new and constructive approach to the solution of the Palestine problem. Who knows but that engineers and reclamation experts may succeed where statesmen and politicians failed? EMANUEL NEUMAN
Commission on Palestine Surveys
New York

DEVELOPMENT OF COLLECTIVE ENTERPRISE, by Seba Eldridge and associates. University of Kansas Press. \$4.50

THIS BOOK IS IN EFFECT AN ENCYCLOPEDIA of material on what and how much activity in the conduct of American society is carried on collectively, where and how functions. The degree of "socialization" of our economy is documented as in no other study. And the scope of the total effort presented is impressive.

Beyond these facts, however, the author looks for the forces pressing for collective effort; and as among the consumer, public and labor interests which might be influential to this end, find the two former dominant. Indeed the conclusion seems to be that they should be dominant, although the text is not sufficiently clear at this point. What part might or should be played by collective agencies organized around vocational interests of producers is less fully explored than might be desirable, even admitting the purpose to be description rather than theorizing.

The over-all view supports the conclusion already sensed by many students—that a trend to socialization in this country proceeds largely on pragmatic grounds. Whether a "private" function or service breaks down costs too much, assumes too much self-

...ver, is found to be more economically
 ...ndled as a public monopoly—then a pub-
 ...interest gradually focuses on finding a
 ...y to operate the service collectively. In-
 ...ed, how much the concepts associated
 ...th the words "collective" and "socializ-
 ...g" necessarily imply and require public,
 ...vernmental action rather than voluntary
 ...ion is a question meriting more explora-
 ...n in such a study.

An issue hardly considered which presses
 ...critical scrutiny and constructive recom-
 ...ndation is the degree to which adminis-
 ...trative processes and managerial controls in
 ...collective agencies are in fact democratic
 ...purpose and method. Collective enter-
 ...se with autocratic management may in
 ...tain circumstances represent a social
 ...n. But until the dominant premises of
 ...h old-line management are revised, the
 ...served may be for the common good
 ...ile the ways of serving it are positively
 ...ructive of personal growth on the part
 ...of the participants.

One sense that here is a record
 ...not a guide. It is a highly useful com-
 ...dium. But whether the forces which
 ...ught these trends and these phenomena
 ...to being will be disturbed in some major
 ...ys by the war, whether consumer inter-
 ...will deliberately encourage voluntary
 ...national organizations to assume certain
 ...ective functions, whether a stronger la-
 ...movement will seek a more creative
 ...in initiating economic activity in a
 ...war depression—these are interesting
 ...exigent questions which I am aroused
 ...ask of this book, without finding in it
 ...es to the answers.

The volume definitively marks an epoch
 ...our dynamic economy. It thus will have
 ...spread and permanent reference value.
 ...tor of economic books . ORDDWAY TEAD
 ...per & Brothers

NATIONAL TEAMPLAY

(Continued from page 289)

...th the CIO and AFL national and
 ...unions joined WPB and management
 ...establishing labor-management commit-
 ...in plants in which they had contracts.
 ...at war production plants are under such
 ...tracts. These organizations gave ex-
 ...t and detailed instructions to their
 ...bers to speed the establishment of
 ...able procedures and practicable con-
 ...ce habits. The job was analyzed, ma-
 ...e performance studied, material ex-
 ...ned, and methods explored to discover
 ...s to do it better, in less time and at
 ...cost. Rational human relations, occu-
 ...onal experience and technical training
 ...e coordinated into a functioning unit of
 ...ut. No week passes without reports to
 ...WB of the increasing achievements of
 ...e cooperative efforts in the nation's steel
 ...s, shipyards, aircraft factories, and
 ...ats making arms, munitions, and sup-
 ...s for the armed forces.

...is not surprising, of course, to find that
 ...joint action of these committees does

not confine itself to the immediate in-plant
 ...problems of production. Fully realizing
 ...that housing, transportation, living, and
 ...health conditions directly affect the pro-
 ...ductivity of individual workers and of plant
 ...production, committees in many plants ex-
 ...amined these factors and took action to
 ...improve them. The total impact of func-
 ...tions performed by the committees has pro-
 ...foundly impressed those most familiar with
 ...the work.

Already T. K. Quinn, director general of
 ...the War Production Drive, has suggested
 ...that labor-management joint committees can
 ...be expanded and made to function effect-

ively in the postwar period. Charles R.
 ...Riker of Westinghouse is likewise impressed
 ...with these possibilities. "There are," he
 ...states, "some factors in the present situation
 ...and particularly in the tremendous drives
 ...by the War Production Board for increased
 ...production by means of employe sugges-
 ...tions, which provide for us a golden op-
 ...portunity to develop certain elements of
 ...our suggestion system along lines which
 ...can be tremendously beneficial after the
 ...war."

Perhaps the one point upon which there
 ...is almost unanimous opinion among us is
 ...that American postwar security largely de-



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That is why Newspaper Institute of America bases its writing instruction on journal-
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 ...constructively criticized. Thoroughly experienced, practical, active writers are responsible for this instruc-
 ...tion. Under such sympathetic guidance, you will find that (instead of vainly trying to copy some one
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 ...ing, sports, homemaking, local events, war activities, etc.—things that
 ...can easily be turned out in leisure hours, and often on the impulse of
 ...the moment.

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pends upon our postwar ability to maintain full employment and, with it, peak purchasing power.

Today, virtually all our employable manpower is employed. War production and civilian needs for goods and services have called into the labor market practically every able-bodied man and woman, old and young, not serving in the armed forces. It is estimated that upward of 63,500,000 men and women are now enrolled in civilian occupations and in the armed services. Except for approximately 10,000,000 in uniform, these are civilian employees.

When Demobilization Begins

Last year we made and consumed non-durable consumer goods—military and civilian—having a market value greater than the total national income of 1929. When hostilities cease, when today's need for war production tapers off and demobilization begins, there will be an immediate demand to return to the old standard work week of forty hours in order to spread employment during the transition from war to peace. What would this mean in terms of money available to purchase goods?

The change from a forty-eight to a forty hour week would mark a heavy drop in wage income and in national income. A worker, for example, whose work week was reduced from forty-eight to forty hours, would have his pay check substantially reduced. If he were earning \$40 a week (part of it time and a half for overtime beyond forty hours) his pay check would drop from \$40 to \$30.80 a week, a 23 percent cut in purchasing power. And unless wage income were adequate, with other income, to purchase the present yield of agriculture, farm income would likewise fall. Take this prop from under farm income, and the market for factory goods and for various services would be seriously restricted. These facts revive unhappy visions of the depression Thirties. But it is well to remind ourselves of those lean and hungry years.

We had no national planning against that depression. We trusted to the genius of private initiative. We were to learn later that cooperative agreements cannot be reached by gentlemen who insist that their own private judgment shall prevail in all things. When major American industries were given self-governing authority in 1933 under NRA codes, we found that many of their leaders were unable to agree even upon trade practices. Can we expect agreement on so complex a subject as postwar utilization of our whole productive capacity and manpower?

Utilization of mass production facilities must be planned on a national scale, with management, labor, and government all participating. It is equally important that local business, labor, and farm groups help make and execute the plan. Exclusion of one important group in the national or local community from participation and responsibility will defeat any program. All this is demonstrated daily in the prosecu-

tion of the war, although teamworkers are not so articulate as the voices of disunity. But the record stands. It is a record of effective collaboration between management and labor, professionals and laymen, technicians and government. The result is an armed force of unprecedented size and striking power, sustained by a production that has outrun estimates; in many instances outrun needs.

The war emergency has brought to pass the effective mobilization of our capital, our natural resources, our production facilities, and our manpower. To move from full wartime to full peacetime production and employment is the only alternative to catastrophic depression. If we succeed in harnessing our vast war productive capacity to constructive uses, we can rise to altogether new levels of human attainment. The patterns of such a peacetime victory are being shaped in our war industry, in the creative teamwork between management, labor, and government.

THE GERMAN PROBLEM

(Continued from page 292)

In the interest of a durable solution of the German problem it is regrettable that the majority of Allied statesmen, writers, and thinkers are instinctively opposed to a solution which includes socialization of German industries. They are almost unanimous in favoring expropriation of landed estates, but this is only a minor part of the needed transformation of German economy. Nevertheless, most people shy away from the far more important expropriation of the major industries and the socialization of Germany's productive capacity. That such measures would break the power of the industrial barons they admit. But they are even more afraid of the resulting concentration of power in the German state. They frankly fear that in view of the traditional weakness of the moderate German elements, the centers of power would soon be conquered again by aggressive elements, and a new and more formidable national socialism would challenge the security of the world.

Superficially considered, this seems convincing. It overlooks, however, the important fact that without economic power, with their prestige destroyed by a second defeat, these aggressive elements could never hope to reconquer public opinion, acquire the instruments of propaganda, and subsidize such mass movements as the Nazi party. Therefore, they could not grasp the levers of command by which to direct this formidable machinery.

No attempt to solve a problem of such magnitude as the pacification of Germany can be undertaken without risk. Unless the world foregoes all hope of a permanent solution, the victors will have to chance some danger. The settlement I have suggested would seem to combine the minimum peril with the maximum chance for success.

Such an internal evolution is possible, however, only if Germany is integrated into the postwar world in such a way as to foster the development of democracy. The immediate aftermath of defeat will be occupation and probably administration by the victors, unilateral disarmament, economic control. But this stage by its nature can be only temporary. The stage should aim at the integration of Germany into the society of nations.

Germany in the Postwar World

It must suffice, here, to state that the reintegration of Germany can be productive only if it serves the dual purpose of preventing any future threat of aggression and of furthering the growth and preservation of democracy within Germany itself. It is clear that no aggressor nation in the future successfully imperil the peace of the world, the danger of German aggressiveness will not vanish permanently. Only if the Germans realize that aggression is bound to fail, will they understand that preparation—physical and mental—war has become futile and anachronistic. Then the evil ambition for political and military might which has played havoc with them and with the world will begin to disappear. The Germans will undergo a psychological change which will allow them to direct their abundant vitality to the pursuit of peace. I do not suggest that overnight this will make the Germans neighbors, but it will make them competitors in the legitimate business of civilization.

Democracy, on the other hand, will become the rock on which the German state rests only if the victor nations avoid a course likely to humiliate or ridicule the German democratic leaders in the eyes of their fellow countrymen. This, more than any other factor, undermined such strength as the Weimar Republic gained in its early years.

But all this must be supplemented by something constructive and positive. If Germany is crushed to the point of utter listlessness, with all capacity for rehabilitation destroyed, the people will lose their sense of discipline and obedience, their almost quixotic urge to self-sacrifice for some purpose beyond material well-being. The tremendous potential of the German nation will survive as a challenge and a threat to the world.

After defeating Germany, the victor powers will occupy it. They will divide and, for a time, govern and feed it. If they are wise, they will for a time draw a moral *cordon sanitaire* around the country to protect the Germans against the vengeance of their former victims and to protect them from themselves. If all this is done, they will confront one of the most difficult undertakings in the history of humankind, and one heavy with consequences: to give the Germans a new task to provide them with a new task, which allows them to consecrate themselves to a new purpose. Only thus can the U

itions hope that the collective spirit of sacrifice, which is Germany's second nature, will become a positive and not a destructive force on this planet. Many Germans became Nazis because the Third Reich appealed to their spirit of sacrifice—it was aggressive and brutal. To enlist this spirit in the service of humanity is the great task of the victors as they strive to establish a durable peace.

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NAME CALLING

(Continued from page 296)

Mother Goose rhyme. Yet I cannot deny that they managed to make me feel unnatural and uncomfortable.

To the Chinese, the word "Chinese" denotes refinement and an attitude of friendliness and respect on the part of the speaker. "Chinaman" gives quite the opposite feeling. In short, a great many Chinese immediately form an unfavorable opinion of a Caucasian they hear using that word. He is suspected, usually without justification, of feeling contempt for the Chinese. A high school student at present enrolled in a college course in airplane mechanics, thinking of withdrawing because the instructor said to him one day, "Now, little Chinaman, you must learn all you can about the airplane from us here so that you can go back to China and bomb hell out of the Japs." No amount of explanation can convince this boy that the instructor did not mean to insult him.

The Name Isn't Charlie

Perhaps even less known is the fact that there is a common English name with which many Caucasian Americans greet the Chinese and for which the latter have a violent dislike. That abomination is "Charlie." How the Chinese happen to be christened no one now knows, but it is common from Maine to California. "How are you, Charlie?" "What can I do for you, Charlie?" "Your countrymen are going all right, Charlie—they've got those damned Japs on the run now."

Unless it happens actually to be his name, I cannot find an American-born Chinese who does not resent this. Students and educated Chinese from China are no less provoked—they grow hot with suppressed anger when so addressed.

The reasons are clear enough. To be distinguished from the human mass is a matter of great importance to the individual. To ignore that individuality is to treat something sacred to him. Any person resents being mistaken for another, greeted with the wrong name by a lapse of memory. To toss at him a casual misnomer is to violate a basic human instinct. As to the Chinese, Charlie seems either a deliberate affront or the unconscious expression of an inner disdain.

Further, such a greeting is contrary to all Chinese etiquette. When addressing a person whose name you do not know—scholar, official, businessman, coolie—Chinese

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courtesy requires you to call him "teacher," or "uncle," or "elder brother," which, so used, are approximate equivalents of the English "sir" or "mister." It is the height of rudeness to omit the salutation.

A Lesson in Manners

I was once in a hurry to catch a ferry from Yaumati to Hong Kong and, unacquainted with the place, asked an old gentleman where the jetty was. Then I ran in the direction he indicated with a nod. For ten minutes I looked for that ferry. Then, to my dismay, I discovered that I had been sent in the wrong direction. It suddenly dawned on me that in my haste I had entirely forgotten to address the old gentleman as "uncle" and he had taken the trouble to teach me a little lesson.

This is not to suggest that in speaking to the Chinese, Caucasian Americans should follow Chinese etiquette and punctuate their speech with honorific titles. It is only to point out that people who place such emphasis on formal greetings necessarily find it difficult to be hailed as Charlie, whatever their names may be.

When a Chinese is called Charlie, he seldom expresses his resentment by violence of either language or gesture. Instead, he shows his displeasure in typically Chinese ways. If the name occurs in conversation, he may assume a less sociable attitude, and find an early excuse to leave the offender. If it is attached to a request for informa-

tion, he may profess ignorance, pretend deafness, or simply look at the offender in silence.

Obviously, this is not a constructive way for the Chinese to handle the situation. Americans are not mind readers. And they are, in the main, a polite and reasonable people, not afraid to admit mistakes and ready to correct them. And yet the Chinese, as a rule, find it difficult to offer a friendly explanation of this matter.

For several years a small town publisher has been soliciting my firm's advertising and getting it at regular intervals. Our mutual greetings always had been formal and cordial until a few months ago when for some reason he started to call me Charlie. I ignored it the first few times, hiding my resentment. One day I was on the verge of telling him his presence was no longer welcome, but the fortunate arrival of a customer stopped me. Clearly, it never occurred to him that calling me Charlie had anything to do with my sudden coldness nor with the withholding of our advertising. The only wise and sensible thing for me to do was to let him know how I felt, and finally I did so. He was both surprised and embarrassed. He apologized and assured me he never would make that mistake again in speaking to me or to anyone of my race.

Had I remained silent, I am sure he would have continued to call me Charlie, and I would have continued to nurse in-

jured feelings. Now our relations, business and personal, are cordial again. More important is the likelihood that the publisher will warn his friends against committing his mistake in greeting a Chinese.

For the Chinese, friendly explanations, however troublesome, are vastly better than maintaining silent resentment and withdrawing to curse offenders in the kitchens of chop suey houses, in the halls of benevolent associations, around the counters of art stores, or in college dormitories. Frank airing of grievances is a sound way to bring about better understanding. This method probably can be set up between peoples more swiftly and more effectively than exchange of scholarships and professorships.

Americans, in their turn, might examine their own conduct when they meet with a chilly reception from the Chinese. Before losing the stock criticisms, let them ask themselves whether they inadvertently called these people Charlie, or some other provocative name, be it in ever so friendly a tone. All too frequently the answer is there.

Damaging Repercussions

In the search for causes of friction between different races, we are apt to overlook these little provocations. Yet they are not unworthy of attention if one stops to consider their effect on the attitudes of

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individuals subjected to them. They tend to strengthen prejudices and false conceptions, and may crystallize into permanent hatred for the race represented by the offender. Often some of these embittered individuals reach places of power and influence. Then their warped attitude may have national or even international importance.

I always feel uneasy when an injured Chinese begins to condemn the Manchukuo dynasty and the corrupt Chinese officialdom, past and present, for the weakness of China today—the condition to which he attributes some insult tossed at him. For he goes on to hope for the day of a China so strong that no one dare insult the Chinese, no matter where they are. This is not a wholesome attitude. It pictures a barbaric future in which only citizens of a country bristling with tanks and guns will accorded common courtesy and respect. That little offenses can become great obstacles in the way of friendship and understanding between two nations is re-emphasized by the wartime governments of the United States and Great Britain. Both have taken the trouble to study the social customs of the people to whose countries American and British soldiers are being sent. On the basis of this study, pocket guides are issued to servicemen, telling them in great detail what to do and what not to do in these countries. The purpose is to prevent the innocent commission of all social errors that might have damaging repercussions.

What does this all add up to? Just one thing. That the human being is a very sensitive creature with feelings that are easily hurt; that every normal individual, whatever his race or creed, values his own individuality; and that any satisfaction denied by belittling him is small, while the resulting enmity may reach far.

LONDON EMBASSY

(Continued from page 279)

maker in Britain and somehow manages to accomplish a regular oratorical marathon every month.

One of his closest assistants is Victor Wybright. The engaging personality of the managing editor of *Survey Graphic* is sufficiently well known to its readers. They will be happy to know—and they would naturally expect no less—that he is doing "fabulously well," as the British put it. He enjoys great popularity in London with his happy faculty of bringing Americans and British together—and this in ways that make for swifter understanding of mutual problems and frank discussion of their differences. Many Americans coming to England on special missions owe him a debt of thanks for bringing them in touch with people who open doors for them and wise counselors throughout their stay. More than one of his associates has spoken



of the bedrock job Victor is doing—in laying foundations for better Anglo-American relations.

He has been especially active also in assisting the army in developing educational programs among the troops. One of his latest achievements has been to arrange with His Majesty's Stationery Office to bring out an English edition of that admirable book "Target Germany" (Simon & Schuster), which is an account of the activities of the United States Eighth Air Force.

Two long time board members of Survey Associates have also been working in London for some time: Fred K. Hoehler and George Backer. At the moment the former, who is director of the Division of Displaced Persons of UNRRA, is back in Washington for consultation. He came to England last fall after completing a grand job with the OFRRO relief mission in North Africa. During the eight months he has spent in England, his activities have been as variegated as they have been fruitful. Not only has he carried practically alone the whole weight of the complicated preliminary work for UNRRA, but he has found time for talking to the troops, both American and British, and for sitting in on a number of "Brains Trust" meetings, which is the British equivalent of "Information Please." Indeed, such is his popularity as a Brain Truster that after one of his meetings he came away with a rare and rich reward, a bottle of genuine Scotch whisky, which was presented to him by his grateful audience.

Fred has succeeded in establishing in a short time a quite remarkable range of inter-allied and British contacts. People come to him with all kinds of problems, for they feel certain of his sympathetic reception and wise advice. Always dynamic and cheerful, he has an extraordinary knack of getting on with his fellow human beings, whether these be "little people," red-tailed generals, or stuffy civil servants. His presence in London is such an asset not only to the Americans there but to the whole cause of democracy that it is to be hoped Washington will not keep him away from Britain too long.

As to George Backer, he is doing an important special job for OWI and is a living example of the triumph of brain and will power over physical frailties. All those who know him appreciate his fine qualities and respect him for his unselfish devotion to his exhausting duties despite the poor state of his health.

A Smooth-Running Machine

This list of American civilians in Britain could be prolonged almost indefinitely, and many people who are not only serving their own country but the cause of freedom and democracy with all their time and all their talents, have of necessity had to be left out. But the essential point is this: Here is a collection of Americans, different in age, experience, political allegiance, temperament, outlook on life, and background. Instead of getting in each other's way, as might easily be expected; instead of occasionally disagreeing with or even obstructing each other, as might perhaps happen elsewhere; instead of duplication, red tape, and bureaucracy—here is a streamlined team. They work with a smoothness, efficiency, and loyalty that are quite astounding. And they do the job under conditions which are by no means easy, especially when these are viewed against the uncertainties of the Washington political background. With the many administrative changes and reorganizations that have taken place, the men in London are frequently constrained to wonder what will happen to their respective agencies next—even apart from the vicissitudes of the coming Presidential election.

If this huge machine is running as smoothly as it is, special credit is due to Ambassador Winant's personal leadership. He has revealed himself not only as a great diplomat but as a unique organizer, for he has succeeded in welding this accumulation of interests and personalities into one harmonious whole. Taken separately, all his associates are Ambassadors of Good Will; but taken together, they are a powerful instrument for the common good which has been forged and is being directed by a master hand.

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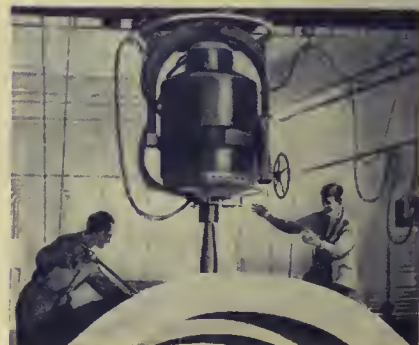
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BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM

Survey Graphic for July 1944

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GENEVIEVE NAYLOR'S PHOTOGRAPHS (pp. 320, 321, 323) echo and embellish Morris Llewellyn Cooke's description of life along the San Francisco River in Brazil. Miss Naylor made a photographic study for the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in 1942, going upstream by river boat. Starting from Pirapora in the state of Minas Geraes, and travelling north through the length of Baía to the town of Joazeiro—supposedly a six-day trip by the little steamer—the photographer found more than ample time to take pictures along the way. For the six-day journey took two weeks. As Mr. Cooke points out in his article, no work has yet been done to improve the navigability of the San Francisco.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT HAS "RELUCTANTLY ACCEPTED" the resignation of William M. Leiserson as chairman of the National Mediation Board and of the national railway labor panel. Mr. Leiserson is well known to Survey Graphic readers as a member of the board of Survey Associates, Inc., and author over the years of occasional distinguished articles on problems of employment and industrial relations. He gave as his reason for resigning his Washington post his desire to resume "certain economic studies" which he abandoned to enter government service. He has been named visiting professor at Johns Hopkins University. Labor, organ of the Railway Brotherhoods, states editorially that another reason for the resignation was the Administration's "mishandling" of the railway labor dispute last fall and winter. (See "Trouble on the Railroads," by Beulah Amidon, Survey Graphic, December 1943, page 493.)

As Mr. Leiserson's successor, the President has named Frank M. Swacker, New York lawyer, who has served as arbitrator on railway emergency boards.

Death of a Statesman

FELIX EBOUÉ, WHO DIED IN MID-MAY IN EQUATORIAL Africa was the first Negro governor of a French colony. More, in the dark days of 1940, his was one of the few French voices raised in defiance of the Nazis.

In our special number, "COLOR: Unfinished Business of Democracy," (November 1942) Egon Kaskeline told the dramatic story of how Governor-General Eboué—born in French Guiana, educated in Paris, steeped in knowledge of the Dark Continent and its peoples—saved the French African colonies for the democratic cause. Before the Governor-General's untimely death at fifty-six, the next chapters of the story had been written across the pages of history, with the halting of the Nazis at the borders of Egypt, and the use of the French colonies as an advanced base for the Allied victory in North Africa.

THE RECENT DEFEAT OF THE ANTI-POLL TAX bill in the Senate was not unexpected, at least to readers of "3.2 Democracy in the South," by Stetson Kennedy in Survey Graphic for May. Hardly pausing to catch its breath after its strenuous campaign in behalf of the measure, the National Committee to Abolish the Poll

Tax (127 B Street, Southeast, Washington, 3, D. C.) announces its plans for "marching on." Next steps will include "the raising of the issue with every candidate, and the building of strong state committees for the use of the ballot and the right to vote; later, sponsoring new anti-poll tax bills in the House and Senate."

IN MARCH, WE TOLD THE STORY OF HOW THE Arma Corporation in Brooklyn, N.Y., and two naval hospitals nearby were giving battle-wounded men a chance to help in the war effort and to work for wages while still bedridden ("Here's Hope for War Wounded," by Alden Stevens). Now from the Pacific Coast come press reports of a similar project being carried on by the army, in cooperation with Northrop Aircraft, Inc. At the new Birmingham General Hospital at Van Nuys, Calif., convalescent soldiers are helping fabricate parts for the P-61 Black Widow fighter. Ambulatory patients work in a well-equipped sheet metal and machine shop school, recently installed on the hospital grounds. The hospitalized men receive salaries as Northrop trainees, and as they acquire sufficient skill they will get the same wages as plant workers. Bedridden patients take part in the program

by sorting bolts, washers, and fasteners. Recently 5,000 parts were turned out at the hospital in one day.

A Bouquet Missent

G. L. BODINE, A Survey Graphic READER FROM Hales Corner, Wis., first called our attention to a mistake in the June issue: "In Eduard Lindeman's article, 'Trouble at the Grass Roots,'" he wrote, "I find that a counterpart to the Chicago Tribune, The Milwaukee Sentinel, is mentioned as an exception to the preponderantly isolationist newspapers in Mid-America. This is evidently a slip, as Mr. Lindeman knows that the Sentinel is connected with the Hearst publications. . . The Milwaukee Journal is the paper to be credited for its excellent stand."

Other readers wrote us about the same error, among them Lindsay Hoben, editorial writer for The Milwaukee Journal.

Mr. Lindeman apologizes for this unfortunate slip of his typewriter, as do the editors, for not catching it as they copy-read the manuscript. Both the author and the Survey Graphic are grateful for the forthright liberalism of The Milwaukee Journal, a newspaper known and appreciated far beyond the community it serves so well.



Lawrence D. Thornton

AMERICAN FACES

SURVEY GRAPHIC

Magazine of
Interpretation



Published by
Survey Associates

On Being an American

The feelings aroused in each of us, whether native born or naturalized,
by the consciousness of being fellow Americans in these stirring times.

FELIX FRANKFURTER

THE UNFOLDING OF AMERICA'S DESTINY, now see clearly five stages. There was founding of our nation. Washington's character was indispensable to keep the thirteen colonies together in order to achieve independence, and after victory his character was equally indispensable to fuse the thirteen independent states into a nation. Jefferson gave the nation its democratic vision. His claims on posterity summarize three essentials in the unceasing process of democracy: the Declaration of Independence symbolizes political freedom; the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom sought out an end to tyranny over the inner life of man; the founding of the University of Virginia expressed his conviction that neither political nor religious freedom can be enjoyed without systematic and continuous pursuit of truth through free inquiry.

Lincoln saw that freedom within a nation must be indivisible—that the republic cannot survive half free and half slave.

Woodrow Wilson realized that not even our own inner strength is sufficient for our country—that we are part of the world and the world must be safe for our democracy. It is even that turns out not to have been enough. And so the present Commander-in-Chief leads millions of Americans in waters of war scattered literally all over the globe, on land, in the air above, and the oceans below. He does so because with

growing unanimity we have come to realize that the world will not be safe for our democracy unless the whole world is sincerely committed to the ideal of democracy. That does not mean that other nations must copy our form of government, or that there is no such thing as a historic process, or that overnight we can turn a democratic formula into a working civilization. It does mean that democratic aims must be pursued with conviction and with determination.

Democracy is neither a mystical abstraction nor a mechanical gadget. It is the teaching of experience. In the long course

—By an associate justice of the U. S. Supreme Court who, until his appointment to that high tribunal in 1939, was for a number of years a valued member of the board of Survey Associates. From time to time he has contributed brilliant articles to the pages of *Survey Graphic*.

Born in Vienna and brought to the United States at the age of twelve, Mr. Justice Frankfurter here writes out of a full heart of the opportunity which America has afforded its people and the deep obligation this implies. Given as an address for "I Am an American Day" in the District of Columbia, the words seem especially significant as we celebrate a momentous Fourth of July.

of human experience democracy has proven itself the only form of social arrangement which adequately respects, and by so doing helps to unfold, the richness of human diversity.

The Bold Experiment

All the devices of political machinery—votes and parties and platforms—are merely instruments to enable men to live with one another, with full respect for one another, under conditions that bring forth the maximum gifts of each for the fullest enjoyment of all. Democracy furnishes the political framework within which reason can thrive most generously and imaginatively on the widest scale—least hampered, that is, by the accidents of personal antecedents and most regardful of the intrinsic qualities in man. Nature herself vindicates democracy. Nature plants gifts and graces in ways that defy all the little artifices of man. To meet nature's bounty we need political and economic institutions which allow these mysterious gifts and graces their fullest outlet.

Thus we are enlisted, old and young, in a common enterprise—the bold experiment of freedom. It involves the most difficult collaborative effort. It demands the exercise of reason on the largest scale, and self-discipline of the highest order. For it places ultimate faith for attaining the common good in the responsibility of the individual. We are, all of us, engaged in the most dif-

ficult of all arts—the art of living together in a gracious society. It is comfortable to live without responsibility. Responsibility is exacting and painful. Therefore in its most important aspect democracy involves hardship—the hardship of unceasing responsibility for every citizen.

Where the entire people do not take a continuous and considered part in public life there can be no true democracy. Democracy is always a beckoning goal, never a safe harbor. Freedom and democracy are unremitting endeavors, not achievements. That is why no office in our land is more important than that of being a citizen.

“A Confluence of Peoples”

And we can say with all humility that the United States has a special destiny because a unique fact gives it moral cohesion. No other nation is racially so predominantly heterogeneous. We represent a confluence of peoples who derive their bond of union from their common intrinsic human qualities.

From the beginning this country has bestowed upon those born under other skies the great boon of participation in its fellowship. The history of our republic is the story of the most significant racial admixture in history. Of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence, eighteen were of non-English stock. And it deserves to be recalled that when the Continental Congress chose John Adams, Franklin, and Jefferson as a committee to devise the national emblem, they recommended a seal containing the national emblems of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, and Holland as representing “the countries from which these states have been peopled.” From these and many other countries, foreign born citizens fought in the War for Independence, helped to preserve the Union, responded to the appeals for democracy in the first World War, and now, as the daily list of citations proves, share with their fellow citizens of native stock the glory of serving their country on every front. No less does our cultural history—the sciences and the arts—reflect the genius and labors of men and women who came to these shores from all the corners of the world.

If one faith can be said to unite a great people, surely the ideal which holds us together beyond any other is our belief in the moral worth of the common man, whatever his race or religion. In this faith America was founded, to this faith have her poets and seers and statesmen and the unknown millions, generation after generation, devoted their lives.

Yet a Single Language

The opportunity which America has afforded implies the deepest obligation. And what have those who have come here, beckoned by America’s hospitality, made of this opportunity? Let me quote what the President of the United States said about this, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Statue of Liberty:

“I like to think of the men and women who, with the break of dawn off Sandy

Hook, have strained their eyes to the West for the first glimpse of the New World.

“They came to us speaking many tongues—but a single language, the universal language of human aspiration.

“How well their hopes were justified is proved by the record of what they achieved. They not only found freedom in the New World, but by their effort and devotion they made the New World’s freedom safer, richer, more far-reaching, more capable of growth.”

I shall not call the roll of the conspicuous naturalized citizens—the foreign born who from the foundation of this nation performed distinguished service on the field of battle, in Cabinets, in the halls of Congress, on the Supreme Court. For the ultimate heroes are always the unknown—the multitudinous obscure people who have brought and today bring the dreams of America nearer to living truths.

This is our heritage. And in the confidence that we shall maintain it this nation was founded. In our day that heritage was challenged as never before. The democracies were finally roused to a realization that the challenge to the world was that of a “reasonless chaos spreading like a dreadful disease of the skin over the whole body of experience.” The check to that chaos, we confidently hope and humbly pray, will be given by the United Nations so far as the might of arms can save the world from the terror of such chaos. But to keep the subtler forces of disintegration in check, and to do so by the positive advances of a truly democratic society, will be even more exacting after arms will have accomplished all that arms can accomplish, indispensable as that is. To this task, which is the task of each of us, we are summoned—

“In the comradeship of an equal birth,

In the wealth of the richest bloods of earth.”

Symbol of Ourselves

Love of country, like romantic love, is too intimate an emotion to be expressed publicly except in poetry. For the poet has resources unknown to prose and can escape the awkwardness of self-revelation by translating his feeling into something at once impersonal and revealing. Action is another form of expressing love. And there are many, many young men, of every racial origin, who are today translating their love of country into deeds which have the enduring beauty of great poetry. One of our statesmen, Franklin K. Lane, himself a naturalized citizen, was happily possessed of a poetic vein and he put into words the meaning of America, making the flag our spokesman:

“I am not the flag, not at all. I am but its shadow.

I am whatever you make me, nothing more.

I am your belief in yourself, your dream of what a people may become.

I am all that you hope to be, and have the courage to try for.

I am song and fear, struggle and panic, and ennobling hope.

I am the day’s work of the weakest man, and the largest dream of the most daring.

I am the Constitution and the Courts, statutes and the statute makers, soldier and dreadnaught, drayman and street sweep, cook, counselor, and clerk.

I am the battle of yesterday, and the mistake of tomorrow.

I am the mystery of the men who do without knowing why.

I am the clutch of an idea, and the reasoned purpose of resolution.

I am no more than what you believe me to be and I am all that you believe I can be.

I am all that you make me, nothing more.

I swing before your eyes as a bright gleam of color, a symbol of yourself, the pictured suggestion of that big thing which makes this nation. My stars and my stripes are your dream and your labors. They are bright with cheer brilliant with courage, firm with faith because you have made them so out of your hearts. For you are the makers of the flag and it is well that you glory in the making.”

The Responsibility Is Ours

In days of trial and tribulation we go sustenance to those few whose compassionate hearts and courageous minds lighted way through past ordeals. Thus it is that Lincoln today lives perhaps more vividly than when he walked among men. In dressing the Congress of the United States on December 1, 1862, Lincoln was immediately concerned with the problems of slavery. But the view of life which informed his utterance is just as relevant to the issue of freedom that now challenges the world. Familiar though these words may be, make no apology for repeating them:

“The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then shall save our country.

“Fellow citizens, we can not escape history. . . . No personal significance or significance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. . . . We, even we, hold the power and bear the responsibility. . . . We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth.”

After the Armies—UNRRA

How, with Governor Lehman as director general, the Relief and Rehabilitation Administration of the United Nations will swing into liberated Europe.

GEORGE SOLOVEYTCHIK

D-DAY DAWNED AT LAST WHEN ON THE MORNING of June 6 the long expected invasion of Europe was announced by General Eisenhower. In the wake of the liberating forces field missions of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will start to operate.

In my stay in the United States, I found misapprehensions both about the nature of this vast international organization and about its eminently practical methods. It was my privilege to watch at rather close quarters the preliminary work done by some of the principal Allied experts before the first organizational conference took place at Atlantic City in 1943, and I have had the honor of being consulted by various sections since.

With this background, I should like to indicate as clearly as I can what UNRRA really is—and what it is not. It is not an international charity organization society operating on a worldwide scale. It is not an employment agency for providing congenial posts on the Continent as that is freed from Axis occupation. And finally, it is not a political instrument, either for presenting a substitute for Geneva or for shaping a Brave New World.

The purpose of UNRRA is limited in time, scope and constitution. Later on, the nations may join in a coordinated international effort to rebuild the world's economy. But what UNRRA is concerned with is not the initiation of original long term policies with far-reaching consequences, but with helping nations to help themselves to a sufficient degree over a period probably not exceeding two or three years, when they can again stand on their own feet and determine their own destinies. Its function is to supply food, clothing, medicine, and other necessities of life to peoples freed from the ordeal of semi-slavery and to help them, meanwhile, to produce by their own endeavors such articles as are necessary for relief.

Harnessing the Task

Clearly neither Britain nor America—and still less Russia or China—could undertake to feed all the victims of this war alone. Their resources would be altogether inadequate. Nor could any one of the four great nations provide from its own resources the necessary clothing, medical help, equipment and other vital necessities, such as transportation and administration, when some five hundred million people belonging to thirty-five overrun nations are involved. This reckoning does not embrace the Axis or their satellite countries. If the whole of Russia and if India were also included this might well mean help for over one thousand million men, women, and children, or about

—By the author of "London Embassy"—a lively closeup of the way Ambassador Winant has inspired overseas team play among American agencies (*Survey Graphic* for June).

Born in what was St. Petersburg, educated at Oxford, for 25 years a resident in Britain and now a British citizen, Mr. Soloveytchik is a contributor to *The Economist* and *The Daily Telegraph*. He was formerly editor of *The Economic Review* and foreign editor of *The Financial Times*.

Aside from his practice of journalism, he has a string of volumes to his credit, including such biographic writings as "Ivar Kreuger, Financier"—the story of the Swedish "match king," and "Potemkin"—a picture of Catherine's Russia. While he has been in the United States these last weeks, his newest book has been in press in London — "Peace or Chaos?" (Macdonalds).

the half of mankind.

A speedy and effective mobilization of resources on a worldwide scale is required if the victims of the war are to receive prompt assistance; and if liberated peoples are to recapture sufficient strength and stability soon enough so that they can satisfy their own essential requirements—and perhaps even make a contribution to victory before the war is actually over. Moreover, the shortage of supplies and the limited number of really qualified personnel for handling so stupendous a task impose a particularly heavy responsibility on the governments concerned.

Much thought had been given to all these problems and a great deal of preparatory work had been done before the idea of UNRRA crystallized in its present shape. For instance, in September 1941, representatives of the governments of the United Kingdom, the Dominions, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and their European Allies met at St. James's Palace, London. They agreed that each should be primarily responsible for the needs of its own

On the Record

When Freedom Rings by Herbert H. Lehman (*Survey Graphic*, August 1943)

OFRRO in North Africa by Fred K. Hoehler (*Survey Graphic*, Sept. 1943)
Moscow, Atlantic City and Points Ahead by Luther Gulick (*Survey Graphic*, Dec. 1943)

A Weapon Against World Chaos by Rilla Schroeder (*Survey Midmonthly*, Jan. 1944)

people, but that there should be coordination of their respective plans. The necessary inter-allied machinery was set up on which Washington was represented by expert observers and in which the USA fully joined after entering the war a few months later.

A year later (November 1942) Herbert H. Lehman resigned as governor of New York and President Roosevelt announced his appointment as director of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations (OFRRO for short). Its function was to organize American participation and finally, at Atlantic City in November 1943, an agreement was reached between forty-four governments—all the United Nations and the other nations associated with them.

Strategy of United Effort

Even neutral countries like Sweden and Switzerland are concerned in the teamplay, which offers scope for further newcomers and naturally touches on many aspects of international relations beyond its immediate problems. The vital question of payment for the goods to be supplied loomed largely in these preliminary discussions, and lessons of the last war were obviously taken to heart. UNRRA is to see to it that this time relief does not leave behind it a staggering burden of debt, and a scheme has been devised for funding all obligations at the end of its operations.

Governor Lehman was elected director general of the new organization at Atlantic City. Earlier, on his return from London, he had made some very definite declarations on the subject when he spoke in New York (June 17, 1943) before the Foreign Policy Association:

"The common dislike" (he declared) "of the concept of 'relief' on the part of nations that receive and nations that give, is certain to have a deep influence on the nature of relief operations." And he added, "In an era when political stability is dependent on economic stability as never before, no nation nor group of nations will casually commit their resources to a tremendous relief undertaking without striving to make certain that simultaneous measures are instituted to make possible the cessation of relief expenditures at the earliest possible moment. In some cases, the liberated territories will quickly re-establish governments capable, ready and willing to purchase the foodstuffs and goods necessary for relief and rehabilitation, while in other cases it will be desirable to advance the goods for relief and rehabilitation as outright gifts."

Thus UNRRA was conceived as neither a glorified international assistance board nor the continuation of Lend-Lease under a different name, but as an organization entrusted with the outright purchase, trans-



HERBERT H. LEHMAN

Harris & Ewing

Governor of New York for ten years; now director general of UNRRA

portation and, whenever possible, the sale against payment of essential goods and commodities. These commodities may range from fertilizers to razor blades, from a pair of pants to a railway locomotive.

The job of the UNRRA is to see to it that the available stocks are equally distributed among the needy. If some of the richer nations—there are quite a number of them—were free to buy on their own all the commodities desired by them, this would not only lead to an international scramble for goods and shipping priorities but would leave the poorer ones with nothing at all, and would result inevitably in economic and social upheaval. In this respect UNRRA has a vital function to perform as a coordinating, regulating and distributing mechanism.

The North Africa Demonstration

The eagerness of prospective recipients of relief to pay is beyond doubt even among the poorest nations. After the Allied landing in North Africa in December 1942, much useful experience had been gathered there by a special mission sent to Algeria and Tunisia by OFRRO headed by Fred K. Hoehler, a veteran of World War I and secretary of the American Public Welfare Association. Mr. Hoehler later came to London as the personal representative of Governor Lehman, and is now director of the Division of Displaced Persons in UNRRA. As he reported in *Survey Graphic*, his African field mission started delivery of food and clothing to civilians in such towns as Sousse, Sfax and Gabes even before the final victory. What struck him was that relatively little had to be given away. Most of the goods and services were paid for with the utmost willingness.

The North African preview was fruitful in other respects. To quote Mr. Hoehler: "If I were to put down the major lessons in war relief in North Africa, they would be these:

"1. The staff of any relief mission to an occupied country should be small and con-

sist only of technicians, and people who know the business of administration.

"2. Relief missions will find in every country people who are willing to cooperate unselfishly and without political relationship. Local governmental and private agencies should be used to administer relief under Allied direction so that the work will develop through the people assisted."

These observations are worth pondering, since far too many people and organizations have thought to rush into the complicated and difficult field of postwar relief and reconstruction overseas. To begin with, it is doubtful whether many openings will present themselves. In most cases, UNRRA is likely to provide only a nucleus staff, and to rely on local talent to do the work under its supervision. In the second place, Europeans will scarcely tolerate a widespread peaceful invasion of relief workers from abroad, however well-intentioned. The one great urge of the liberated peoples is once more to become masters in their own houses and they will never sell this right for tons of condensed milk or tubes of aspirin. They have competent men and women of their own to do most of the jobs that need doing.

Moreover, since each nation will be a contributor to the pool of goods, and since many will supply substantial funds also to the total resources to be administered by UNRRA, they will quite naturally desire to handle their own end of the enterprise themselves. How jealous all the participating nations are of their sovereign rights in this respect was demonstrated when the original draft of the UNRRA constitution was turned down—precisely because it sought to endow the "Big Four" with special rights and authority.

A Training Program

During my visit to the United States I was thrown with a very sound experiment UNRRA is making to equip its nucleus staff. That is, I visited what is probably the only school of its kind in the world—a training center preparing groups of men and

women of all Allied nationalities for the hard work awaiting them in liberated Europe. This is under the able directorship of Dr. Frank Munk, a refugee scholar from Czechoslovakia who has been a lecturer in economics at the University of California since 1941, and has recently published the most interesting book called "The Legacy of Nazism."

In the delightful surroundings of the University of Maryland campus, some fifty "students" (and there is room for two or three hundred if need be) were learning the geography, history, social and political conditions, the languages and various other "background" aspects of the countries which they are to be assigned. Few of them were complete novices in the field of social welfare, and quite a number could look back on previous experience in World War I or even beyond. In addition to the resident staff, the school is visited by special lecturers from many lands and as one of them, I can report a keen and well informed audience.

The normal "curriculum" lasts about two months, and in addition to its "academic" side it also includes much physical training. The participants—men and women—live under semi-military regulations; they sleep in dormitories and eat at a mess. In addition to the resident students, not a few of the principal UNRRA officers attend the lectures and discussions. There is a friendly and eager atmosphere about the whole place that augurs well for the future.

What is particularly impressive is that these future field workers look upon their jobs awaiting them with humility. Far too many uninformed enthusiasts have been prone to fancy themselves as future "Gauleiters" of Europe—a dangerous and a foolish attitude, if ever there was one. For the benefit, and also for that of the over-zealous who imagine that UNRRA can cure unemployment or solve every other economic or social problem that afflicted the prewar world, I should like to recall the exact wording of the preamble to the original UNRRA agreement of 1943 and also of Resolution Paragraph 11, passed at the first session of the UNRRA Council.

The resolution said explicitly: "The task of rehabilitation must not be considered the beginning of reconstruction—it is terminous with relief. No new construction or reconstruction work is contemplated, only rehabilitation as defined in the preamble of the agreement. Problems such as unemployment are important, but not determining factors. They are consequences of the same time motives of action. The administration cannot be called on to help store continuous employment in the world."

The preamble, too, was as clear and definite as can be:

"The governments or authorities which are duly authorized representatives have subscribed hereto,

"Being United Nations, or being associated with the United Nations in this way

"Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations, or as a consequence of the retreat of the enemy, the population thereof shall receive aid and re-

(Continued on page 334)

Reconversion in Wartime

The story of industry's first major shift from a war to a peace footing, as a plant and its workers obey orders to stop making bullets and go back to making tires.

BEULAH AMIDON

HOWARD HUTCHENS IS A TIRE MAN. WITH only two interruptions, he has spent his working life in the midwestern city of Eau Claire, Wis., (pop. 34,000) making rubber tires—casings and inner tubes for automobiles, bicycles, trucks, and tractors. He began in the plant as foreman; today he is plant manager. It is one of the five largest tire factories in the country.

The first interruption came in 1917, when the army called young Hutchens off the job. But even in the army he did not really get away from tires. Within a few months he was in charge of tire repairs at a southern army base. The second interruption came after Pearl Harbor when rubber was frozen and the plant, in the feverish spring and summer of 1942, was swung over to making small arms ammunition. That interruption is just ending, and he is going back to tires.

The Gillette Tire plant at Eau Claire is a part of U. S. Rubber Company. When it begins to roll again as a tire factory, it will use synthetic instead of crude rubber, turning out tires for the army, but also for farm and other essential civilian use. Gillette Tire is our first major example of reconversion to a peace footing. What is happening in the factory strung out along the bluff above the Eau Claire River affords a glimpse of industrial things to come.

New Plant for Old

Meanwhile, when I saw it in early June, the Gillette Tire was essentially a construction job. At a cost of some \$20,000,000 (corporation, not taxpayers' money) the building was being stretched to a length of half a mile, its floor space more than doubled, two additional stories piled on top of the older portion. Structural steel rose starkly at one end. In an adjoining section, concrete was being pumped into the forms. Farther back, foundations were drying. In the yard, equipment was arriving daily, to be sorted, stacked, numbered, covered, ready for swift installation. Water and steam pipes were being run, machine tools assembled.

One of the huge bias cutters (tire fabric must not be cut "on the straight") was partly installed. So were some of the presses and forges of the repair shop. The rest of 200 automatic vulcanizers—eight-ton monsters made to withstand an internal heat of 300 degrees F., and an internal pressure of 300 pounds per square inch—were huddled together at one end of a vast hall, looking like a group of kneeling elephants under their canvas covers.

Carpenters, machinists, draftsmen, pipefitters, laborers, hurried about in the purposeful confusion of a big construction job, struggling against wartime delays, shortages in the building trades, and an urgent

deadline. Many of the men were rubber workers who, two years ago, had turned munition workers and now were construction hands, impatient to be back at their own job of making tires.

A concrete pump panted outside one office window; riveters were playing their deafening tunes outside another; in the midst of the turmoil, Howard Hutchens sat at his desk, a big, unperturbed man, whose slow speech and unhurried movements belie his driving energy. He seemed to have plenty of time to talk about tires, munitions, manpower problems, and "this business of reconversion."

The Small Beginnings

The men who make tires say that "rubber is like printer's ink—once it gets into your system, you can't get it out." The brief tradition of the relatively young industry is a tradition of painstakingly acquired skills, of a predominantly male working force, of long term employment. The Eau Claire plant was started on a small scale in 1916 by Raymond B. Gillette, a Michigan promoter who had an idea for a ribbed tire with a "safety interliner." The "safety" factor, Mr. Hutchens is frank to tell you, was "mostly advertising slogan," but he adds, "It built up a reputation and sold a lot of good tires at that time."

The first tire was made on May 24, 1917. Now in the basement of the Hutchens home, it is going to be displayed in the lobby of the new building. The United States entered World War I that spring, and before the first tire was turned out, the capacity was raised from 50 to 100 tires a day. It soon was lifted to 500.

The company, set up as a Delaware corporation, got into difficulties in the "deflation" of the early Twenties, went into receivership, and in 1924 was reorganized as a Wisconsin concern. In 1931, perhaps attracted by Gillette's fat contract for Montgomery Ward tires, U. S. Rubber bought up 51 percent of the stock, taking a ten-year option on the balance, the controlling share of which was owned by the late Ralph B. Hutchens, Howard's brother, then president of Gillette. At its peak production as a tire plant, Gillette in 1937

—By *Survey Graphic's* industry editor who, two years ago, in "The Battle of Detroit" (April 1942) gave a dramatic picture of wartime conversion from autos to battle vehicles. Here she describes our earliest example of the conversion process in reverse, as she saw it in the U. S. Rubber plant in Eau Claire, Wis., which next month will be turning out synthetic rubber tires for the army and for essential civilian use.

was turning out 11,000 passenger car tires a day, 15,000 inner tubes, 4,000 bicycle tires and 2,000 farm tractor tires.

Tomorrow's Capacity

The new plant will have the capacity to double its prewar output. The expectation is that it will go into production by August 15, and be "up to capacity" within six months. The initial schedules called for 15,000 passenger car tires a day; about 2,500 heavy tires, running from four to ten times the weight of passenger car tires; and 14,000 inner tubes. Here is a big potential contribution to the 22,000,000 new tires set by the Rubber Director in his March progress report as the over-all 1944 goal for the industry. On the current priority list, headed by landing craft, tires stand number 2. As with every item on the priority list, production for war requirements comes first.

The reconversion of the Gillette plant was planned in the first instance to help relieve the urgent need of farmers and essential war workers for truck, tractor, and passenger car tires. But now, months after reconversion started, the army has disrupted the early schedules with a demand for a certain type of heavy tire. These "tires for X purpose," as they were referred to by U. S. Rubber's tire production manager, who told me about them, will reduce sharply the output of farm truck and tractor tires at Eau Claire.

In its reconversion to tires, as in its conversion to ordnance, the plant has had a tremendous asset in its workers. The first man hired by R. B. Gillette in 1916 is still on the payroll. In the management, the clerical, and the production force, Gillette Tire is manned by trained and experienced rubber workers. Most of them are local people, a majority Eau Claire home owners. They are used to working together. They feel toward Eau Claire and its major industry that "this is our town," and "this is our plant."

When the plant swung from making tires to making .30 caliber bullets, they converted themselves from rubber to munitions workers. Those who left during the lay-off for other war jobs did so on the understanding that they would return to Eau Claire when "our plant" was "ready to go." With reconversion to be done in this time of manpower shortage, they stood ready to function as construction workers, and a number are so employed in enlarging and equipping Gillette. Several hundred more are at other U. S. Rubber plants, taking part in a training-on-the-job program to acquire the special knack of handling synthetic rubber. The men, like the plant itself, are undergoing their second "conversion" since Pearl Harbor. The present situation will

be clearer if that earlier experience is told at this point.

From Tires to Bullets

Rubber was frozen on January 3, 1942. On January 4, the Gillette plant was offered to the government, to be used in whatever way would best further the war effort. At that time the production of ammunition was, for the most part, concentrated in federal arsenals and in the plants of companies which were traditional makers of guns and bullets—Remington, Winchester, and the rest. The army was clamoring for munitions in quantities far beyond the capacity of these sources, and simultaneously for the dispersal of the industry, so that in the event of possible bombing or invasion, there would be a steady flow “behind the lines.”

Early that April the Secretary of War formally approved the conversion of the Eau Claire plant to munitions. Dismantling had already begun.

Here was a tremendous task in itself. With the critical need for bomber tires, Gillette “rolled to the last minute” as a tire producer. And while dwindling stocks of precious crude rubber were being built into 600-pound bomber tires, it “just turned to and tore the place apart.”

The plasticator, weighing 45 tons, was the biggest piece of equipment moved out intact. Banbury mixers, in which the necessary chemicals are added to the rubber, weigh 65 tons apiece without the drive, nearly 80 tons complete. These were torn down into smaller units before leaving the plant. To move the pot heaters—huge cylinders of cast iron and steel—was a slow and tedious process, requiring a crib built over each pot to raise it out of its pit. In the end, some of the pots were blasted loose. Milling and calendar machines were reduced to small units and numbered for quick reassembly. Most of the equipment was shipped to other tire plants and installed, some was stored, and some had to

be scrapped as beyond reconditioning.

The design period for the ordnance plant paralleled the dismantling, and overlapped the actual conversion. To change from tires to munitions required not only new installations, but much new construction, including 73 buildings in a 600-acre “hazardous area” well out of town, where explosives and powder were stored and dangerous operations carried on.

The last bomber tire was finished on July 15, 1942. Operation as an ordnance plant started thirty-one days later. By the end of August, the first finished ammunition turned out by Gillette was accepted by Army Ordnance. Construction and equipment had been completed well ahead of schedule, and at a cost to the taxpayer under 50 percent of the first estimates.

Conversion of Personnel

Simultaneously with construction and installation went the “conversion” of the working force. The change-over from tires to munitions meant first a layoff of some 2,100 workers in the early spring of 1942, six months before the start of munitions production. Some of these tire makers found war jobs with little or no delay. A few (far fewer than on reconversion) were employed in construction. For many there was a period of anxiety, uncertainty, dislocation, and “loose ends,” in spite of the clamor for workers—skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled—from every section of the country.

Rubber men, both management and production workers, furnished the key personnel for the converted plant. Mechanics, department heads, foremen, received special training, most of them at an ordnance plant in Des Moines, Iowa. Before conversion, some 300 Gillette men had gone into uniform. Of the rest, all but about 60 eventually went over to ordnance. Around a core of experienced, trained workers was swiftly built a force which, by the end of 1942, numbered 5,850. Of these, about 61

percent were women, almost all recruited within a radius of fifty miles of Eau Claire. Few of them had ever before been inside a factory; a number had never worked for wages; many were housewives, the mothers, wives, and sisters of men in the armed forces. Their age range was from eighteen to sixty-four. In ten weeks Gillette turned a group of rubber workers and new industrial recruits into a team of precision metal workers.

For twelve months, Gillette operated without a single disabling accident. But some mischance, the perfect record was spoiled in the final month, when—of all people—the plant’s safety expert fell off a scaffold and broke his arm.

“Didn’t you have some qualms about tackling conversion?” I asked Mr. Hutchens, as he summarized the record of those strenuous months.

“No,” he said, quietly, “we knew we could make anything anybody else could make.” He added, “But of course there were headaches. Ordnance schedules were never firm. Requirements changed overnight. For instance, we were just getting into our stride, when there was a sudden call for armor piercing bullets. That meant a lot of additional tooling. But we met every schedule. Often there were increases the last week of the month. For some of us it meant a fourteen- to eighteen-hour day. But we never once fell down.” In June, 1943, the plant received the coveted Army-Navy “E.”

The Human Factor

Good industrial relations are pretty much taken for granted at Gillette. They are based on mutual respect and confidence established over the years. Thus a spokesman for management told me: “Your real technical expert is the production worker. We’ve never set up one of these formal labor-management committees here. We just work things out together. But it goes without saying that the best ideas com-



Photos from U. S. Rubber Company

Reconditioning tire equipment in the Eau Claire, Wis., plant which shifted from rubber to munitions, and now goes back to tires again



The reconverted plant will have double its prewar capacity when it starts to roll next month, making synthetic rubber tires

from the worker. He's the man who knows the job."

Similarly, a labor spokesman told me: The management here knows what they're doing. They can even work the Bedaux system so it's no real hardship. You can't go farther than that."

Gillette Tire workers were organized some years ago under a federal charter from the American Federation of Labor. Since 1935, they have been members of Local 19, United Rubber Workers of America (CIO). There have been two brief work stoppages which both management and union refuse to call strikes. In 1936, the plant was closed down for a few days as part of an organization drive that brought union membership up to 98 percent of the working force. In 1938, as the union puts it, "We shut down the plant while we rounded up that other 2 percent."

First as an independent tire company and then as part of U. S. Rubber, Gillette has operated under the Bedaux system, the "incentive" plan which as a rule is anathema to the unions. Under this plan, "task" is set for each operation, with extra pay at regular rates for individual output in excess of the "task." The "joker," according to union experience, is that management usually finds excuses for increasing the "task" whenever any substantial number of workers begins to exceed it in output and in wages.

Management at Gillette has made it a practice to confer with workers who feel that a task is set unreasonably high and

either modify the standard, or secure agreement to "try it out" for a stated period. On the other hand, management "stands by" rates once they are accepted by the worker. Even when the amount of incentive pay earned makes them "pretty costly mistakes" from the company standpoint. When tire production is resumed, the plant will operate again under an incentive system, but it will be called by another name. This will avoid fighting words and, also (I gather) the substantial royalty charged by Bedaux, Inc., to install that particular scheme.

The habit of "working things out together" did not wholly smooth the road to conversion from tires to munitions. The union resented particularly rehiring in the munitions program without regard to seniority.

As the union saw it, management could have cooperated with the workers better than they did: "The government was footing the bill. The company was relieved of a peck of worries. But Pearl Harbor seemed to change everything and we didn't feel we could kick."

"At that time," Mr. Hutchens explains, "the actual conversion was handled by the army engineers. The union felt they were left out. The whole set-up was different. This time we're writing the ticket. That 'we' means the union and the management."

By the summer of 1943, less than a year after munitions production started at Eau Claire, it became clear that the whole program had been over-expanded. Army

experts, basing their figures on peacetime arsenal output, had underestimated wartime capacity of the new and the converted plants.

"We had two things Washington didn't count on," they told me at Gillette. "One was know-how—so we could shift over fast. The other was what an outfit like this can do in a pinch."

By the spring of that year small arms munitions needs were being fully met, and an enormous "bank" had been accumulated. It was decided to concentrate production in the arsenals and the new plants, and to wind up production in the makeshifts, of which Eau Claire obviously was one.

New Developments

Meanwhile, things had been developing in rubber. In August 1943, William L. Jeffers, then Rubber Director, called together employer and union spokesmen in the tire industry to meet with him in Washington, to discuss a stepped-up tire production. The mounting needs of the armed forces and the home front for tires on which to keep rolling were outlined. So was progress in developing the synthetic rubber program, with a look ahead to today, when the production of synthetic has surpassed pre-Pearl Harbor imports of crude rubber, and when American capacity to make rubber has outdistanced our capacity to process it.

The question the meeting was called to answer was: How can we get more tires?



Many housewives, like these two inspectors, came into the plant as munitions makers

The president of Local 19 at that time was Harold E. House, a veteran tire maker, elected a few weeks ago to the Eau Claire city council. He was a union spokesman at the Washington meeting. Fearing that U. S. Rubber intended to construct a new tire plant, nearer the vast synthetic rubber plants in the South, rather than reopen the Eau Claire plant, Mr. House put forward the claims of his city and his fellow workers. He pointed out that Gillette could muster some 2,000 trained and experienced rubber workers, and underscored the factor of manpower in the tire production problem.

On August 16, Mr. Jeffers wrote the War Production Board, suggesting that since there was plenty of unused capacity for making small arms munitions, the Eau Claire Ordnance plant be released to reconvert to tires. He cited the supply of available skilled labor as a deciding reason for the move. The formal release quickly followed. The government had paid \$1,000,000 for the plant in the summer of 1942. A year later, U. S. Rubber bought back the plant, plus a new railway spur, for \$1,025,000.

Manpower—and Womanpower

Even with its backlog of rubber workers, Eau Claire has recruiting and training problems ahead. At its prewar peak, the plant had a payroll of 2,600 employed on four six-hour shifts, the standard peacetime schedule of the industry. The reconversion program will require some 4,000 employes, working three eight-hour shifts. Of these, nearly three-fourths must be men, according to present estimates. Management reports enough men "in sight," including those on the payroll during the munitions period, and older rubber workers who plan to return to the plant when it resumes tire production.

The experience of other tire concerns, notably the U. S. Rubber tire plant in Detroit, demonstrates that women can carry

on many processes hitherto reserved for men only. For instance, women are now employed on band building in Detroit (the application of successive layers of fabric to the "carcass" of the tire) and probably will be used on this process at Eau Claire. For the time being, the union views such innovations with tolerance. Pointing out that women workers acquire seniority rights to their jobs on the same basis as men, a union spokesman stated that "in normal

times men wouldn't stand for women on our jobs; this union is pretty particular about seeing the head of the family working." He did not venture to suggest what postwar adjustments might be considered necessary, beyond hazarding the guess that "once this emergency is over, women won't want these jobs, at least, most of them won't. They're just taking them out of patriotism now."

Like conversion to munitions, reconversion to tires has meant a large scale layoff for Gillette workers. Ordnance production ended last December 31. Since then, several hundred workers and supervisors have been assigned for special training in other synthetic plants. A number are employed on construction, about 400 in all, or some 40 percent of the reconversion force. This number would have been larger except for the opposition of AFL building trades. These unions "wanted their own members to do all the constructing, and also to sell the machines. At the suggestion that laid-off rubber workers be employed on these reconversion tasks, the AFL, as a Local 19 spokesman put it, "got definitely hostile."

After weeks of fruitless negotiation, labor leaders suggested a three-way conference of management, AFL and CIO representatives. Almost as soon as it was called the meeting threatened to blow up. Mr. Hutchens finally requested the AFL spokesmen to "step outside a while." He then suggested to the rubber workers that they "relax, and help us get back to making tires." The conference concluded with an informal agreement that rubber workers



Skilled rubber workers "converted" to bullet making, and now will return to tires

employed on construction would join AFL locals; but the locals promised to let Gillette employees pay the initiation fees (ranging from \$15 to \$150) by weekly or monthly installments, the installments to be collected only while the worker is employed on construction or equipment. Under this plan, common labor pays the AFL union a monthly installment of \$2; skilled workers (pipefitters, for example) pay \$4.50 or more a week, during employment as construction workers.

The New Rubber

But manpower is not the only production problem that the Gillette plant faces as it goes back to tire production. Synthetic rubber poses problems of its own. Chief of these is that synthetic is less sticky ("tacky" is the rubber man's word) than is natural rubber. This means, in manufacturing terms, that more processes, and hence more time and more labor, are required to produce synthetic tires. Because of synthetic's inferior "tack" and other distinctive qualities, the same plant capacity will produce only about 80 percent as many synthetic tires as if crude rubber were employed.

The price to the consumer is difficult to estimate at this time. Wartime use of grain alcohol as a source of butadiene as compared with cheaper raw materials, arbitrarily increases the cost of synthetic, and hence of synthetic tires. Further, the need to use cements in building synthetic tires calls for additional equipment to safeguard the worker against hazardous substances and fumes. At present, synthetic tires are considerably more costly than natural rubber tires. The differential probably will decrease under peacetime conditions.

Finally, synthetic's heating problem is "not yet licked," as Mr. Hutchens puts it. Today, this quality of artificial rubber means that synthetic tires restrict safe speeds of passenger cars. As Bradley Dewey, Rubber Director, pointed out in his fifth progress report in March: "All small sizes, including passenger types, jeep tires, and industrial pneumatics, are now made with essentially 100 percent Buna S synthetic rubber and cotton. One hundred percent Buna S and cotton are also used on all tractor tires." It has been found that one solution for the heating problem is to substitute rayon for cotton fiber.

Mr. Dewey's report continues ". . . on inter-city trucks and busses . . . overheating is so severe—due to heavy loads and relatively high speeds—and the properties of synthetic rubbers are so altered at high temperatures, that only by the use of rayon cord is it possible when using Buna S to avoid wasting rubber, manpower, and manufacturing facilities. When rayon is used in these large highway tires with varying percentages of Buna S, depending upon size, performance equal to that of prewar tires of even these large sizes made with cotton cord and all-crude rubber can be expected." But with the increased demand for large-size tires for "military trucks, bombers, amphibious landing craft, additional trucking incidental to supplying out-



Howard Hutchens, manager of the first major plant to return to a peacetime footing

lying munitions factories, and so on," the Rubber Director states that "some desirable conversions are now and will until next fall be impossible because of shortage of sufficient rayon tire cord."

Given this bottleneck, reconversion, even of a major plant like Gillette, can do little to relieve civilian tire shortages at this time. Available capacity and rayon cord will have to be used, not for urban and inter-city bus tires and farm truck tires, but to meet military needs for bomber, amphibious tractor, army truck, and many other tires on which depends our striking power at the fronts.

As both management and production workers at Gillette pointed out to me, synthetic rubber is by no means a finished product. It changes and improves month by month, almost week by week. There is no doubt, they hold, that it will develop new properties and broader uses, as the process and the product are developed. Plant engineers and production workers, "the real experts" in the view of Gillette management, insist that in a relatively short time "our synthetic won't be as good as crude, it will be better."

Some Unanswered Questions

No one who has seen American know-how in action can doubt its almost unlimited possibilities in the handling of materials, processes, and tools. But in large scale reconversion from war to peace, the human factor will be fully as important as raw materials and machines.

The Gillette story is this country's first major reconversion story in World War II. But it is a wartime, not a postwar, story—and for that reason leaves many questions unanswered.

Rather it can be said reconversion at Eau Claire has helped define more sharply some of the problems of the vast task ahead. For one thing it shows that cutbacks in army and navy contracts must be geared to the change-over of plants to civilian production. Gillette Tire has shut down twice in the past two years, first when it shifted from tires to ammunition; again (and for longer) when it shifted back from munitions to its peacetime footing as a tire plant. Both shifts meant jolting readjustments for workers and their families, though the change-over was cushioned by the wartime demand for manpower.

But what if Gillette's reconversion had come later on, with hundreds of demobilized servicemen from this area streaming home again? The change-over experience of Gillette, repeated simultaneously in thousands of plants in a postwar labor market, would mean, not temporary layoffs in one community, but large scale unemployment, shrinking demand, the start of depression's accelerating downward spiral.

Nor can it be overlooked that the shift to meet war needs was easier than the reverse operation will be. With the enemy at the gates, the armed forces order such-and-such items, listed in their order of importance. Here is a specific program and the emotional drive to implement it. But when it comes to reconversion not, as at Eau Claire, in the midst of war, but after the war is won, the task will be neither so definite nor so charged with patriotic fervor. Conflicts of interest, temporary boom markets, and above all, labor surpluses and mass unemployment, wartime banks of raw materials and finished goods, will be major hazards in the shift from war to peacetime production.



Photos courtesy Pan American Union

Branches of Brazil's San Francisco River, rushing over the great falls

The Falls of Paulo Affonso

LARRY BARNETTE



The river below the east falls

In height and volume of water discharged, the main fall (110 feet; and 85,000 cubic feet per second) is probably the greatest single concentrated power unit known.

This fall is divided into two leaps; one a comparatively wide and shallow sheet of water, somewhat like Niagara, with a drop of 70 feet . . . [Then] Nature grasps the gigantic torrent, composed of the waters of a majestic river, more than a thousand miles long, half a mile wide, and of navigable depth throughout its length and attempts to force it through a narrow gorge only 65 feet wide. As though not content with this effort to throttle the precipitation of a 300,000 mile basin, Nature turns this concentrated deluge in a hairpin bend, immediately before the sheer drop of (almost) 200 feet. Here we have the material for an aqueous spectacle which staggers the imagination . . . The impression conveyed by the tremendous shaft of solid water dropping in a single leap . . . into the boiling pool below, awe-inspiring. A shaft of water 65 feet wide and more than 100 feet deep at the brink, it seems as though one were gazing down upon a smooth sea-green glacier, rather than a rushing fitful stream. The feeling of looking upon water is for the moment lost. And then—the drop.

The impact of this solid mass falling into the pool below creates a disturbance so violent that this huge lake is one boiling mass of circling, roaring foam, spume, and spindrift. The mixture of air and water has too little substance to support any boat. Let it sink to its fathomless depths, to appear miles below in the gorge when the water has become a fluid once more. Just below the fall the boiling maelstrom rises in giant eruptive pulsations, mounting fitfully again and again up to smooth polished perpendicular walls of the cliff, only to drop futilely and sullenly into the foaming mass. One is reminded of a huge caged serpent, ceaselessly and fruitlessly searching with his writhing, coiling length up the glass prison walls—in the hopeless quest for escape. At times the pulsation rises so high as to make one fearful that it must inevitably overwhelm one, like a giant breaker on the seashore. There but a seeming few feet between one and the writhing bubbling mass. But always it subsides into the depths, with a soughing sigh of seeming resignation.—From "Transportation Facilities in the San Francisco River Valley" by Larry Barnette. Report 57, American Consulate, Baía, Brazil. November 1943.

Cinderella the Great

The Amazon's little known sister runs like the Nile, south to north — through Brazilian country as thirsty as Egypt. But the San Francisco River has latent energy to throw open a vast hinterland to postwar settlement and progress.

MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE

FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS OF THE RACE, THE rivers of the world have been used by man, when used at all, very largely for transportation. Here and there water wheels came to be employed as pumps and to do other useful work. Water-driven grist mills were common in the early days of the United States, and some of them are still operating. In specially favored spots, at times a river has given to a primitive people an essential part of its food supply. Many rivers draining a populated territory afford the main source of potable water and, unfortunately, they are frequently used also to carry off sewage.

But with the development of our ability to create electricity by converting the energy of falling waters, new vistas have been opened up in river and river-valley development. Rivers having an adequate fall, the desired configuration of their shore lines, and the proper lay to the adjoining land areas—in other words, the features that make electrical development possible—have become potential multiple purpose agencies of tremendous social significance, sometimes on a scale that staggers the imagination.

Early hydraulic installations were definitely limited in size and usefulness because of the difficulties in transmitting energy any great distance. However, when electricity, not mechanical power, is the product, this problem all but disappears. In the case of the larger hydroelectric plants the feasible transmission distance may run into hundreds of miles. This has opened up possibilities for selective populations and designed industrial developments; for widespread irrigation works, controlled sedimentations, an improved and balanced agriculture; for flood control, recreation, and vastly improved transportation facilities. And all these on a coordinated basis as contrasted with the isolated, more or less accidental, and detached functions heretofore carried on.

Land and Water Magic

Rivers flowing through undeveloped areas, such as the back country in Brazil, are especially inviting prospects for such planning, because no man-made works of any kind have been built up of a sort which preclude the best utilization of the terrain. This is unfortunately not the case with many of the rivers of the United States. Even low-head dams are uneconomical in certain places because they may flood established facilities. High-head dams on the Delaware above Trenton or on the upper Mississippi are clearly impossible.

In river, river-valley, and watershed planning the largest possible electrical development consistent with the lowest cost is the

magic wand that under modern conditions makes two or more blades of grass grow where one grew before. For *grass* read all those things which make a nation truly great through constantly raising the standards of living for all the people; which at the same time make possible the greatest freedom of action for the individual consistent with the highest welfare of the community.

From this point of view the Amazon, one of the great rivers of the world, draining an area as large as the United States and lying in five different countries, is not a multiple purpose stream. Aside from the power possibilities on certain of its tributaries along the 3,000 miles of its noble course from west to east, no opportunity for electrical development exists, or, at least, none has been recognized.

But from this point of view the San Francisco River takes on prime importance because of both its geographic situation and

its unrivaled potentialities for power. This is a connecting natural waterway to the interior and the only cheap easy overland route between the southern plateau and the northeast part of the country. Moreover, the stream runs parallel to the coast through a region subject to flood and drought. Flowing across five states, the San Francisco can be placed among the twenty-two largest rivers in the world. In the Americas, it is surpassed only by the Amazon, the Mississippi, the Plata, the St. Lawrence, and the Mackenzie. In South America it ranks third.

The San Francisco is 1,802 miles long, and from the headwaters to Cabrobo, where it turns southeast at an angle of 90° toward the ocean, it follows the trend of the coast. Below Joazeiro, in the state of Baía, begin the rapids and falls regions; there the river drops between 800 and 900 feet, and at last charges over the Paulo Affonso, one of the highest falls (*Continued on page 322*)

“Multiple Purpose Rivers”

Appropriately enough, it was a recent *Journal of the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia* which carried an article under this title—by Morris L. Cooke, a modern multiple purpose Philadelphian.

Of all the Founding Fathers, Benjamin Franklin fitted such a designation in his time. Moreover, it was he who with kite, key, and rapped knuckles, identified lightning and electricity.

Mr. Cooke returned from his government commission to Brazil fired anew with the latent power of electricity unleashed not from thunderstorms but watersheds. His contention was that not alone in the Americas but

“. . . in the Balkans, the Middle East, Russia, India, and China, civilized man is going to be forced to cope with the demands and the possibilities of some of the world's great rivers if the dreadful poverty and low scale of living for the mass of mankind is to be ameliorated and ultimately blotted out.”

After his graduation in engineering at Lehigh University in 1895, Poor Richard's counterpart worked not as a printer's boy but as an apprentice in the Cramp Shipyard, Philadelphia, and as a journeyman machinist at Southwark Foundry there. His work as consulting engineer complemented his public service as director of the Department of Public Works of Philadelphia (1911-15 under Blankenburg); and director of the Giant Power

Survey of Pennsylvania (1923 under Pinchot).

On the federal level, apart from commissions in the Spanish American War and World War I, he has served as chairman of the Mississippi Valley Commission (1933), chairman of the Water Planning Committee of the National Resources Board (1934); administrator, Rural Electrification Administration (1935-37); chairman, Great Plains Commission (1936-37); technical consultant, Labor Division, Office of Production Management (1940-41); and U. S. expert in the settlement of the Mexican oil dispute (1941-42).

In 1942, he was commissioned by President Roosevelt to head the American Technical Mission to Brazil. With his official reports long put to use at Washington and Rio de Janeiro, he has drawn on his findings and firsthand experiences in “Brazil on the March” to be brought out in July by Whittlesey House. Through the courtesy of the publishers, he has in turn drawn on Chapter X of that book in the accompanying article.

Healing Waters for a Wounded Earth

This is the first of a series. Early instalments (by various authors) will deal with the project to wrest “multiple purposes” from Old Muddy (the Missouri River); with developments under the TVA, and in the Central Valley of California.



Farmers of the San Francisco Valley cart their produce down to the river to be shipped



When the steamboat goes aground, men with poles use their muscle



Second-class passengers sleep in hammocks



The valley cowboys wear leather suits as protection against the thorny vegetation

Along the
San Francisco River
in Brazil

Photographs by
GENEVIEVE NAYLOR



Crude native carts and dugouts on the banks of the San Francisco

in Brazil. The electrical potential of these great cataracts has been estimated as at least 1,000,000 horsepower. Of this, probably 700,000 horsepower is available at the single site of Paulo Affonso.

Because of their inaccessibility in time, the falls of Paulo Affonso are little known to foreigners or to many Brazilians. They are ranged with the other great cataracts of the world by Larry Barnette, who is not only an observer competent to make comparisons, but possesses such unusual powers of visualization that one does not have to apologize for quoting his recent description. (See page 318.)

A Brazilian TVA

We in the United States were first to explore the possibilities of multiple purpose river development. We have demonstrated this for all the world to see in our experiments with the Tennessee River watershed, which includes parts of five states. Beginning in the early days of the discussion as a distinctly power project, the scope and purpose and vision back of the plans have been constantly widened until people from all parts of the world come in increasing numbers to have a "look-see."

Acting under the wide powers afforded by wise congressional grants, the Tennessee Valley Authority became stewards for the future of a region traversed by a wandering, unruly river, subject to dangerous floods, with a badly eroded soil that yielded poor returns to the farmer, a region so poor that the taxes could not support a good school system and a high rate of illiteracy resulted. The TVA has developed the water power on that river by a series of dams to control floods which have made the translation of the water into electric energy possible. Those kilowatt-hours have been sent into the farmhouses to make the work of the women lighter; to Muscle Shoals to create fertilizer for the worn out land and make men's work more productive; to the towns and cities to operate industries for the employment of the extra sons and daughters of the farmers. The result after ten years* is seen in the human terms of a prosperous people.

The government of Brazil is planning to use its powers in a similar development up and down the long valley of the San Francisco. At the Third World Power Conference held in Washington in 1936, A. J. A. de Sousa, director of the Federal Water Service, and M. S. Rodrigues, chief of the Irrigation, Reforestation, and Colonization Service, stated that it was the policy of the Brazilian Constitution established in 1934 to give precedence and preponderant influence in the utilization of hydraulic power to the federal government. To this it accorded control of rates. Under the Code of Waters created at that time, all contracts granted for the use of waterfalls and water courses must have as their objectives the assurance of adequate service, the establishment of reasonable rates, and the guaranty of the financial stability of the enterprise. In addition, this code is concerned with the utilization of public lands and the safe-

guarding of the public health. The Constitution of 1937 strengthened these policies. Thus the federal government has ample power to do what it will with the potential wealth of the San Francisco Valley.

Beginnings

More as a base line from which to reckon developments from now on, than as an anticlimax to the magnificent horsepower potential at the falls of Paulo Affonso, it should be recorded that one plant is already in operation there. This supplies 1,500 horsepower for the thread industry of Pedra in Alagoas—when it is not flooded out, as it is said to be, two months in every year.

Meanwhile engineering plans for the early development of a large block of Paulo Affonso power—estimated at 150,000 h.p.—are being worked out by the federal Minister of Agriculture, Apolonio Sales, under the direction of President Vargas. A natural flume between two solid walls of rock, with only minor and easily removed obstructions, leads to the edge of the precipice. With a low water fall of 250 feet, less 70 feet back-up in the flood season, an all-year-round effective head of 180 feet is assured.

Subsidies covering the carrying charges have been assumed by the federal and three state governments for a presently projected transmission system. The current will be carried 200 miles on a 220 k.v. line to Caruaru (in the state of Pernambuco) and from there on lower voltages to Joao Pessoa (Paraiba), Recife (Pernambuco) and Maceio (Alagoas). Approximately 250 miles from Paulo Affonso, Recife will afford a considerable immediate market for this power on the part of public utilities and private plants which now depend on high cost imported oil and cumbersome wood.

Further upstream are the Itaparica Falls with a head of 65 feet and a discharge of 23,660 feet per second at low water. Here a 5,000 horsepower plant under construction will give a start to much needed irrigation. The Itaparica region is the site for a planned colonization scheme based on the agricultural and industrial development of local resources. Fostered by Minister Sales, the project includes raising 400,000 chickens annually to furnish Recife and Baía with eggs and chicken meat from the Itaparica dressing plant. The plan also envisions a slaughtering and meat packing plant to utilize locally the cattle reared in the region and now driven on foot 400 miles to the coast. Through the good offices of Dr. Thomas Parran, Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, and his associates, plans for a fifty-bed hospital to be located at Itaparica have been furnished to Minister Sales.

The aim is to create an industrial and agricultural center that will offer more work possibilities for the inhabitants of this part of the San Francisco Valley. The program will ultimately include a textile plant to work the fiber *caroa*, which grows wild in great profusion in the region, and is a substitute for jute in the making of burlap. American manufacturers are impressed with its possible value for linings in men's wear. The problems of its manufacture are widely different from those of

cotton. Plans for a hydroelectric cooperative development to serve the *caroa* growing area have been made by the Brazilian authorities. One of the requirements of this mill is an adequate supply of water to wash the fiber, after the outer coating has been stripped from it, and remove the dust that is a menace to the health of the workers who weave it.

The projected plant on the San Francisco River will be large enough to be operated economically and provide for a single-shift capacity of 2,204,600 pounds by weight of finished burlap a year. Employing perhaps between 350 and 400 workers, the project is only important perhaps as pointing toward the future industrialization of the valley.

If and when these burlap bags can be fabricated at Itaparica a journey of some 3,000 miles will be saved. The desiccated fiber is now shipped up river to the railroad and on to São Paulo, the rising major industrial center of southern Brazil. There it is made into bags which are sent by sea back to Baía, where the fiber originated.

The entire San Francisco Valley is in truth lacking in transportation. No work is as yet under way to improve the navigability of the river, and the poorly adapted steamers do not have the capacity to take care of the needs. Sailing and hand-driven barges are still in use. It has been suggested that at the close of the war many of the craft used in landing troops on enemy shores would be available at a minimum cost for use on this and other Brazilian inland waterways.

The roads are of dirt and when it rains they become impassable. No railroad runs through the valley, although rail contact are made at three points. For the most part forms of animal transportation (burros and ox carts) connect the interior with the river.

Looking Back

The original causes for settlement of the San Francisco Valley were to obtain its gold, its Indians for slaves, its pasture for cattle. Beginning about the middle of the sixteenth century a series of expeditions were sent there, but none was successful. Their aim was not to build an economy but to take away everything on which they could put their hands. Later, land was granted in large tracts, although there still exist large areas of public domain. An early grazing economy was followed by the development of agriculture.

The inhabitants are mostly *caboclo*, racial type resulting from the mixture for more than three centuries of whites, Indians and, in lesser numbers, Negroes.

The total population of the valley itself is 1,040,182, occupying an area of 116,500 square miles; the river, however, drains a basin covering 258,921 square miles, with a population of 3,741,309.

With the decadence of the gold industry and the opening of other regions, the economic importance of this basin, which rendered many services to the Brazilian nation, decreased. Emigration is still going on to progressive São Paulo. Some 40,000 people move up and down the river a

*See "TVA: Democracy on the March" by David E. Lilienthal, Harper, 1944.

nually, from and to the coffee lands of the south. They are called *Baianos* (natives from Baía), but only 15 percent are actually such. Other important elements in this movement are the low wages in the valley and an abnormal taxation system, which does not suit conditions. After three or five years of work in São Paulo, the *Baianos* return, well fed, well clothed, and healthy, with some money that they have made as tenants in the south to expend in their home villages. This population shift, going on all year round, brings with it social instability in a region that could well feed millions.

As things stand, the basis of the diet of the people of the valley is *farinha* (manioc flour), dried meat (*carne seca* and *carne de sol*), fish from the river and lakes, and brown beans. Undernourishment, unsanitary conditions, and extreme poverty contribute to a startling variety of diseases and a high deathrate. Public instruction is scarce and primitive, and over a wide area nonexistent. The population is very superstitious.

Besides those who thus struggle for a livelihood, there are two small groups with a very different type of life. These are the government officials and the *fazendeiros*, plantation owners or operators who are usually also the traders. Generalizing, we can say that all others live within the shadow of the *fazendeiro*. Before the Vargas regime these rural establishments had their armed men to fight against other *fazendeiros*, or even against cities.

Incipient Cities

The San Francisco Valley has some urban centers, but these are so distant one from another that they cannot put their effort and resources together for the solution of their main problems. From a general point of view, one notes two more important clusters of population—one at the headwaters, another at the mouth of the San Francisco.

That in the upper valley bases its economy on mining, grazing, and agriculture. There are large deposits of iron ore, and close by are the great consumption markets of the south. This region is relatively well served by transportation and is developing.

The population cluster near the mouth is close to sea transportation, with its economy based on agriculture and grazing, and owes its development to the colonial sugar cycle. It is growing steadily. With access by sea to great markets, reliable rains, and potential hydroelectric power, here is a potentially great port if some day the San Francisco Valley develops its hinterland.

Between these two regions is the large area of dispersed settlement and low standards of living, separated by mountains from the great centers of progress. Its economy is based on raising poor-grade cattle of mixed breeds, on crops of local use and value, on very small yields of native vegetal wealth, and on the extraction of quartz crystals. The natural resources of the region still await research and exploitation.

Cattle raising is the valley's principal occupation, and the great amount of hides (cattle, goat, and wild animal) inspired a

historian to place it in the "leather age." The valley cowboy (*vaqueiro*), to avoid the thorny *caatinga* vegetation, wears a leather suit (*roupa de couro*) when herding the livestock, which runs wild.

Looking Ahead

The San Francisco Valley for the most part then, is a valley of poor people—poor because of drought, flood, some worn out and much eroded land, disease, ignorance, lack of transportation and lack of industrial opportunities.

What the United States has done for the people of the Tennessee Valley through the Tennessee Valley Authority, Brazil can do for those in the basin of the San Francisco. Much of this must necessarily be a long time development, but the start can be made—in fact is being made—as a war measure. If the reviving talk in Brazil of permitting foreign colonization, Jewish and otherwise, materializes in official action, it would appear that here are areas where settlements—properly planned—might succeed in a large way. To quote Mr. Barnette:

"The destiny of this vast region of 300,000 square miles is inextricably linked with the falls of Paulo Affonso. . . . Had the San Francisco River been open to navigation from Pirapora to the Atlantic, this tremendous river basin would have been the center of population of Brazil, and Brazil the Egypt of the Western world. Instead, northeastern Brazil is the Sahara of the hemisphere. . . .

"The San Francisco . . . offers irrigable acreage as large as that of cultivated Egypt. Its annual inundation, like that of the Nile (that other great northward flowing river of the five continents) covers its banks with rich alluvial silt each year, to a width of from ten to twenty miles, over a course of more than 1,000 miles, from the mountains at its source to the lowlands at the sea. A Ludwig may some day write the story of its frustration.

"Perhaps nowhere in the world today does there exist so vast a potential agricultural and industrial asset . . . climate absolutely frost-free; soil of the richest; area

almost limitless; power for the taking; transportation for the production, no matter how great its volume might be . . . Anyone familiar with the harnessing of the Nile, the taming of the Colorado, the dredging of the Panama Canal . . . will realize that the job will be done, when and if the economy of Brazil, and of the modern world, requires that it be done."

All past history suggests that the execution of such a stupendous task as harnessing the waters of Paulo Affonso, and thereby opening up the vast possibilities of the San Francisco Valley, would normally result from the imagination, devotion, and competence of a single individual. Who is there to suggest that, here in the U.S.A., there would have been a Tennessee Valley Authority had it not been for Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska? Similarly, Brazilians generally will admit that the fruition of the Volta Redonda steelworks and all it signifies is largely the result of lifelong absorption in the idea by Edmundo de Macedo Soares.

Those who sense the potentialities of the San Francisco and what the valley may come to mean to the Brazilian nation, should pray that some such individual—preferably a young man—should so steep himself in the political, technical, economic, and social factors bearing on this development that through the years and by his inspiration more and more people can be rallied to the cause.

As I wrote to the distinguished Brazilian who at the start encouraged our mission to study the San Francisco:

"In succeeding months we have learned more and more about this great valley, about its early days, the drama of its gold rush and its prosperous *fazendas*, about its majestic waterfalls.

"The ultimate development of this watershed has become such a reality in prospect that we can all but hear the hum of the turbines at Itaparica and Paulo Affonso and the laughter of children in happy homes given by the San Francisco Valley to refugees from the nightmare of war-torn Europe, as well as to your own people."



Everywhere in the valley hides can be seen drying in the sun

Philadelphia's Stitch in Time

The story of the Fellowship Commission, through which one American community uses a new strategy in preventing racial conflict.

AVIS D. CARLSON

FROM PRETENDING THAT THE RACE PROBLEM does not exist, Americans have swung to the opposite extreme of fearing trouble in their communities almost any day. The result is a kind of national panic in which racial and religious antagonisms seem like demonic forces, against which there are no resources except the conversion of the individual heart to good will—always an extraordinarily slow process and just now much too slow.

Fortunately, some of the people most actively concerned with the problem are beginning to see that healthy racial and religious relations are matters for which the community must take responsibility. Education and sanitation involve the opinions and emotions of the individual; but every pulpit, newspaper, and radio station in the country could keep up a year-round campaign of exhorting the individual to educate his children and dispose of his sewage properly, and still the job would not get done. Only through organized community facilities and pressures is there any hope of solving such problems this side of the millennium.

As a result of this new concept, many cities are experimenting in one way or another with the community approach to inter-cultural antagonisms. Washington, for instance, has its Citizens' Committee on Race Relations. St. Louis has its Race Relations Commission. Philadelphia has its Fellowship Commission. While such groups are different in some respects, they are all based on the premise that racial and religious tensions must be met by people from all levels of society, by whites and Negroes, Christians and Jews, working together along organized channels. This is something new in American life. If it succeeds, few of all the things we have been learning in these event-packed war years are more important.

At least one of the experiments has been going on long enough to show results. They are so good that the story of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission is decidedly worth telling.

Philadelphia's Race Problem

Like other centers of war industry, the City of Brotherly Love is strained and overcrowded. Philadelphia has its tradition of tolerance, but it also has its hate groups. It has its Quakers, but even in 1940 it had five branches of the Ku Klux Klan with a membership of some 10,000. At that time there were 254,000 Negroes and 275,000 Jews in a total population of 2,000,000.

Since 1940, more than 100,000 Negroes have come from the South to work in the war plants. Because the real estate interests have refused to open any new districts to them, this influx has been packed in among

the already large and crowded Negro population. In some parts of town as many as fifteen Negro families live on a court with only one water faucet. Recreational facilities are very meager.

Some people feel that the incoming of so many southern Negroes along with thousands of southern whites in the federal agencies moved from Washington has been an important factor in increasing racial feeling. Others think that the mere fact that Negroes now have money in their pockets has been the chief irritant. Certainly the general striving among Negroes toward more complete equality is involved.

At any rate, racial tension has been increasing alarmingly. One cannot spend any length of time in the city without hearing wild talk on both sides of the color line. Among Negroes, as everywhere, the mood is one of rising impatience. As one prospective draftee put it, "If I'm to fight for democracy, I'd rather do it on the streets of Philadelphia."

In the same way anti-Semitism flourishes under the very shadow of the great Quaker's statue on City Hall. In fact, not long ago a fanatical "Mother" stood in front of that building and shouted in a loud voice: "Only Jews, communists, and aliens can get permanent jobs with the government." Poisonous rumors drift constantly through the town, and anti-Semitic sheets often are distributed at the big war plants.

The Growth of the Plan

At the same time Philadelphia has its host of individuals and groups who look upon the situation with shame and anxiety. The Philadelphia Fellowship Commission makes it possible for those groups and individuals to do something practical toward relaxing the tensions instead of impotently watching them increase until an "incident" occurs.

The commission did not spring suddenly into being. It was fully a year in the process of formation. And back of that was a considerable period of cooperative undertakings between four Philadelphia agencies directly interested in combating racial and religious tensions—the Race Relations Committee of the Federation of Churches, the Committee on Race Relations of the Society of Friends, the Anti-Defamation League, and Fellowship House. This last

—By a well known reporter of social experiment and progress. Mrs. Carlson knows at firsthand many aspects of the American scene. A native of Kansas, a graduate of the University of Illinois, a former resident of Washington, D. C., and of Philadelphia, Mrs. Carlson now makes her home in Missouri.

is a settlement house in a Negro district which has as its primary activity the training of young people of both races and all creeds in racial understanding.

Feeling a need to pool resources more effectively, the directors of the four groups got together in 1940 and listed other organizations and some individuals who, they felt, might like to join them in a more formal cooperation. Through this process the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the International Institute (dealing with the foreign born) were added to the founding groups. After careful discussion and planning, the Fellowship Commission was organized in October 1941. Later, when the National Conference of Christians and Jews opened an office in Philadelphia, it also became part of the commission. From the beginning, the commission has had the cooperation of leading Catholic laymen in the community.

The Set-up

Much of the success of the commission has undoubtedly been due to its simple organization structure. It has no budget and maintains no offices, only a mailing address at Fellowship House, the director of which is also secretary of the commission. The executive directors of the seven groups form what is called the executive staff. Because they work with interracial and inter-cultural problems professionally, they serve as the ears and nerve center of the commission and do most of its leg work.

Beyond them are twenty-one "commissioners." (Originally fourteen in number recently it was found advisable to add the presidents of the seven participating organizations.) Because of the peculiar importance of these commissioners in the work of the organization and because everybody who hears of the Fellowship Commission is curious about the basis for their choice, it may be worth while to list them along with the groups or fields of activity in which they have leadership. It should be stressed, however, that in their work as commissioner they function as individuals, not as representatives.

Religion: The Rev. George A. Trowbridge, Episcopal; Rabbi Max D. Klein, Jewish; Bishop David Sims, African Methodist Episcopal; Dr. Ross D. Murphy, president, Federation of Churches.

Schools: Tanner G. Duckrey, assistant superintendent of schools; Dr. William Henry Welsh, former associate superintendent of schools.

Women: Mrs. Daniel Poling; Mrs. Curt Bok.

Veterans: William I. Stauffer, former county commander, American Legion.

Government: Judge Gerald F. Flood; Judge Herbert Goodrich.

Civic Groups: Jerome J. Rothschild, president, Anti-Defamation League; Dr. Robert L. Johnson, president, Temple University; Clarence E. Pickett, executive secretary, American Friends Service Committee; Theodore Spaulding, president, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Dr. Fred D. Wentzel, president, Fellowship House; Mrs. Bernard Waring, chairman, Committee on Race Relations, Society of Friends; Dr. Roger Wells, president, International Institute.

Business: Dale Purves, vice-president, Stetson Hat Company.

Labor: Merlin D. Bishop, CIO; Joseph McDonough, AFL.

These names are important in Philadelphia not only for position and organization, but for the quality of the individuals who bear them. They are in no sense window-dressing. They take their place on the commission seriously and work faithfully. They are that kind of people.

How It Works

When a bad situation begins to develop somewhere in the city, news of it soon reaches one or more members of the executive staff. It is then discussed by staff and commissioners and plans are laid for coping with it. The course of action decided upon varies with the specific difficulty. It may be assigned to one or more of the commissioners as their special concern, or a committee from the staff may tackle it. Sometimes publicity is used, sometimes not.

In December 1942, for instance, trouble began to brew in one of the big shipyards. Apparently by accident but with alarming frequency, tools or materials "fell" from upper levels on Negroes or Jews working below. Or men carrying planks on their shoulders would "run into" Negro, Jewish, or Italian workers. Anti-Semitic scurrilities kept appearing on the bulletin boards. Allowed to go on, the situation could have had dangerous consequences—one of which would have been a drop in production.

The commission took hold. Since the shipyard union was affiliated with the CIO, the logical commissioner for the job was Merlin Bishop. His procedure was direct and civilized. First he asked the shop stewards to check the accuracy of the reports. When they found them true, he arranged for meetings with key people in different departments of the yard. At these meetings he skilfully led the men to "talk out" their grievances and prejudices.

When they had had their say, he talked to them quietly, explaining that the Hitler game was to destroy democracy by getting Americans to hate each other. To illustrate his points he used the pamphlet "Divide and Conquer." He also gave his listeners a folder, published by the commission, called "This Is the Army," which shows pictures of Philadelphia servicemen of various national and religious strains. Then he asked these key workers to go back to the plant and use their influence. They responded well, and the atmosphere cleared.

All this was done without fanfare. In

fact, it is doubtful whether the best reporter in town would have detected anything in it worth writing up. A labor leader went over to a shipyard and talked with his fellow unionists—that was all. Nevertheless, something important happened, not only for Philadelphia and war production, but for all America. A new technique in democratic education was demonstrated.

In another and more spectacular case, full use was made of publicity. The Richard Allen Homes is a low cost housing project erected in an area which had been mixed but predominantly Negro. About the time it was finished, the same hue and cry that was raised in Detroit about the Sojourner Truth project was heard in Philadelphia: "Turn the houses over to white defense workers."

Philadelphia Negroes were, of course, incensed. But nothing they could have done by themselves would have had much effect except further to muddy the waters.

The commission first went after the facts. A survey showed that there was no shortage of housing for defense workers. Two hundred units available to them were vacant and 3,500 more were under construction or in the blueprint stage. But the 500 Negro families who had been moved out when their slum homes were razed had no decent place to go. The commission broke the story to the newspapers.

At this point, the peculiar value of its organization structure came into clear focus. Besides going to the newspapers, the commission took the facts to its peripheral organizations. A glance at the seven groups pooled in the commission will give some idea of the numbers which can be reached.

In this case literally hundreds of church, civic, and other agencies throughout the city went to bat. So many letters and telegrams were sent to newspapers and housing authorities that results were almost automatic, as they always are when community feeling unites on an issue. In the end, the Richard Allen Homes were occupied by the families for whom they were intended. What is more, moving day was a gala occasion celebrated by both white people and Negroes, not a day to make the city hang its head in shame for years to come.

Staff Action

Sometimes the executive staff itself handles a crisis without calling upon the commissioners. One such time was when a Negro couple moved into a block which long had been a white "island" completely surrounded by Negroes. The couple hardly had their goods out of the van when the neighbors began to "advise" them to move. That night a mob gathered and threw milk bottles through the windows and splashed the house with paint. Some shots were fired. When the police came, they merely took the terrified Negroes around the corner and dropped them.

The executive staff saw to it that the case went to court, where the mob leader was sentenced to three months in jail. But the commissioners went to City Hall to urge that in neighborhoods which were shifting from white to Negro, police should receive special instructions so that in the future

riots could be prevented rather than merely investigated or punished.

When anti-Semitic sheets on the borderline of sedition are distributed in the war plants, the proper federal authorities are notified and pressure brought to get official disapproval of the circulars.

An elderly Jewish shopkeeper in a tough section of South Philadelphia was assaulted by a gang of young hoodlums shouting that they were "going to do to you Jews what Hitler did in Germany." The commission investigated. A less thorough-going group might have been content with seeing jail sentences imposed on the would-be storm-troopers. The commission not only pressed the police department and district attorney for prompt action, but also issued public warnings that such behavior would not be tolerated. In addition, it investigated the background and environment of the hoodlums to see what could be done toward changing their attitudes. Finally, it tried to find out to what extent the boys had been influenced by organized propaganda.

The Process of Education

Besides dealing with such crises, the commission carries on a constant program of what it likes to call "affirmative" action. Though less dramatic, this is undoubtedly more important for continuing improvement in racial and religious relationships.

On one hand, this program attempts to neutralize the work of organized hate groups by promoting among Philadelphians an understanding of the truth about both the methods and motives of hate groups and the problems and contributions of different racial, religious, and nationality strains in the city. To this end a series of radio programs called "Valor Knows No Creeds" was broadcast. Newspaper articles appear often. Meetings are promoted. Speakers are furnished to organizations interested in tolerance. The school system is urged to give special instructions to teachers in, or just entering, schools with a large influx of Negro students. City Hall hears about the need for special training of police officers who are to serve in tension areas—and hears it from the sort of citizens it cannot ignore.

On the other hand, this affirmative program cooperates in the attempts of racial and religious groups to do away with certain long standing grievances. For instance, Negroes have been trying for years to persuade newspapers to stop using the word Negro in connection with crime stories. All that their delegations ever obtained was either bland indifference or an irritated refusal. But when a committee of influential citizens backed by a great network of respected organizations goes to a newspaper office, that is something else again. One Philadelphia paper already has given up the practice and progress is being made with the others.

A steady campaign against discriminatory employment and rental advertisements is also being conducted. Each week letters go out on commission stationery to those who use such ads, courteously suggesting that the firm may be "setting up standards which are out of harmony with the American practice of judging an (*Continued on page 333*)

A Declaration of Interdependence

The big news of the ILO conference in Philadelphia — how, on the eve of the invasion, 43 nations, allies and neutrals, succeeded in using techniques of international action.

FRIEDA S. MILLER

WHEN THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION met in regular conference in Philadelphia in April and May, its annual legislative assemblies had been suspended for four years. Since 1940, when war dictated its departure from Geneva, technical and administrative staff had continued on a reduced scale to carry on research, technical conferences, and advice to governments from emergency headquarters in Montreal. Its last meeting had been the effective "extraordinary" war conference in New York City in the fall of 1941.

The break in established procedures in the face of world calamity stirred speculation as to how well the mechanism of the organization, once reassembled, would function under the altered circumstances. It worked impressively well, and on many counts.

Attendance was excellent. Forty-three nations—every important industrial country except Russia and, of course, the Axis—were represented, most of them by complete delegations. Despite wartime difficulties of travel and the heavy responsibilities carried by public officials, workers, and management in a "war of production," representatives came from Australia, New Zealand, China, India, Egypt, from South America, from the exiled governments of occupied Europe.

Machinery of Cooperation

Out of the events of the last two years there has begun to appear the pattern of international cooperation which will seek to create order in the postwar world. UNRRA, the Food and Agriculture Conference, the impending Monetary Conference all have as their aim the establishment of machinery for handling specific international problems. In attempting to gauge the effectiveness of such international agencies, people turn with mounting interest to the record of the one permanently successful international agency created by World War I to deal with a specific human problem. That agency, the International Labor Organization, was set up to develop ways of remedying "conditions of labor so severe that they imperil the peace of the world."

Here is a pattern of organization and a constituency that have already proved themselves. The Philadelphia performance simply adds a chapter to a story of effective international cooperation. For, at the end of three busy weeks of committee work, discussion, and official consideration by the full conference, the votes taken showed a high degree of agreement on every item of a heavy agenda. Such an outcome by no means appeared assured in the early sessions. Final action distinctly modified some of the proposals, although others were

finally adopted in their original form.

Though it has been a member only since 1934, the United States has developed a growing appreciation of the work of the ILO and has taken an increasing part in it. This was the second successive conference held in the United States and the second to be addressed by the President in the course of its deliberations. At Philadelphia, the legislative as well as the executive branch of the government was represented, with the Secretary of Labor and Senator Elbert D. Thomas, chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor of the Foreign Relations Committee, as government delegates, and Mrs. Margaret C. Smith, member of Congress from Maine, among the government advisers.

The Philadelphia Agenda

It was no ordinary agenda which the governing body submitted to the Twenty-sixth Conference. The social problems of the war and postwar period remained fundamentally those which concerned the founders of the ILO in 1919. Then, as now, conditions of labor imperiled the possibility of enduring peace. Then it appeared sufficient to eliminate long hours, low wages, child labor, health hazards; in short, to improve working conditions. But World War II has sharpened the growing conviction that, before conditions of employment, security of income, living standards can be controlled, the underlying economic institutions must be dealt with.

What the governing body proposed and the conference undertook was:

Item I: to consider the adequacy of machinery set up by the ILO constitution and practice, and to make such changes as seemed necessary to improve its mandate and operations.

Item II: to advise the United Nations concerning measures required for the realization of their proclaimed objective to "secure for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security"; and to set up standards for the guidance of governments in three urgent fields, namely,

—By the former New York State industrial commissioner, recently a special assistant to Ambassador John G. Winant in London. In 1936, Miss Miller and Mr. Winant were the delegates of this government to the ILO convention in Geneva. Earlier the same year, Miss Miller represented the United States at the Pan-American Labor Conference in Santiago, Chile. As we go to press, the President has sent her name to the Senate as the new head of the Women's Bureau, succeeding Mary Anderson, who recently resigned.

Item III: organization of employment;

Item IV: social security;

Item V: minimum standards in dependent territories.

To understand conference handling of these critical issues, it is necessary to have in mind the structure and function of the ILO, and its achievements.

How the ILO Works

The source of ILO authority is an annual legislative assembly, backed by a governing body, or executive board. The organization functions regularly through the International Labor Office, an international civil service staff of experts, who study and prepare reports on problems to be considered by the conference, and who serve, when invited to do so, as technical advisers to governments.

Membership in the conference, or assembly, as in the governing body, is equally divided between representatives of government and representatives of industry. The latter consist of an equal number of representatives of employers and workers selected by the most representative organizations of their respective groups.

This principle of tripartitism is regarded by the organization as one of its great assets. Only in the ILO are disruptive labor conditions considered and acted upon by the three groups most vitally concerned—by governments, representing the community interest and responsibility, by employers and workers representing those most directly concerned and most fully informed.

The conference is not merely a deliberative body; it takes action. Year by year, through formal adoption by a two-thirds vote, it has built up a body of recommendations and conventions. These incorporate international standards which have won majority adherence and constitute a solemn obligation upon the countries which have supported them.

For while bringing legislation and practice into line with the international standards created by the conference remains the prerogative of each nation's lawmakers, it is recognized that a government delegation by supporting a proposal in conference morally obligates its country to implement that proposal. Both the effectiveness of the ILO and the ultimate evaluation of any government's activity as a member of the organization depend on acceptance of this obligation and on its fulfillment.

In this connection, let me stress the distinction between a "recommendation" and a "convention." "Recommendations" are generalized advice to governments as to policies or principles. "Conventions" are formal international treaties which, if ratified by a national legislature, bind the country to adopt legislation, which will



Photos from Acme and Press Association, Inc.

Delegates from 43 nations attended the Philadelphia conference of the International Labor Organization, among them, Norway (above); China, (above right); Peru, Ecuador, Cuba, and Chile (below).

give full legal effect to the treaty terms. Each ratifying country is required annually to report to the conference on the legislation, the appropriations, and the administrative staff provided to implement the recommendations and conventions it has ratified.

In the first twenty-five years of its existence, the ILO adopted 66 recommendations and 67 conventions. These 67 conventions received a total of 884 ratifications. The United States has ratified only 5. Great Britain, on the other hand, has ratified 31.

ILO Achievements

In evaluating this body of international labor legislation, two things must be kept in mind. First, that the number of ratifications does not tell the whole story of ILO influence. Voluntary action, such as union-employer agreement, has sometimes established convention standards even where the conventions have not been ratified. In some instances, minor variations in legislative standards have prevented a nation's specific conformity. Further, the ignoring of proposals not adopted by the ILO and the formulations emerging from conference discussion, have helped advance labor standards in many countries.

Second, while the moral obligation to implement a convention for which a government has voted is generally recognized as a principle, action has not been equally prompt and effective in all parts of the world. Nor has national legislation been administered everywhere with equal thoroughness. Since the basic purpose of the ILO is to prevent the continuance anywhere of substandard conditions that threaten the peace of the world, this problem of application is one of the most fundamental with which the organization is faced.

In my own experience, the power of these treaties to advance labor standards has been most vividly illustrated by events in South America. None of the Latin American republics were industrial coun-

tries when, in 1919, the first ILO conventions were adopted at the original Washington conference. These republics' adoption, for example, of the convention prohibiting employment of children under fourteen years of age was definitely a moral acceptance of world standards proposed by international authority. Visits today to textile, glass, leather, and other manufacturing, now to be found on both the western and eastern coasts, reveal a situation in South American factories not readily distinguishable from what one finds on plant inspections of similar industries in older industrial countries. The only difference is that in South America it did not have to be reached the hard way. Social insurance has come to South America by much the same route.

Seamen, agricultural workers, wage earn-

ing women, migrant workers who used to pass from one to another of the smaller European states, and will again, are among the groups benefited by ILO conventions and their implementation in national legislation and practices.

One of the great assets of the ILO is the continuing participation of a core of responsible representatives of government, labor, and management who have learned to work together on their common problems. They may vary in their viewpoint as to what constitutes sound industrial progress in a given field at a given moment. But it can be said, emphatically, that they respect one another's good will and sound purpose, and the integrity of the position taken by each. This is one of the great achievements of the organization in its quarter-century of strenuous, creative ex-

perience. That this vigorous joint concern persists in time of war, that it is available for dealing with war and postwar problems, that it is effective where it is put to work—these are conclusions underscored at Philadelphia.

The New Declaration

Because the first two items on the Philadelphia agenda—I. Future Policy, Program, and Status of the ILO, and II. Recommendations to the United Nations—raised such fundamental questions of policy, it was decided that they should have extended discussion by the full conference before being referred to committee. The proposed re-statement of policy quickly caught the imagination of the delegation. Decision to adopt a new "Declaration" (generally referred to in the press as the "Philadelphia Charter") resulted directly from the debate—a most unusual procedure for an organization given to thorough preliminary committee consideration of all proposals placed before it. Such action could have resulted only from the unanimous will of the delegates to reaffirm their articles of faith and to revise their program to offer democratic peoples and governments everywhere a post-war charter capable of satisfying their legitimate social aspirations. The program section of the Declaration "recognizes the solemn obligation of the International Labor Organization to further among the nations of the world programs which will achieve:

"Full employment and the raising of standards of living;

"The employment of workers in the occupation in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being;

"The provision, as a means to the attainment of this end and under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and the transfer of labor, including migration for employment and settlement;

"Policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of such protection;

"The effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the cooperation of management and labor in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the preparation and application of social and economic measures;

"The extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection and comprehensive medical care;

"Adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations;

"Provision for child welfare and maternity protection;

"The provision of adequate nutrition, housing, and facilities for recreation and culture;

"The assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity."

Once the conference as a whole had approved the Declaration, other aspects of the future of the ILO itself and its recommendations to the United Nations were referred to a conference committee of which the Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, U. S. government delegate, was chairman. To this "I and II" committee, as it came to be called, fell the heaviest burden of the conference. Recognizing that some questions concerning future work of the organization were too far-reaching and too detailed for immediate decision, it turned back to the governing body for full exploration: revision of the constitution, problems of financing, the possibility of regionalizing the work of the organization and of developing advisory committees on specific industries, and the relationship of the ILO to new international agencies. On the final question, the governing body is given power to act.

Postwar Proposals

The "I and II" committee had then to deal with questions of economic policies for the attainment of social objectives, their inclusion in the peace treaty, their operation in occupied territories. The conference, lineal descendant of Versailles, was profoundly aware of the potential power for improved world conditions inherent in future settlements. In the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of the United Nations, the Allies stated their desire to achieve social advancement for themselves and all the peoples of the world. Here, in the conference, was the instrument through which to formulate those intentions, to express them in the concrete terms of ILO experience.

A resolution, intended for inclusion in a general or special treaty between the nations, seeks to assure international collaboration on major matters to improve the lot of ordinary men and women: employment opportunities, general educational and training opportunities, child welfare, income security, medical care, effective recognition of the right of freedom of association and of collective bargaining. Since the peace settlements will afford exceptional opportunity for concerted advance, it pledges governments to use the ILO for furthering the acceptance of binding obligations to raise labor standards. Signatory governments would report to the ILO on the earnings, the health, employment opportunities, and other pertinent conditions of life of the people of each country.

Two recommendations to the United Nations relate to the administration of Axis territories and workers transferred to those territories. Plans to safeguard the interests of transferred workers were adopted; but questions relating to the administration of Axis territories finally were referred back to the governing body. Here, the absence of Russia from among the discussants was a consideration, since Russia will be one of the occupying powers.

All the occupied countries—Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia—were represented at Philadelphia. Their delegates took upon them-

selves the special consideration of reconstruction problems with which the Continent will be faced. Out of these deliberations came a moving declaration, proclaiming the occupied countries' complete adherence to the new formulation of ILO aims and purposes, to world reorganization and the use of economic policy as an instrument for the creation of full employment and higher standards of living. But these countries recited also the special and desperate problems which they will face: shattered political, economic, and social institutions, means of communication and transport, and stocks and machinery; famished populations, and the resulting obstacles to employment and rebuilding.

"The liberated countries," it concludes, "are minded to undertake themselves, by their own efforts and under their own responsibility, the great work of national reconstruction. . . ."

"They are convinced that the international solidarity forged between the United Nations during the war will continue during the peace, and that the countries that have known neither occupation nor devastation will wish to give them priority in the supply of the essential consumption and capital goods required for their economic and social restoration. . . ."

"The rapid restoration of the producing and consuming capacity of Europe is, moreover, indispensable to the return of the prosperity of the other countries of the world. . . . To the United Nations falls the task of finding and applying the necessary measures for an equitable distribution of the costs of reconstruction after the war."

The Menace of Unemployment

"I and II" committee found that "serious unemployment in any country might well threaten the international arrangement needed to promote world prosperity." It emphasized the varying character that employment problems will assume in different countries, the devastation and chaos that must be overcome in Europe, the uncertainty of export markets for countries like Australia, and reconversion in countries like our own where a highly developed "production for war" will no longer be wanted at the war's close.

The conference approved the following: "I and II" committee recommendations for international policies: support of UNRRA as an essential instrument of rehabilitation and continuance (during the period of shortages) of existing machinery for international control of essential commodities and transport; setting up of a permanent international organization to raise the world level of nutrition and improve agriculture; effective machinery to settle international trade balances and maintain exchange stability (with consideration for their effect on employment and living standards); promotion of international movement of capital (primarily to further full employment and higher living standards); utilization of these developments of ILO advisory services; vigorous action to promote multilateral international trade; appropriate commercial policies assuring to efficient pr-

(Continued on page 333)

Thinking on a Global Scale

HARRY HANSEN

ALL AMERICA IS GOING TO SCHOOL AGAIN, FOR our geographies are being revised, our maps redrawn. Half a dozen new publications, each emphasizing its original "slant," prove that this revision has been long in the making and that a number of cartographers and geographers caught the direction of the wind at the same time.

Basic in the new interpretation is the realization that it won't pay to race around the widest bulge of the earth when the direct route is across the polar seas. Using the orthographic projection, which gives the impression that the observer is looking at a relief map of part of the curved surface of the earth, the cartographer never lets us forget that we are traversing a globe. For the northern hemisphere he uses a polar perspective or rather a polar approach, thereby showing how closely related are the land masses that cover three fourths of the habitable surface and hold nine tenths of the earth's population. And that, coupled with the conviction that the airplane will bridge the ice cap regularly in the next few decades, should be of tremendous influence on American affairs, for it shows how little the oceans will protect us in the future. It presents an unanswerable argument to theories of national isolation.

Maps as Teachers

The orthographic projection is not new; it is supposed to date back to the Greek Eratosthenes, whereas polar projection was used by Glareanus in 1510 and by Cassini in 1682. No map is completely accurate or even useless if inaccurate; Mercator, who made flat maps and thereby exaggerated the size of regions nearer the poles, is still in use, and Richard Edes Harrison, one of the most successful of modern cartographers, speaks of a "pro- and anti-Mercator war," which seems to have been raging simultaneously with the World War.

Mr. Harrison is the map expert for *Life* and *Fortune* and map consultant to the geographer of the State Department and the Office of Strategic Services; he holds a degree in architecture from the Yale School of Fine Arts. His maps, which have presented the views of the editors of *Fortune* about the future world, are reproduced in brilliant colors in "Look at the World: the *Fortune* Atlas for World Strategy" (Knopf, \$3.50), of which the publisher says: "There has never been an atlas like this one . . . with a dramatic quality not found in any other maps that have ever been made." The maps, with the text beside them, form an argument for international cooperation. They are intended to demolish the desire for "freedom from the world" that some Americans profess. They attack the "de-

lusion" that we are remote from other centers of power. We are not touched by war, say the editors, because other channels are disturbed; but we are as near the center as any other nation. Look at the maps if you doubt it.

"Geonomic" Problems

Thus maps have a new importance as arguments. Look at the air routes, say the geographers; we travel northeast to reach Europe, northwest to reach Asia. The *Harrison-Fortune* exposition stops short of using the polar cap, which is included in the theories of Mackinder and Haushofer. The development of the Arctic for air transportation awaits peace. It will become "one of the great commercial stepping stones of the world."

If these maps stir the imagination, then the exhaustive study that Prof. George T. Renner of Teachers College, Columbia University, and thirty associates present in "Global Geography" (Crowell, \$5), should free the mind from thoughts of national boundaries and trade barriers. The very nature of this book's cooperative authorship shows why it has so much concise information to offer, why it stimulates thinking on a global scale.

One of the "geonomic" problems of our time is conservation of resources. Attempts to limit the ruthless exploitation of privately owned forests and mines have always met with determined opposition, on the ground that the state was going socialistic. Yet the history of how the riches of America have been scattered to the winds is there for all to read.

J. Russell Whitaker of the George Peabody College for Teachers has written the chapter on world conservation. In it he explains the need of human beings—not merely Americans, Germans, Russians, Chinese—to begin a program of conservation.

It was approaching international cooperation just before the World War. "Either the natural resource base must be safeguarded, or man will suffer more and more severely as a consequence of this neglect."

This is a test for the individual and for the nation. Few individuals feel any responsibility for nature's bounties; they use them but do not replace them or conserve them. This applies to the man who kills wolves just because they are wolves or birds just because they are game, without knowing the place of either in nature's economy. Can men acquire "sensitiveness to resource depletion"? Completely new attitudes must be built in communities to meet this problem. But with so many other new attitudes awaiting birth one despairs of results.

How, for instance, can we make people

think "environmentally"? Alfred H. Meyer in the chapter on current events and geography suggests a plan to "locationize your thinking," a cumbersome phrase, meant to start you thinking about the relative positions and importance of places on the maps. He also suggests we "patternize" our thinking and think "globally," regionally, and cartographically. When you consider these words you become aware that most educated readers understand the method without applying professional terms.

Neighbor Across the Pacific

Geographies that appeal more to the general reader than to the special student also show the trends of the times. In "Asia's Lands and Peoples" (Whittlesey House, \$6), George B. Cressey of Syracuse University gives the results of personal investigation of Asia undertaken with the help of the Carnegie Corporation. In trying to make American readers recognize the potentiality of Asiatic nations, Mr. Cressey has eliminated hate and prejudice and tried to deal solely with the conditions he found.

Thus, while he deplors Japan's gamble for a continent by war, he denies that this is a nation of imitators and says that "Japan is not becoming westernized; rather she is skilfully remolding her own life to be in tune with the world." Mr. Cressey thinks there will always be a Japan, which will be America's neighbor across the Pacific; "the peace must be just and provide for the recovery of face." He adds that two essentials are called for—the removal of Japan's offensive power through the loss of outlying territories, and "recognition of her legitimate economic and psychological needs."

The space given to the Soviet Union—119 pages of the book—shows the increased interest in this nation. Mr. Cressey does not consider it primarily a Pacific power.

Charles Seymour, president of Yale University, is also impressed with the usefulness of maps in overcoming isolationism and spreading the knowledge that the nations of the world are neighbors. "They are driving into our consciousness a sense of proximity to the rest of the world," he says, in describing the V-mail that comes from overseas. So he urges in a foreword the value of "World Maps and Globes" (Essential Books, \$2.50), an expository book, with illustrations, by Prof. Irving Fisher and O. M. Miller. Mr. Seymour expects this book to help give a realistic view of the world and educate adult opinion on international relations. The authors show how complicated map-making really can be. Their special contribution is a polyhedral map that can be folded into a globe.

Another book that ought to make map-

(All books ordered through Survey Associates, Inc., will be postpaid)

makers of everyone, is "Down to Earth; Mapping for Everyone" (Holiday House, \$4), by David Greenhood and Ralph Graeter, illustrated with many drawings.

Two large volumes using the orthographic projection remain to be mentioned. One is the "Atlas of Global Geography" (Harper, \$3.50), by Erwin Raisz, lecturer in cartography, Institute of Geographic Exploration, Harvard University, which covers the ground of the Harrison book, with additional information on the location of natural resources, industries, and so on. The other is "A War Atlas for Americans" (Simon & Schuster, paper \$1, cloth \$2.50), prepared by the Office of War Information with the help of the Council on Books in Wartime, Inc. This carries an introduction by Elmer Davis. An official publication, it gives Washington's interpretation of the causes of the war, the opening of hostilities, and the various campaigns prior to the spring of 1944. The text is detailed and the maps illustrate the events capitally.

TVA—DEMOCRACY ON THE MARCH,
by David E. Lilienthal. Harper. \$2.50.

IF THERE ARE THOSE WHO ARE SKEPTICAL about the ability of men to use their resources and their skills to build a more integrated, more secure, and more democratic community, it is important that they go quickly to the Tennessee Valley or that they read David Lilienthal's book. Either of these experiences will give a new faith in America.

As for myself, I have had them both. The reading of this book has left me with the same sense of excitement that I had when, as a farmer, I went to the Tennessee Valley to visit and talk with other farmers. These men and women had been confronted, even as I had, with the terrific problem of building a permanent agriculture and one capable of survival in our machine age. But they were beginning to do just this. They were beginning to develop new tools and techniques for working together in their communities and, through the leadership of the TVA, a regional approach to all manner of problems. I had the sense while there, as I have received again from this book, that a river valley is a natural unit for regional development, and that the people of the Tennessee Valley are building new forms for living together and administering their affairs which are not only proving surprisingly successful, but should be a guide for the rest of us in America.

David Lilienthal is an engineer. He talks about "resource development." But the important thing to know about this extraordinarily able administrator of the TVA is that he is deeply aware that the welfare and happiness of people is the true purpose of any development of resources. It is the spirit which derives from such a knowledge that permeates his book and makes it a living and exciting story. He is convinced that, as a result of the "grass roots" effort of the TVA to recreate, coordinate, and sustain the life of a great river valley community, the people there are developing "a philosophy and a set of working tools that,

adapted to this machine age, can guide and sustain us in increasing opportunity for individual freedom."

For those who think of the TVA in terms of dams, of electric power development, of river navigation, this story of what the people of the Tennessee Valley are doing to adjust their life to our modern world will not only be a revelation but will challenge them into rethinking a great many of their thoughts about our America in the days which lie immediately ahead. Mr. Lilienthal understands that dams, machines, and kilowatt hours of electricity are "but modern slaves working tirelessly for men." It is an error to judge the success of this great experiment in regional administration by the high tension wires which move across the landscape or the huge structures which have been thrown across the river and its tributaries and which have made large and beautiful lakes that impound and control the waters of this valley. His book drives this point home. The really impressive thing which comes out of this story, and which any visit to the TVA will substantiate, is the prevailing sense of new life among the people who unquestionably are beginning to reshape their destiny.

This is definitely an account of democracy on the march. One is left, upon reading it, with the feeling that it is of tremendous importance at this time in our history that we have this evidence of the value and workability of decentralization of government administration, planning, and leadership on a regional basis.

P. ALSTON WARING

Co-author of "Roots in the Earth"

PEOPLES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA, by
Bruno Lasker. Knopf. \$3.

MR. LASKER HAS SUPPLIED A LONG-NEEDED study of population groups in a region only vaguely known to most Americans.

His book is written not from the specialized angle of an anthropologist but from the viewpoint of a thorough-going liberal and humanist. In considerable detail are described the farmers, fishermen, hunters, merchants, and artisans who make up the 150,000,000 peoples of the Far Eastern tropics, and the impact made upon their differing degrees of civilization by the West.

With great fairness Mr. Lasker has appraised the various imperial regimes prevailing throughout the region up to December 1941. He does not lapse into eulogy or facile denunciation; he regards the white men who had power in Southeastern Asia as neither civilizing angels nor brutes. All the imperial powers, he believes, were at differing tempos increasingly concerned with native welfare, but by the very essence of their constitution this progress was both dilatory and incomplete.

The Japanese conquest rudely broke in upon the transformation which Southeastern Asia was experiencing. But, because of their brutality and lack of imagination, the Japanese did not take advantage of this wonderful opportunity to establish their leadership of Oriental peoples; unwittingly

they have offered the West a second chance. To stimulate us to see clearly in the coming liberation of Southeastern Asia the opportunity to win the cooperation of the peoples of that part of the world, and to show them the way to a greater degree of prosperity and of self-government, is one of the major purposes of the book.

Throughout, the author's viewpoint is one of reasonableness and of genuine concern for the well-being and rights of men and women too often and too lightly classified as "backward." The book is well-though albeit self-consciously, written, but it is not easy reading. A good map of ethnic groups possibly in place of the frontispiece in which Thailand is erroneously described as a republic, would have been helpful to the reader who is faced with the problem of sorting out unfamiliar tribes and their little-known habitats.

On the whole, Mr. Lasker has made a real contribution to knowledge about the peoples of Southeast Asia and has offered constructive suggestions as to their future development.

VIRGINIA THOMPSON ADLOFF
Author of "Post-Mortem on Malaya"

RACE AND RUMORS OF RACE, by
Howard W. Odum. University of North Carolina Press. \$2.

PROFESSOR ODUM UNQUESTIONABLY KNOWS his South, and here with the help of a number of "observers," he has systematically unmasked the mind of the South of the race question by exposing the rumors which currently rationalize its racial mores and prejudices. Some of these "reasons" are as ancient as the slave regime itself; others are of Reconstruction vintage, but many, if not most, are the war crop of 1942-44,—the latest brew of a South in the throes of an unprecedented situation, when Negroes are soldiers and warworkers. Be it whether analyzing the old or the new dogmas, the outstanding point of the evidence is the chronic persistence of the same basic psychology throughout, shifting under cover to new rationalizations as the old arguments break down or as new tensions develop—a point not sufficiently stressed by the study.

Possibly Mr. Odum's optimism is warranted in believing that a wholesale exposure of these popular justifications, from the most trivial to the most subtle, from the most traditional to the most recent, will prove an effective antidote and counter-argument to racial prejudice. At any rate this is brave and competent public opinion analysis and, by indirection, constructive liberal propaganda. Meeting southern, for that matter, traditional American racial prejudice on its home territory is commendable and may prove effective strategy.

Certainly, if race riots are to be anticipated, some such counter-conditioning of the public mind is highly desirable, although to do so adequately would require widespread and active cooperation by the press, pulpit, radio and the movies. If the objective of this book should be to lay the groundwork for some such campaign in the South, or for that matter in any area

all areas of increasing race tension, then it ought to be appraised as a welcome and potentially important practical contribution to improved race relations.

Nevertheless, a thoroughgoing analysis of the racial situation calls for something much more fundamental—a realistic analysis of the social system and interests back of these widespread rumors and rationalizations. Only from that angle can new and positive counter-motivations be provided for a dynamic crusade for democratic social change, or even a concrete pragmatic program of southern reconstruction. This study's approach, then, though representing southern liberalism at its best, also clearly defines its limitations—a lack of courage to come to grips with the real reasons back of the asserted "reasons," an evasion of the motives and interests behind the folkways.

Counter-argument against race prejudice merely on the level of public opinion chops off these social weeds only at the ground line, leaving their vital roots unexposed and relatively safe and intact.

ALAIN LOCKE

Professor of Philosophy
Howard University

AMERICA, UNLIMITED, by Eric Johnston. Doubleday, Doran. \$2.50.

THIS BOOK, BY THE CURRENT PRESIDENT of the United States Chamber of Commerce, touches a wide range of present day problems in the political, industrial, economic and diplomatic fields. Mr. Johnston wields his brush with broad, vigorous and courageous strokes guided by a discerning and experienced eye. This is particularly so in his condensation of the basic economic situations in South America and Britain. In neither instance does he present anything novel. But his emphasis is clear, direct and sound. He sees the South American countries welcoming capital from the United States as a partner in developing their resources, but resentful of exploitation. He sees the British people as receptive, and indeed hopeful, of government in business as contrasted with the resentment of the American people toward cartels.

The book is particularly significant as making articulate the point of view of intelligent conservatives. It indicates awareness that businessmen should have a more direct and active participation in the responsibilities of government. The author is quite candidly presenting himself as an available office holder, willing and eager to serve what he considers the interests of the people. His book proclaims a vigorous and healthy understanding and faith both in the people as a whole and in himself in particular.

Mr. Johnston's view is that our people have been awakened by the monstrosities of war from a lethargy of defeatism and that when the shooting war is finished, the upsurge of our awakened energies, inventiveness, and productivity can and should be maintained for war against "internal enemies such as poverty, low living standards and chronic unemployment."

He contemplates the financial depression of the 1930's in retrospect as a period when

"security," which is "the static element" in human society, ruled men's dreams rather than "opportunity, which is the dynamic element." He gives not merely a lucid and common sense résumé of his own political and economic philosophy, but evinces a clear understanding of the necessity of looking ahead rather than backward. He has no nostalgia for a return to the good old days.

Eric Johnston is God's gift to business men. "America, Unlimited" is an effective counterfoil to such cynical and exasperated diatribes as have been presented to the American public in recent years from the pens of industrialists such as Edgar Queeny or lugubrious prototypes of the old order

such as former Congressman Pettengil. For Mr. Johnston senses and makes articulate the deep and frequently unspoken aspirations of plain people. He criticizes both labor and management, not as a Pegler exposing the crudities of labor's growing pains, nor as a Browder sneering at the materially successful, but rather, in both instances, as a shrewd and candid friend.

When the author occasionally adverts to some of the old clichés he uses a sugar coating, and handles them with an effective velvet glove. His opportunism has a broad and justifiable base as contrasted with the narrow opportunism of individual politicians.

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book is Mr. Johnston's awareness of our continued forward movement in the past, coupled with his clear vision of the green light which marks the highway of progress ahead. His book should do much to remove the blinders from many of his colleagues who have clung tenaciously to the hope of returning to the horse and buggy era.

The book is a challenge based on the author's confidence that "we have what it takes to meet it."

RICHARD B. SCANDRETT, JR.
Lawyer; Author of "Divided They Fall"

MOBILIZING FOR ABUNDANCE, by Robert Nathan. Whittlesey House. \$2.

THERE IS GROWING AGREEMENT AMONG economic experts that it is within our power permanently to eliminate mass unemployment without damaging the foundations which support our system of economic enterprise. This book is a non-technical exposition of a rather generally accepted theory of how and why unemployment develops. In a broad way it sets forth policies which could be applied to help avoid depressions.

Mr. Nathan is a former government economist, and was chairman of the planning committee of the War Production Board until inducted into the Army in the summer of 1943. Though a staunch advocate of private enterprise, he builds a persuasive case for adoption by the government of fiscal policies which will help sustain employment. He retains a perhaps unwarranted confidence in the efficacy of public works, but departs from the usual public works formula in advocating a tax program to increase consumption. An expanded social security program is recommended, financed through progressive taxation.

The author gives no attention to the part played by fluctuations in durable goods demand in causing depressions. In the reviewer's opinion, the tendency for wide swings in durable goods activity will be reinforced if the fulfillment of war created shortages is concentrated in the immediate postwar years. Mr. Nathan indicates that it is theoretically possible to hold employment at a high level so long as a balance is maintained between savings and offsets to savings. But the practical pursuit of this objective undoubtedly will require the adoption of policies directed toward smoothing out durable goods activity.

RANDALL WILLIAMS
*Bureau of Planning and Statistics
War Production Board*

SEARCHLIGHT ON PEACE PLANS—Choose Your Road to World Government, by Edith Wynner and Georgia Lloyd. Dutton. \$5.

THIS BOOK IS A GOOD ILLUSTRATION OF THE old axiom that "hope springs eternal in the human breast." It gives a superb summary of the major peace plans through the ages. The reader is impressed with the very general desire for peace which has prevailed and the almost innumerable plans which have been proposed.

In a recent newspaper advertisement en-

titled "Books to Help Win the Peace," about thirty-five titles were mentioned. I have not read all of them, but I have looked through the majority. I believe that "Searchlight on Peace Plans" belongs at the top of the list. It should be in the kit of those who sit at the peace table, and is required reading for the rest of us who have more than a passing interest in a decent and durable peace.

The real problem is to implement and enforce plans for peace. The authors of "Searchlight" discuss the major methods in an illuminating fashion. These include world courts, economic sanctions, military sanctions and an international police force.

In reading some two hundred specific proposals for a lasting peace, the "hard-boiled realist" may throw up his hands in despair and declare that they are the products of impractical dreamers. To such so-called realists I should like to point out a passage these authors quote from Dean Tucker's statement in 1786, in which he expressed an opinion on the "chances of union of the thirteen jealous, quarreling American states":

"As to the future grandeur of America, and its being a rising empire under one head, whether republican or monarchical, it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived even by writers of romance. The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their differences of governments, habitudes, and manners, indicate that they will have no center of union. . . . They never can be united . . . under any species of government whatever: a disunited people till the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided and subdivided into little commonwealths or principalities, according to natural boundaries. . . ."

We can have a decent and durable peace, and we must have it if our civilization is to survive. "Searchlight on Peace Plans" indicates that the human race has done and is doing plenty of creative thinking about peace. It remains now for our statesmen to implement this thinking.

L. M. BIRKHEAD

*National director
Friends of Democracy, Inc.*

THE RED COCK CROWS, by Frances Gaither. Macmillan. \$2.75.

FAR BE IT FROM THIS REVIEWER TO DRAW THE baleful eye of the watch-and-warders to any book, but if they really want to get at the root of the tree that bore their current anathema, Lillian Smith's "Strange Fruit," they might take a look at Frances Gaither's novel. To be sure they won't find many four-letter words there, but they'll find a deep fibrous growth which nourished, and still nourishes strange persistent fruits.

And if they want to go deeper, to the tap-root, they might turn back to the half dozen pages that constitute the prelude to Stephen Vincent Benet's "John Brown's Body." This prelude and Mrs. Gaither's story of the rich cotton country of Mississippi in 1835 should be required reading for anyone casting stones at "Strange Fruit." It's no use casting stones at history. There it is.

Mrs. Gaither, reared in the locale of her story, writes of a great plantation, a "good one, where the slaves were decently treated as slaves of course, and life in the "big house" was rich and warm. Here came Adam Fiske, a young Yankee schoolmaster with slight conviction but a vague distrust of the social system which presently drew him in and almost cost him his neck.

It is more or less through Adam's troubled eyes that the reader sees the story develop: the obscure, half mystic stirring of rebellious spirit among the slaves and its slow crystallization into the will for action; the sudden recognition by the white planters of straws in the wind and the swift, violent and bloody means by which they forestall the brewing outbreak.

Mrs. Gaither portrays the creeping terror and mounting horror of "that one incredible week" without moralistic finger-pointing. Her people, black and white, behaved as they had to behave in the social climate of the time and place. What happened had to happen. For why it had to happen, read those first six pages of "John Brown's Body"; for what came of it, read "Strange Fruit." They are all of a piece. History marches on.

GERTRUDE SPRINGER

Osterville, Mass.

FREEDOM'S FERMENT: Phases of American Social History to 1860, by Alice Feltyler. University of Minnesota Press. \$5.

THE NEW AND PROGRESSIVE IDEA HAS GENERALLY had a better chance of surviving in America than in any other land. Here the restrictive influence of custom has been modified by the tradition which accepts change as something desirable and optimistically assumes it will be for the better. Why has this been so?

This excellent summary of the numerous and varied movements for social reform between 1800-1860 offers an answer. In these six decades all sorts of projects and crusades occupied the attention of native and even foreign reformers who came to these shores the better to realize their dreams. While many of their enthusiastically launched programs are now unknown to all but the professional historian, some have had a lasting effect upon American life. This book shows that practically all these plans, cults, utopias and crusades were manifestations of forces deep in our culture, an evangelical religion and a free frontier society. From the ferment of these forces came the spirit of individualism and the democratic idealism which, in the first half of the nineteenth century, sought to make the American a freer and better man.

If today the forms of the humanitarian movements in America have been changed by the disappearance of the frontier and the dominance of industrialism, the author maintains the spirit of our liberal past is still with us. In 1944, as in 1844, the American dream is the product of the democratic traditions of our past. The goals have changed, but many of the guiding forces are still the same.

OSGAR ZEICHNER

*History Department
College of the City of New York*

STITCH IN TIME

(Continued from page 325)

individual upon his merit" At the same time, the commission has been negotiating with the newspapers so successfully that two of the three big papers have completely eliminated such phrases as "white only" or "Christian only" from their employment columns.

Another instance of this educative process came last fall when the commission wrote President Roosevelt and the Philadelphia congressional delegation concerning the Fair Employment Practice Committee and its dispute with the southern railroads. Five thousand copies of the letter were made by photo-offset and sent to the presidents of the cooperating agencies for distribution among their membership, with the suggestion that individuals in the membership also might like to communicate their views to Washington.

This positive part of the commission's work is, of course, heartbreakingly slow. At times it seems like trying to smother a fire with a teaspoonful of sand. And yet, in just this sort of organized effort lies America's best hope of avoiding serious disunity in the near future. If a racial or religious group can feel that not all the majority is against it and that progress, however gradual, is being made, it is more likely to find patience to await the final elimination of injustices.

As a method of dealing with bigotry and organized hate, the commission has several great advantages. One is that at the point where the actual work is done, it is small enough to work effectively; too many race relations committees are so large and loosely knit as to be unwieldy. Another is that it operates so quietly (except in cases where there is sound reason to select the weapon of publicity) that "anti" feeling or reaction does not develop, as it so often does when reforms are attempted with a lot of heat.

A third advantage is that it can meet a situation quickly. Because its commissioners work as individuals, they do not have to wait for their groups to authorize action. They can meet an emergency when it is still in the making, but organizations have to call a board meeting—and the board too often cannot be persuaded that the emergency exists until it is already too late. The alliance between professionals and influential lay people is also extremely effective.

Everyman's Responsibility

But beyond the fact that it works, the commission is important because it recognizes a basic truth in American democracy: racial discrimination and religious bigotry are not just problems for Negroes and Jews to combat as best they can. They can never be solved by the injured group pleading for justice or trying to "gang up" on the majority. They are not even problems for the conscience of the majority. They are community problems, which all groups must work at together. An organization such as this is a long step toward helping the community to understand this truth. Ultimately

it might become so much a part of the community life that its function would be semi-official. It is significant that the St. Louis Race Relations Commission came into being at the request of the mayor.

Perhaps the best proof of the soundness of the commission idea is that it continues to grow. An ambitious plan is on foot to house the seven cooperating agencies in one central building to be known as Fellowship Center. It is proposed that the first floor of the center be used as a library open to the general public and containing the best collection of intercultural materials available.

There is nothing about the structure of the commission which could not be duplicated in any American city. In smaller communities where there are no organizations on which to build, individuals could be selected from the same areas of interest as those from which the Philadelphia commissioners come. Most towns, even quite small ones, already have people who are used to working together to promote racial and religious understanding, who could take the initiative in organizing for this purpose.

INTERDEPENDENCE

(Continued from page 328)

ducers the availability of essential raw materials and a reasonable return, with protection against major short term fluctuations; priority on essential reconstruction materials to liberated territories.

As national policy, the "I and II" committee reported and the conference approved comprehensive programs, suited to the particular needs of the respective countries, for prompt and orderly reconversion, reconstruction and economic expansion; effective arrangements for swift and systematic demobilization and repatriation; prompt termination of contracts and settlement of claims and early determination of policy on peacetime use of government-owned war plants; retention, so long as shortages exist, of war-created economic controls; adjustment of tax systems to encourage rapid reconversion while maintaining equitable distribution of tax burdens; all practicable measures for a high level of employment, including public works; the discouragement of monopolistic practices; incentives to constructive economic activity.

A program for the guidance of governments, reported by the "Item III" committee and adopted in the conference, included plans for a public employment service, for demobilization, reemployment, training, adjustment of women in the industrial shift-over, and employment of disabled workers. It proposed worldwide collection of information on employment conditions, recognizing that only such information can assure an orderly shift-over. It recommended that wages be set for the job, without discrimination because of sex, with working conditions and pay in the old substandard industries brought up to decent levels, in order to destroy artificial barriers against a postwar return of many women to these socially necessary occupations.

The fourth item reported by a commit-

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tee and approved by the conference is a social security program providing protection against the main hazards of industrial civilization—sickness, maternity, invalidity, old age, death of breadwinner, unemployment, emergency expenses, and employment injuries. It urges that income security be afforded through compulsory social insurance so far as possible but that assistance be provided for needs not so covered. Unification of existing social insurance schemes, their extension to cover all workers and their families, special provisions for war veterans, inclusion of rural populations and of the self-employed are further recommended.

Another committee report which was adopted proposes minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories. Specific standards for native workers have been a concern of the ILO from its earliest days. The new proposals are more inclusive. They recognize the present ferment over social standards in most regions to which the proposed standards apply and seek to implement broadly the general principle introducing the recommendation: "All policies designed to apply to dependent territories shall be primarily directed to

well-being and development of the peoples of such territories. . . ." Included are: suppression of slavery, the opium traffic, and forced labor; establishment of written contracts of employment for native labor; abolition of penal sanctions; improvement of child labor standards, educational training and facilities, and of the employment and social status of women; prohibition of color and religious bias and other discriminatory practices. Measures for improving health, housing, and social security, for guaranteeing rights of association of employers and workers, and for improving standards of living generally are called for.

The international handling of this five-point agenda was the major business of the Philadelphia meeting. Press and radio comment indicated widespread appreciation over the country of a "working conference" on international issues at this time.

Perhaps it is not alone for concrete achievements or for the program it now presents that all of us will be in the debt of the ILO. It may prove equally important that through the ILO we are able at this time to see, to touch, to handle the substance of international action. The business of threshing out common problems and developing mutually acceptable plans for operation is not new to this country. We have found the same practices, on an international scale, repeated in the ILO. Perhaps this experience will help us see internationalism as a matter of giving our familiar jobs new dimensions.

AFTER THE ARMIES—UNRRA

(Continued from page 312)

from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people; and that preparations and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services.

"Have agreed as follows . . ."

UNRRA and the Military

Here, then, you have the tasks of UNRRA in a nutshell. Since it is to begin field operations "immediately upon the liberation of any area by armed forces," its relationship with the military is of the utmost importance. For a long time there has been daily consultation between UNRRA officials and the appropriate military authorities in the Combined Civil Affairs Committee of the Combined Chiefs of Staff. In these consultations detailed policies are being hammered out to guide services that the theater commands may ask UNRRA to carry on during the period of military government in liberated areas. The details are unannounced as yet because of requirements of military security. However, broadly speaking, the plans for possible UNRRA services can be described:

The military in any theater of active oper-

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ations will retain control over all relief operations and services for as long as the theater command finds that necessary in order to speed the winning of battles. To help provide supplies from the United States for this period, the military appropriation bill which passed the House of Representatives on June 3, carried \$562,000,000 to be available in the coming fiscal year. This is in addition to supplies on hand.

It was testified in hearings before the House Appropriations Committee that such supplies had been drawn on for the feeding, clothing, and sheltering of the civilian population in Sicily and Italy. It should be borne in mind that forces of the United Kingdom and the Dominions, also, have supplies of relief goods on hand for the period of military operations, and that forces of the nation in exile—France, Holland, and so on—may draw upon Lend-Lease for such goods to expedite their operations in the sectors assigned to them.

During the period of military responsibility in liberated territory, the Allied armies may call upon UNRRA to help in dispensing supplies, in retrieving displaced persons or in providing health, welfare, or other services—but, of course, always under army control, and financed by the army, as a matter of military operations.

In conquered enemy territory, the army may call upon UNRRA to dispense supplies and services, but the executive organization of UNRRA must first check the matter with the UNRRA Council, composed of one representative from each of the 44 member nations. On approval by majority vote of the Council, UNRRA may go in but cannot spend a penny of UNRRA funds in bringing relief to enemy peoples. The funds employed must be either those of the military or of the conquered people themselves. The hitherto occupied nations will not—obviously they should not—consent to the use of funds paid in for their relief being used to bring relief to nations who have oppressed and robbed them for years.

The close cooperation engendered between leading personnel of UNRRA and the military authorities has been given new impetus by the selection by General Eisenhower of Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, Jr., to deal with some of these problems at headquarters. Colonel Biddle knows Europe extremely well and has what may be called the "feel" of its different peoples. During his Ambassadorship to the exiled government in London he established a number of vital personal contacts which will be useful now.

UNRRA and Governments-in-Exile

As important as UNRRA's relations with the military are, of course, its relations with those governments-in-exile (in its membership) due to return in time to their homelands. Negotiations have proceeded in London and Washington to establish the relationships on a detail basis against the day when UNRRA will bring the goods and services requested by each government in the aid of its people.

An essential point to remember is the word "requested." UNRRA has no sovereignty

ign power. It is a service agency. UNRRA serves the military—if requested—during the military period. UNRRA will serve the recognized government or authority of any nation—if requested—in the immediate post-military period when its people will be getting started on a new life.

The participating nations wrote certain requirements into the procedures on making and honoring requests. It was stipulated in the Council resolutions that UNRRA would not draw on the international fund to provide goods for nations which have foreign exchange that they can use to acquire needed goods. At this date such is actually the situation of all the countries of Western Europe now overrun by the Axis, and their governments in happy course will be in the market to acquire relief goods with their own funds. UNRRA will service them by presenting their requests to the combined boards which for two years and a half have allocated the world's short supplies.

These goods must be shared to meet the military needs of the United Nations, home front civilian needs, mutual aid needs, and low relief needs. Nations which have sources of foreign exchange will not be permitted to obtain all the available supplies, leaving none for those which now or later must depend on the international fund.

Protection at the Grass Roots

The nations did more than stipulate that those who can pay shall do so and that all shall share fairly. They stipulated that in the distribution of goods and services by UNRRA, there shall be no discrimination by reason of race, religion, or political belief. They provided, also, that goods shall be distributed under rationing and price control regulations to prevent the development of a shattering inflation which would negate relief work and wreck the whole economy. They provided further for labeling goods supplied out of the international fund. They laid down other detailed provisions which are being worked into detailed understandings, country by country, so that UNRRA operation may proceed with speed and without confusion once the day of cooperation with rightful governments rings in. These understandings, on the one hand with the military authorities of the United Nations, on the other with the governments-exile and their successors, will come before the next meeting of the Council. The Council was scheduled to sit in Montreal on June 23, for a ten-day business session—its second. However, the invasion bar on travel out of the British Isles made it necessary to postpone the meeting because of the inability of some of the chief delegates to leave London. Furthermore, it would have been impossible for them to have communicated in London with their alternates because of restrictions on communications during that time. The restrictions now are lifted. The Council will meet in September in Montreal. It will have before it such matters as ratification of UNRRA operations in enemy territory, and as the reservations or commendations attached in validating their adherence to the UNRRA agreement by some of the national legislatures. One example is the Mundt resolution on the



UNRRA enabling act of the U. S. Congress which implies some UNRRA aid to India, though it is not an invaded territory. Another is the proviso attached to ratification by the Indian legislature itself, which requests the same thing. The session will be kept brief, and will deal with detailed business, not with the making of major new policy.

Main Branches of the Work

Perhaps the most immediate but, at the same time, certainly the longest of the UNRRA undertakings has been to make arrangements for the return not only of prisoners of war, but of exiles, deported workmen and other displaced persons. Their total number is at present estimated at from 20,000,000 to 25,000,000. Workers from all over Europe who have been shanghaied into Nazi Germany alone number about 12,000,000. The stupendous task of finding all these people, of identifying and registering them, and then of looking after them until they are safe home, will devolve on the displaced persons' division. Even assuming that one half of all these victims of Hitlerism do not wait for repatriation arrangements and begin their task on their own as soon as Germany starts cracking up, that still leaves 10,000,000 people, or very nearly that number, on UNRRA's hands.

Out of the first USA contribution, \$30,000,000 has been set aside for this operation to provide refugee camps and maintenance, but also for medical and public health services. Additional funds are to come from the payments of other nations into the UNRRA treasury. The task is by no means a remote one. Some existing camps in the Middle East, where 40,000 refugees from Greece and Yugoslavia are being cared for now, were taken over by UNRRA on May 1.

The budget for the U.S. contribution to UNRRA was passed by Congress on June 22 (90 days after the enabling legislation). Other items illustrate the work to be done. Thus medical, hospital, and other health services to be administered by a competent personnel are absorbing \$69,000,000. This program includes not only medicines and services required immediately, but also commodities like oil for making soap to be put to use later. At the head of this division is Dr. Wilbur A. Sawyer, an American, long a ranking expert of the Rockefeller Foundation.

As far as industrial rehabilitation is concerned, the total amount earmarked in the requested U.S. first payment of \$800,000,000 is \$100,000,000 for the first period, when manufactured goods and means of production such as instruments and tools will have to be supplied on a larger scale. Let me repeat that the function is not to rebuild factories and utilities on a large scale, but to supply the necessary raw materials, the machines and parts which will make it possible to re-start such plants as have escaped destruction or have been only partly damaged. Antonin Fried, an experienced Czechoslovak, has been appointed director of this important division.

Of the \$56,000,000 of U.S. funds set aside
(Continued on page 336)

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Voluntary Agencies

—From the address of Fred K. Hoehler before the National Conference of Social Work in May.

To help meet the vast and complex relief needs in liberated areas it is the policy of UNRRA to enlist the participation of voluntary agencies in relief activities for which they have special competence and resources.

In order to avoid . . . duplication of effort . . . (these) may operate in areas receiving aid from UNRRA only with the consent of UNRRA and subject to the regulation of its director general. The extent to which private agencies foreign to a country of operation will be used for assistance in the relief and rehabilitation of distressed persons is a matter to be determined by UNRRA in consultation with the government or recognized national authority concerned.

Cooperation between UNRRA and voluntary agencies in the United States is maintained through the President's War Relief Control Board. UNRRA also cooperates closely with the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, an organization of some twenty private agencies including the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the American Friends Service Committee, the YWCA, the Near East Foundation, National Catholic Welfare Conference, and related organizations.

In the first place, private agency personnel employed by their respective agencies may work under UNRRA supervision and direction helping in the organization of those basic relief services for which UNRRA assumes responsibility . . . UNRRA responsibility for voluntary agency personnel used in this manner may be for the provision of transportation, of maintenance, and of such relief supplies as may be necessary to carry out responsibilities assigned by UNRRA.

The second field in which the services of private agencies will be particularly useful will be in the organization under their own responsibility of . . . complementary services, which will be of tremendous importance to the rehabilitation as well as the relief of war-stricken areas. (Such as) . . . special programs for the care of mothers and children; the provision of occupational activities for young people; the promotion of schemes of self-help and mutual aid; special medical services for individuals in need of such care; and, in short, services to meet particular needs which neither UNRRA nor the governments may be prepared to meet.

Machinery is being set up to ensure . . . cooperation between UNRRA and the agencies concerned . . .

for agricultural rehabilitation, the chief part is likewise to be spent on immediate requirements of food production and processing. The object is to enable the liberated areas to produce as much goods for themselves as rapidly as circumstances will permit. For this purpose they are to be provided with agricultural machinery, tools, and instruments, fertilizers, insecticides, veterinary supplies, and similar necessities; also with canning and packing material and equipment wherever possible. Since the transportation of cattle is bound to be difficult for a long time to come, a detailed scheme for artificial insemination to replenish European herds has been carefully worked out.

Finally, \$214,820,000 from U.S. funds has been set aside for clothing, textiles, and footwear, the bulk of it being obviously required in the first period. At a later date, large quantities of wool and cotton will be drawn from the Allied stockpiles built up for war requirements.

Sir Arthur Salter, M.P., is Governor Lehman's second in command with the title of senior deputy director general. Among key Americans, Roy F. Hendrickson, formerly of the War Food Administration, is in charge of the huge job of making up requirements schedules and procuring supplies all over the world. Finance and administration are in the capable hands of John J. Corson, on leave from the Social Security Board. Hugh R. Jackson, associate secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association, is a deputy director general at Washington in charge of regional liaison. Mary Craig McGeachy, a Canadian expert long at Geneva, is director of the welfare division.

The Underpinnings of UNRRA

UNRRA, then, is not to be the servant of any one government, big or small, but of all governments. It is an international agency for regulating the flow of supplies—both from the procurement and the distribution angle. Each nation will make a contribution to it in cash and/or in kind. The uninvaded countries are to allocate to it one percent of their national income, while those that have suffered occupation will help pay for administrative expenses of UNRRA, and also use any supply resources they possess to help their own people. All nations will throw in such goods and raw materials as their governments may deem essential. But quite obviously such a course necessitates carefully planned and organized international action.

That is the very function that UNRRA is to fulfil. Its success or its failure will profoundly affect the citizens of all the United Nations. From America's point of view, it is particularly important that it should succeed. The continuation of chaos, disease, starvation, and misery throughout the world would jeopardize the peace from the start and lead to yet another war. Nor would America's own standards of living escape. The industries of this country, its shipping and aviation services, its huge stock of raw materials, hang on the speediest possible return of vigorous economic life to the world.

If labor in the United States is to find full employment, if the country's prosperity is to be maintained after the war, then improved living standards and increased purchasing power among other nations are prerequisite. Not merely from a long-range standpoint, but as an immediate practical proposition, UNRRA is an asset to America—which can never prosper or live safely in a starving and disease-ridden world.

Yet the cost and effort called for from the people of the United States is a modest one indeed. The full amount of American money authorized by Congress for the purposes of UNRRA (not all of it is needed at once), is \$1,350,000,000. This is less than total of five days of America's war expenditure. Like Great Britain's contribution of \$320,000,000, Canada's of \$77,000,000, it enters into a total UNRRA budget of \$2,300,000,000—which has rightly been described as "an investment in peace."

Let me state once more: UNRRA does not set out to do *everything* that needs doing in the postwar world. Much of the work will call for organizations of wholly different types. But the task before UNRRA is a stupendous one and if efficiently handled opens up a wide range of new possibilities in practical international collaboration.

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AUGUST 1944

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GRAPHIC



Grand Job of Our CENTURY by David E. Lilienthal
Two Wars and Muscle Shoals • Contribution of the Allies in Exile
The People v. The Fascist, U.S. (1944) • The USO and the Negro

NINE LETTERS

that lift the day of an editor

1. It is a trite expression these days to say that we are all fighting and working to make a better world. The ideals for which the *Survey* stands are mine . . . If anything exists which stands for the right sort of thinking on postwar problems, it is the *Survey* which is never afraid to make vocal some of the most distressing problems of mankind. ADK, Houston, Texas.
2. It was so well written and the subject so pertinent to a matter which used to be very controversial but which common sense and a real need have at last been recognized by most people concerned with social problems . . . *Survey Graphic* is always very forward looking and I enjoy it whenever I see it. DDM, Washington, D. C.
3. I want to congratulate *Survey Graphic* on the number which I have spent this afternoon reading. It is wonderfully comprehensive, interesting and informative. I hope it will receive the wide attention it deserves. PJW, Buffalo, N. Y.
4. I read *Survey Graphic* regularly and feel you are consistently doing a most commendable job. That article is particularly worthy of note . . . The most commendable things about it are the lack of prejudice of the writer and of the publication in presenting it, the excellent coverage given (I am personally acquainted with the facts presented and find that unlike most writers in this field your author has been 100% accurate) and the cleancut evaluation which the article presents. WMH, Elgin, Ill.
5. Please send me a year's subscription to your excellent magazine, *Survey Graphic* . . . I am doing editorial work on this newspaper and therefore it will be quite a help to me. JP, Elizabeth City, N. C.
6. The article is one of the fairest and most complete most of us have seen yet, and you are to be recommended for your courage and open-mindedness in presenting the story to the public. CA, Orlando, Fla.
7. Only by the far-sighted and intelligent help of such editors as yourself can the nation achieve a real understanding of this public health measure. I hope *Survey Graphic* will continue to carry similar articles along these lines, and thereby contribute to eradicating some of the ignorant, intolerant and mediaeval opinions which unfortunately are still prevalent in some quarters. EBB, Boston, Mass.
8. We have already read the May issue and found it extremely helpful as background material for our own postwar activities . . . *Survey Graphic* as usual, deserves our gratitude for a really important piece of work impressively accomplished. LMC, New York City.
9. I have received *American Russian Frontiers* and *From War to Work* and want you to know they are just what is needed for a well rounded picture by all thinking people. FHG, Bruni, Texas.

SURVEY
GRAPHIC

These Two Special Issues are for YOU

Doubtless you are one of the millions of men and women who are taking responsibility, voluntarily, for the continuation and reinforcement of the welfare services of the nation and of your own community. The two special numbers of *Survey Midmonthly* described below are for you!

American Ploughshares

Ready August 15

Here in America we have built up a network of social agencies, public and private, designed to aid our citizens to make the adjustments necessary to individual success and happiness. This number shows how these services are being developed and sharpened to meet the problems of the years ahead, not only in our own country but as part of America's contribution to our Allies.

Authors include: Paul Kellogg, editor of *Survey Midmonthly*; Cleveland Dodge, president, Near East Foundation; Harold Levy, member Department of Interpretation, Russell Sage Foundation; C. J. Hambro, president, Norwegian Parliament; Bradley Buell, executive editor, *Survey Midmonthly*; H. J. Heinz 2d, president H. J. Heinz Co.; Tracy Strong, general secretary, World's Committee, YMCA.

American Ploughshares appears at the beginning of the United Campaigns for the National War Fund and Community and War Chests to which the American people will give so generously during the next few months.

Juvenile Delinquency

Published March 15

Here is an entire issue affirming that something can be done about the mounting index of juvenile delinquency in the country and outlining the steps which can be taken by responsible citizens everywhere, to set going practical measures for dealing with the problem in their own communities.

This number is being widely distributed by readers of *Survey Midmonthly* and *Survey Graphic* to key people among their friends and acquaintances; to public officials and leaders in social movements.

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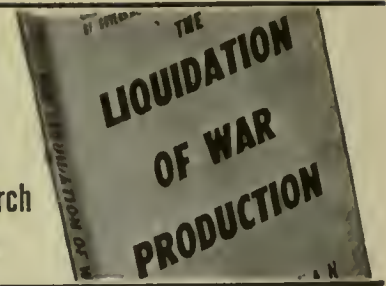
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THE LIQUIDATION of WAR PRODUCTION

★Cancellation of War Contracts and Disposal of Government-Owned Plants and Surpluses.

By A. D. H. KAPLAN

Professor of Economics, University of Denver

133 pages, 5 3/4 x 8 3/4, \$1.50

How will our war production be liquidated? To aid businessmen in considering their own specific questions of conversion, this new study from the Committee for Economic Development surveys the problem and suggests definite policies and methods of solution.

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Is it realistic to treat transition to peace production as a back-to-normalcy movement?

What will be the areas of distress requiring help until a peacetime balance can be restored?

What lessons do experiences following World War I teach?

What is the importance of timing of the re-conversion program?

In many aspects such as these, the reconversion problem is examined in this book. The issues, the facts, the figures are extracted, placed in proper perspective, and simply stated for the busy business reader, and 41 concrete proposals are made for a program providing for a smooth transition to desirable postwar levels of production, employment, and wages.

JOHN M. HANCOCK, Office of War Mobilization, Washington, D. C. says, “I certainly feel that you have done a masterful job.”

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all civilian requirements and why many people now have to wait for telephone service.

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to the folks at home.*

BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM



Survey Graphic for August 1944

Cover: The "water wheel" goes into place at TVA's Fort Loudoun Dam

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Hard to Replace

THE RESIGNATION OF EARL G. HARRISON AFTER serving two years as commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, U. S. Department of Justice, was accepted by the President with regret and warm appreciation for Mr. Harrison's "high standard of public service." Attorney General Francis Biddle wrote Mr. Harrison:

"It will be hard to replace you. You have done an extraordinary job in this comparatively brief period in building up the morale of the office; in reclassifying many positions and obtaining substantial salary increases; in eliminating much of the centralization, which thus made it possible for you to bring to date the work which had been badly behind a few years ago, so that it is now substantially current, even the petitions for naturalization; and in cementing relations with those admirable private associations devoted to the help of the immigrant in this country."

Under Mr. Harrison, the personnel of the service had been reduced by more than 450, and its expenditures by \$2,000,000.

Earl Harrison is returning to private law practice in Philadelphia. Despite his recent responsibilities he has continued to be an active member of the board of Survey Associates. In the leading article of *Survey Graphic* for May, he gave what is, to the best of our knowledge, the first description of how this country has handled the internment of civilian "alien enemies" whose activities and connections indicated potential danger to our security. The Immigration and Naturalization Service has charge of these internment camps.

He Loved Ships

IN MID-JUNE, IN JACKSONVILLE, FLA., A LIBERTY ship was launched much like any other; but on the bow of this one is the name of an American, of Dutch birth, who died last spring

—Hendrik Willem van Loon. Thanks to his friends, the ship's library will contain the writer's complete works. The principal speaker at the short ceremony that preceded the launching was Baron W. van Boetzelaer, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Netherlands.

"There could be no more suitable tribute to the greathearted Hendrik Willem van Loon," he said, "than a ship bearing his name. He loved the sea and he loved ships. He loved to paint and sketch them."

It is especially right, he pointed out, that Van Loon's ship should be a Liberty ship. "No man ever championed liberty more consistently than he did. He recognized no barriers to the human spirit."

The Western Hemisphere

Mabel A. Stanford of Ontario, Calif., sends us the following report of a stimulating meeting:

Educators from Mexico and Chile joined teachers from the United States in the annual conference of Claremont Colleges on American Hemispheric Relations, at Claremont, Calif., in June. A workshop continues into August.

There were five principal speakers. Hubert Herring, director of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, urged that understanding between the Americas be based

on realism, imagination and respect. Ernesto Galarza of the Pan American Union gave an illuminating analysis of the attitudes which help the common man of Latin America to endure the vicissitudes of his life. George Wythe, chief of the American Republics Unit of the Department of Commerce, described the economic content of Pan-Americanism as erected on the solid foundation of geographical proximity and complementary resources, and cemented by mutual benefits through trade and technological interchange.

Maria Rosa Oliver of Buenos Aires, editor of the magazine *Sur*, pointed out that the Argentine, because of tradition and geographical location, sees North America through European eyes, because his culture stems from Europe. His stereotypes become modified by personal experience.

Erna Ferguson, who has written authoritative books on Mexico, Guatemala, Venezuela and Chile, presented a sensitive appreciation of the Latin American's regard for the North American based on his understanding of the individual who visits the southern countries.

There were daily sectional sessions on Latin American history, economics and trade, labor and social questions, art, music and other cultural contributions.



Photograph from TV.

"BUILT FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES"

Generator room at Pickwick Dam, on the Tennessee. The above inscription is in the powerhouse lobby

SURVEY GRAPHIC

Magazine of
Interpretation



Published by
Survey Associates

The Grand Job of Our Century

Men will always dispute over economic and political abstractions.
Real things can cut through dogma in an American Development Program.

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

OURS IS A TIME OF GREAT EXPECTATIONS IN the face of unprecedented destruction. In spite of agonies of anxiety, sorrow, and hardship, the prevailing spirit among Americans is one of hopefulness. Open before us is an unparalleled opportunity to build new and firmer foundations under our feet. By this, I do not mean merely putting together what guns and bombs have torn apart. Rather we stand at the gateway of an age of expansion, of the flowering out of modern imagination and the new skills and knowledge of mankind.

The task ahead may prove to be the boldest and most stirring adventure of the human spirit since the circumnavigation of the globe. That will be true if it can release a flood of pent-up genius, not alone in our works of hand and skills in management but in the development of the free spirit.

History is filled with monumental paradox. The greatest of these may well be ushered in if the splendor of a creative age follows close on a nightmare of destruction. Only such a paradox can give meaning to a war which has brought death to our youth in lonely skies and on distant seas. The prospect that the satisfaction men may feel in building up will displace their feeling of futility in tearing down, is one to give heart to our resolve to win so that we can devote ourselves completely to this, the grand job of our century.

What I have in mind in such an era is not an ideal world lying somewhere in the remote future, peopled by a different kind of human beings, living under an imaginary social system. I am speaking of something that can be done with tools

of understanding and organization already ours. I have in mind that reservoir of knowledge that gives us in our time the power to mold the very face of things.

America, Here and Now

The necessary skills of organization and technology exist today. But this is not to say that it is foregone, automatic or inevitable that they will be used for an age of creation. We must have the will to set out boldly on the adventure, the resolution to begin, and to begin from where we are. We as a people need the will and the faith—but more, a sense that *this* is the historic hour to turn the first shovel.

What stands in the way? Not lack of "knowhow." We are up to organizing almost anything. Take a trip through one of our war plants covering fifty acres, built in a few months. Or a trip through the laboratories that serve them or the great new hospitals that serve our armies. Ob-

—By the chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority since 1941; a director since its inception in 1933. Recently Harper brought out his spirited "TVA: Democracy on the March"—in which he distilled meanings from the decade of achievement and set sights ahead. And that in a year in which the U. S. Congress squelched an attempt to put the Authority and its vigorous chief in a straightjacket.

This article is drawn from Mr. Lilienthal's Commencement address in June at the College of the City of New York.

serve how quickly we can train tens of thousands of men and women to be technicians. Thus, lack of knowledge does not stand in our way, nor lack of physical resources. Nor do we want for initiative, daring, high spirits. Are we held back by bonds of tradition or caste, class or race? No vast nation has been less cursed by such inhibitions. The arts of technology and organization, resources and the imaginative spirit are all here.

But there is a hazard—and not an inconsiderable one—that we may be sidetracked by disputes over economic theories and political dogmas. The danger is that we will let our driving vitality be consumed in controversy over catch slogans such as "free enterprise" or "collectivism," "reactionary" or "radical." Preoccupation with labels of this sort may divert us from the flesh-and-blood realities that we could agree should be done and can be done to strengthen the basis of democratic life for all Americans.

An American Development Program for the period from now until 1975 can be stated in terms of real things—of land, streams, electricity, forests, minerals; of factories and jobs. A program for America's building that deals with them can be understood and can be acted upon.

Land and Streams

America's soil badly needs to be strengthened, the topsoil preserved, the fertility restored, as an intensive twenty-to-thirty-year enterprise. Advances have been made in the past decade—but only a beginning.

This vast undertaking will vitalize the private business of farming and add to

its attractiveness as a family way of life. It will mean new opportunities, new jobs in factories making soil chemicals, agricultural machinery, electric pumps, tractors, materials for millions of farm buildings and rural schools.

America's vast rivers grievously need to be put under control and made to work for rather than against people. Our methods of managing almost all of our rivers, after all these years of trying, is still in the ox-team epoch—compared with American progress in nearly every other technical field.

To develop rivers by modern methods is by no means beyond our capacities, but it will be the largest over-all engineering project of all time. It will save thousands of communities and farms and private businesses from periodic invasion by flood waters. Enterprise will be nourished along the new water highways. Modernized rivers will provide an inexhaustible source of electrical energy out of waters now wasted and giving vent to destruction. Irrigation from stored waters will cause millions of acres to flourish that now are fertile but dead. The impounded waters will create spots of beauty for outdoor recreation.

The development of America's watersheds on a huge scale will raise up a profession of great builders. As by-products of their labors would come increased activity in new and existing private undertakings—shipyards for barges and tow boats, electric furnaces, and a hundred other kinds of new and old enterprises. Hotels and hostels will spring up along the new man-made lakes. New highways and railroads will be called for to keep abreast of the resulting expansion.

Forests and Minerals

After the drain of a century, America's forests need to be restored and refreshed by the most extensive reforestation in human history. On the one hand, this should comprehend the spread of scientific tree culture and an intensive educational effort the country over. On the other, our present forest supplies need to be converted to countless new products made possible by scientific discoveries.

America's minerals call for an exploratory and research program on a quarter-century schedule, to promote the most prudent and wealth-creating utilization of these fundamental resources.

These programs for forests and minerals would require technicians and administrators of many kinds that would strain universities, private laboratories, and training centers. Thousands of new industrial processes would throw open exciting new jobs in private enterprise and public service.

These then are real things to be developed and built upon. In the shadow of New York's skyscrapers it is easy to forget that their foundation is not the rock of Manhattan but the soil of America, her forests and streams and minerals. This is quite as easy to forget out in Omaha in sight of the Great Plains. There is something about being in a city that cuts one off from the underpinnings of our life.

Factories and Jobs

The American Development I am describing is *not* what is usually labeled "public works." They would be involved, of course, for bridges and highways and new postoffices and schools and sewer systems would be necessary if America struck out on such a program. But that would be incidental.

Nor am I proposing schemes of work relief as a "shot in the arm" to tide over a period when private employment and investment tend to stagnate. If we fail to strengthen and develop the foundations of voluntary undertakings by some such program, we will certainly need frequent doses of all kinds of economic benzedrine. The program I speak of relates not to such recourses, whatever their merits, but to the very springs of productiveness itself.

The dogmatist delights in phrases that only confuse—neatly segregating "public" works from "private" enterprise as if they were not both parts of the same living tissue of community existence, interacting and wholly interdependent. The building of a new automobile factory, privately owned, develops the need for new highways, publicly built. New highways—"public works" so-called—create fresh opportunities for the growth of automobile factories, oil refineries, tire factories, filling stations and so on.

A worshipper of words may be defined as a man who has his feet firmly planted in mid-air. But new factories and new power plants, new jobs and new products, enriched soil and improved nutrition—the things people want, the things such a building program for the coming generation will produce—these realities rest not in mid-air, like dogmas, but upon firm earth, upon the resources of nature, upon the technical and organizing skills of men and women.

The expansion in our standard of living in America that can take place between 1945 and 1975 can be accomplished without fundamental change in our institutions of government or of property. To do this particular job the Constitution of the United States needs no amendment. The scope and functions of government require no basic revision.

Neither dictation by private organizations nor coercion by laws is the price citizens would have to pay for such a mammoth building enterprise. To the contrary, it calls for further development of characteristic American initiative. It hangs on public understanding and cooperation in what is being done by the businessmen and the labor leader, by the factory worker and the farmer, by teacher and preacher and librarian and physician and local official. The undertaking is too broad, its threads are too closely interwoven, to be possible of accomplishment except by voluntary methods which encourage participation. Otherwise freedom and opportunity for individual development will have lost ground rather than gained it; and the physical achievements would be of dubious value.

The part of the United States where I work and live—the Valley of the Tennes-

see River—exhibits the benefits accruing from a comprehensive program of economic development. In that valley, the people and their institutions—among them the resource development corporation known as TVA—have in a decade completely changed the face of the region. The standard of living has materially increased for nearly all of five million citizens. The productiveness of the area has grown many fold. Opportunities for young men and women have mounted. There are new factories, new jobs, new professional opportunities. Standards of health and education have gone up. There is a resurgence of confidence, a chesty feeling, a dynamic burgeoning of human energy, a dreaming of further development.

Meanwhile, the Tennessee River has been taken in hand, put to work by engineering structures and at the same time made to serve as a reliable river channel. As a source of electric power, it has multiplied the region's energy resources by ten. The soil, so lacking in fertility a decade ago, is fast being restored by farmers and their associations. That soil and farm electricity have become the basis of attractive and prosperous living.

With the modern tools they now have in their hands the people are fashioning a new valley. Millions of visitors from all over the world have come to gauge the TVA's methods.

Renewing America's Youth

Winning the war is America's first concern today. But there are things all of us can do and do *now* that will be useful afterward! *Know* your country's resources. Your region's. *Know* the real things upon which your life is built. Keep in mind how the United States is put together, what really makes it tick.

Get the interesting habit of looking at a river, for example, as a force in the life of your region rather than a piece of scenery, or the place where people are drowned by floods, communities disrupted, railroads stopped. Think of floods as waste—waste that dams could save, and the relation of such dams to factories and farms.

Begin to look at the land as a vital force that determines the livelihood of your city. Break through statistics, economic principles, political policies, to the communities which produce lumber and steel, wheat and cattle, and think about their relation to your own field of work and your region.

The kind of American development I have dealt with will depend upon all of us—depend on our thinking and uttering, almost lovingly, words that speak of pine and cedar, of streams and turbines, of aircraft factories and steel billets; of coal and copper ore; of red clay and black loam and fields of wheat, wave after wave; of river barges and electric power lines; of construction workers and miners, woodsmen and farmers, doctors and teachers—of things and of people. The outcome hangs on whether ours is a static nation resting on its laurels, holding fearfully to what we have—or a land which forever renews its youth by magnificent dreams and noble plans turned into great deeds.



Night construction at TVA's Fontana Dam on the Little Tennessee River in western North Carolina

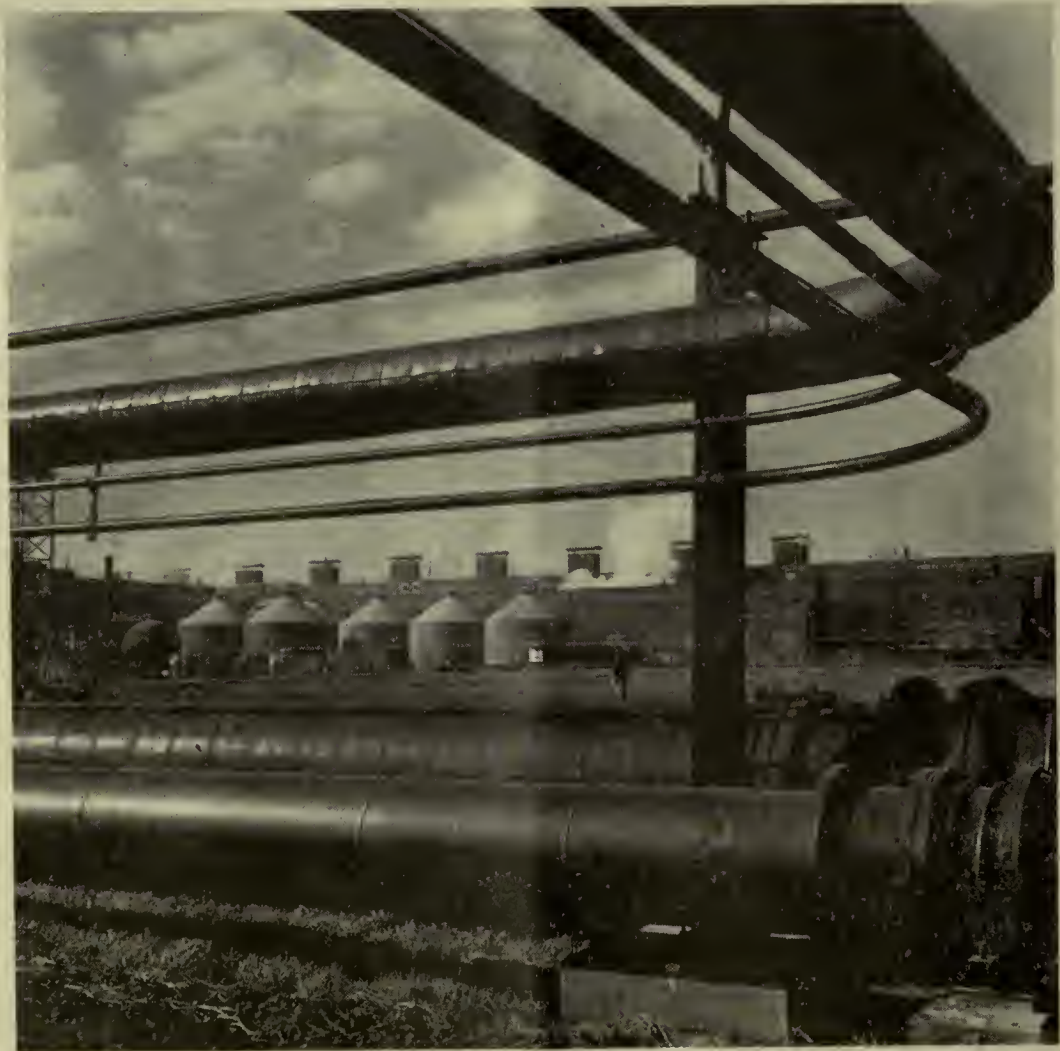
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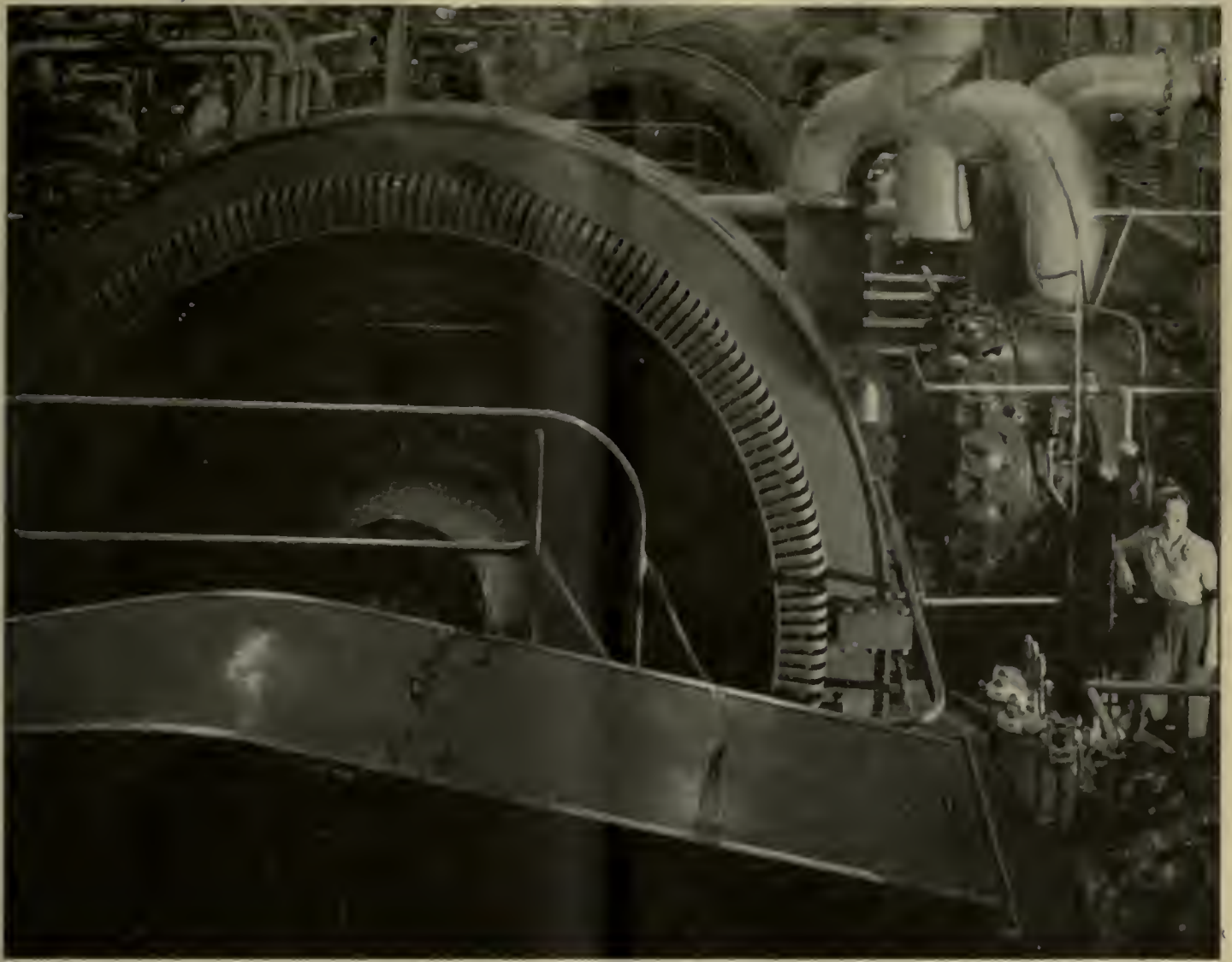
Steam plant at Watts Bar Dam, in Tennessee



Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals, Ala., built for use in World War I but incomplete at the Armistice—now part of the TVA system



The nitrate plant at Wilson Dam has produced nitrate needed for TNT in World War II



Massive compressors in TVA's synthetic ammonia plant at Wilson Dam. Muscle Shoals is a large producer of ammonia



In this kiln aluminum sulphate is reduced to alumina



Tapping a phosphate furnace. TVA produces phosphorous for fertilizer

Two Wars and Muscle Shoals

A wartime dud a quarter century ago, today the Tennessee Valley generates 10 billion kilowatt hours a year; three fourths for war use.

KATHERINE GLOVER

AMONG OTHER THINGS, MUSCLE SHOALS HAS stood for a long stretch of rocks and white water on the Tennessee River. It has stood for battleground between Indian tribes, between public and private interests among their successors. Now it is a nerve center for one of the greatest networks of electric power on earth; sign and symbol the world over that all-round planning in a democracy can lift an entire watershed to new levels of life and livelihood.

But if you would catch the more intimate drama for Americans in Muscle Shoals, turn to 1 Samuel *xvii* to the fight between a stripling named David and the giant Goliath. You will read again that as the children of Israel and the Philistine hosts stood each upon their mountain tops, "there was a valley between them." In his pride of strength, his assurance in his weapons, the mighty champion dared the Israelites in these words: "Am not I a Philistine? . . . then shall ye be our servants and serve us." But David, with only his sling and "five smooth stones out of the brook . . . prevailed over the Philistine."

For the "valley between" read that of the Tennessee. For those "stones from the brook" read not so much its rocks as its turbines and tumbling water. The story of Muscle Shoals reaches a long way back—as far as memories of white men in the southern Appalachians and before. Many significant names enter into that story. But when it comes to its later stages and the modern clash of powers that encompassed it—political, economic, electric—it was not for nothing that, out of all the treasury of the Bible, one of the namesakes of David should be a member of the Tennessee Valley Authority throughout the decade of its existence, chairman for roughly a quarter that span. Nor for nothing that David E. Lilienthal is versed in the law of utilities and that he had learned about Philistines, and about smiting that doctrine of theirs, back in Wisconsin.

Gray Smoke

Today, Muscle Shoals is at war. Nazi munitions plants bombed to scrap in Europe, wrecked Japanese installations up and down the Pacific, have felt sling shots of energy from the southern bend of the Tennessee. Gray smoke curtains the sky above it. Huge electric smelting furnaces are at white heat. Generators whirl softly as the powerhouses capture the force of the river and pour it into transformers. Transmission lines feed this into workshops which fuse and mould the raw materials of victory.

Muscle Shoals has long lain in wait for this hour. Fought over, dreamed over, speculated over as few other sites in the coun-

try, destiny seems to have held it in reserve—so much so that shadows of earlier times hang over it as thick as its gray haze.

—and History

Originally the name was applied to thirty-seven miles of shallow rapids extending westward from Decatur, Ala., to Florence, Ala. The stream boiled and churned over rock shoals and there was a popular myth that the Indians named the place because of the muscle it took to get their canoes past. Another explanation lies in the mounds of mussel shells left by the Indians along the banks. The shoals—in the intrinsic meaning of the term—were one of nature's worst impediments when rivers were main highways of travel, and the Tennessee was the most important route from southeast to west.

Generations later the rocks were submerged by the impounded waters of the river but the boil and churn of human affairs did not let up. In their time the Chickasaw Indians had fought the Cherokees for the rich land beside the shoals. In 1785, when the incipient Republic proposed to build a trading post here, the Chickasaw answer was: "The white man wears heavy shoes, he might tread upon our toes." And tread they did, not only on Indian toes but on those of each other as the years trailed along.

Ultimately the Chickasaws were pushed back to make way for white migration. Tradition has it that as they rode off in the full panoply of tribal dress, the departing words of their chief were: "I wish you peace and happiness in the land our forefathers owned which we now leave to go to another home in the West. I leave the graves of my fathers . . . the Indian fires are going out, are almost gone."

It almost seemed that, driven out, the Red Men had left a strange jinx along with their good wishes. Settlements started only to fail and waves of speculation swept over the region. The opening of the lands in the Tennessee Valley for sale in 1818

—Katherine Glover who was born in the South, visited the Tennessee Valley for the first time in 1935. Her book on the conquest of waste in natural resources, "America Begins Again," was published in 1939. When she returned to the Valley in the fall of last year she was amazed at the rejuvenation which had come to the region. (See "The Tennessee River Goes to War," *Survey Graphic*, December 1943.) Miss Glover is now in Washington with the Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency.

created only less excitement than the California gold rush thirty years later. Land about the old Indian settlement of Tusculumbia sold for as much as \$100 an acre. President Madison and General Andrew Jackson were among the bidders. Even then there were dreams of a great commercial center which would serve the needs of planters in the Muscle Shoals area, much as Memphis later met those in the Mississippi Delta. The dreams never materialized.

Instead a cluster of three communities sprang up—Florence, today with its pleasant homes and state normal school; Tusculumbia, birthplace of Helen Keller; and Sheffield, born of a speculative hope to out-rival Birmingham, Ala. Sheffield had its brief day of promise—with five blast furnaces and a rolling mill, two or three stove factories, and a few lesser industries.

World War I and After

Developments at Muscle Shoals were of a later brood and registered fresh advances in engineering and applied science. Hatched in the incubation of World War I, they yielded little or nothing to the war effort and proved some of the most expensive and troublesome war babies ever left on the national doorstep.

The project sprang from the critical need of nitrates for munitions. Imperial Germany had freed herself from dependence upon the Chilean nitrate fields by manufacturing nitrogen from the air. German subs prowling off the coast of South America had cut off our own supplies.

Muscle Shoals was to be America's answer to German imperialism. Two nitrate plants were projected there. One was never completed because of an outdated process which proved impractical in the emergency. The other was unfinished at the Armistice. Meanwhile, construction had gone forward on the new Wilson Dam to furnish power for these plants.

When peace came, what we had to show for a government investment of \$137,000,000 were two nitrate plants (one already obsolete) plus one uncompleted dam. There was another and vast potential which had come to be widely recognized—the latent electric power as yet undeveloped not only here but at other dam sites on the Tennessee and its tributaries. The valley between the mountains still spread out—a valley of hope with almost limitless natural resources.

This was a prize worth angling for. Every session of Congress from 1919 to 1933 was torn by competition for it under the dome of the Capitol. Debaters who argued for piecemeal private exploitation were unaware of the oncoming tide of

demand for over-all public development that was to prove as strong and turbulent as the shoals of the Tennessee.

The most spectacular bid for Muscle Shoals was the offer of Henry Ford who personified American enterprise in the imagination of the nation. He proposed that the government complete Wilson Dam and construct another some miles upstream and lease them to him for 100 years. He would purchase outright the two nitrate plants and steam power plants for \$5,000,000, and produce nitrogen and other fertilizer compounds to be sold at a profit not to exceed 8 percent!

Faith in large scale private development was at its peak at the time. The South saw the millennium around the corner of the Ford offer. Muscle Shoals would become a smaller Detroit; 100,000 employes would enter the region. Such prophecies and the magic name of Ford promptly gave birth to one of the strangest real estate booms at Muscle Shoals that ever marked our long and colorful history of speculation.

Phantom cities were laid out in the neighboring cotton patches and cornfields. Offices were opened in New York, Detroit, Chicago, and other cities for the sale of lots. Small investors were cajoled by literature which pictured New England textile mills moving in, shoe factories transplanted to the banks of the Tennessee, the entire cutlery industry no less than the farm implement industry centered there.

Similarly, one writer prophesied that the great aluminum plants of the future world would be located at Muscle Shoals. This forecast came nearer to the current facts than most, for today a large unit of that industry is located within the valley (if not all at Muscle Shoals), reducing aluminum from bauxite and manufacturing material for our fighting planes.

Complications developed as well as delays. The enabling act had passed the House in 1924 and stood as unfinished business at the close of the session in the Senate when Ford withdrew the offer before Congress convened again.

With the TVA—All-Round Planning

All but ten years were to pass before in turn, and in its stead, the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933 was passed. Characteristically enough, another indigenous American figure had stood throughout the years for public development. This was Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska, veteran progressive who had hammered away at Congress with bill after bill and now became the champion of a multiple purpose program for the Tennessee. In the years that followed the passing of the Act, he tenaciously led the support in Congress for the TVA development.

When TVA took over Muscle Shoals 11 years ago, Wilson Dam had been completed but was a huge isolated project of little practical value, virtually useless for navigation because of the difficulty of approach from both upstream and downstream; practically useless for dependable production of power because of the uneven flow of water in the river. It was not to

be gainsaid that private capital would have created great industries on the Tennessee River and harnessed more of its power. But that would have been to ignore other factors on which hung the future of the region. To ignore keeping the soil on slopes where erosion was wasting the deposits of centuries; to ignore conserving timber in forests which held rainfall.

These things were called for to avoid the social and economic bankruptcy to which the region was headed as an agricultural area. The future of the Tennessee Valley hung on the utilization of every drop of water from trickling streams in mountain coves of the Great Smokies to the outlet in the lowlands of Kentucky. What was called for was unified development of an entire river system for flood control, navigation, and power production, with such kindred services as soil conservation; agricultural revival; reforestation; with research and technical knowledge applied to the natural resources at every point and the relocation and occupational adjustment of the people to take widespread advantage of the new conditions.

The TVA Act of 1933 incorporated all these larger objectives. Passed at the outset of President Roosevelt's first term, the Act is one of the most significant pieces of legislation that bears the stamp of his entire administration. It marked the culmination of the more-than-a-century old struggle to untie the navigation kinks in the Tennessee River. Fortunately enough, the first chairman of the Authority was an experienced dam builder. Arthur E. Morgan was not only an engineer but an educator who sensed the all-round human adventure of his assignment.*

Fertilizer and Explosives

Most of Muscle Shoals' activities today are military secrets. But in broad outline one may trace a chord which from the beginning has run through years of peace and years of war. It happens that the identical elements that are capable of immense damage in the form of munitions are capable of stimulating production in plant life. Destructive in one form, nitrogen and phosphorous are constructive in another. To this fact, Muscle Shoals owes its adaptation to the ends of peace no less than war.

The Tennessee Valley Authority Act specifically provided for the development of new types of fertilizer which would help build up the seriously depleted soil, not alone of this southern watershed but of the country as a whole. It was this phase that engaged the anticipation of American farmers and was instrumental in the passage of the Act. It is not too much to say that southern folk were being dragged down with their vanishing soil—what with unchecked erosion and the one crop system.

Fortunately for the South one of the three initial directors of the TVA was Dr. H. A. Morgan, former president of the University of Tennessee and long a student

* See "Log of the TVA"—a series of articles contributed to *Survey Graphic* by Chairman Morgan, from January 1934 to April 1936; published in pamphlet form. Price 50 cents.

of southern agriculture—a prophet honored in his own land, even if not honored enough. He had for years preached the crying need for phosphorous. Nitrogen can be drawn from the air through the roots of leguminous cover crops, such as red clover and lespedeza, but phosphorous, a vital element of the earth, in which most southern soils are seriously lacking, must be put back in the form of fertilizer. With those first obsolete nitrate plants built at Muscle Shoals in World War I lay the chance to experiment afresh with fertilizer, utilizing deposits of phosphate rock in Middle Tennessee.

When Another War Broke

This adventure in wresting new life for the soil from the old mineral deposits of the valley was to become an important item in the agenda of World War II. Muscle Shoals was already humming with activity when war broke in Europe. Wheeler Dam and Pickwick had been built as companion dams to Wilson, linked with a chain of dams on the river and its tributaries. Those in charge of the TVA experiment were well aware of the importance of phosphorous for certain types of bombs and for smoke screens. Chemists and engineers had prepared in advance blueprints for conversion and expansion of the plants. As early as 1935, a report was made to Washington recommending rehabilitation of part of the great nitrate plant so that it would be ready in case of emergency. Action was deferred, not once but more than once, with the instruction that TVA should make plans only for the production of ammonium nitrate, maintaining the plant "as is" but not undertaking to rehabilitate or operate it. TVA persisted, however, and in 1940 an agreement was reached for a modern Haber method plant which would produce ammonia through the combination of burning coke and the nitrogen of the air.

Muscle Shoals converted to war swiftly and efficiently. The reconstructed ammonium nitrate plant started operation in August 1942, and has maintained a round-the-clock schedule seven days a week ever since. It operated at more than 100 percent of design capacity most of the time. When the military requirements for ammonium nitrate were finally met, TVA then diverted production from this plant to fertilizer use. The furnaces that a short time ago were turning out nitrate for TNT are now producing nitrates for fertilizer to step up the production of food for ourselves and the hungry people of the world.

As a war center, the Muscle Shoals of today is no Gary, no Willow Run. It is a great catalytic crucible where the natural elements and deposits of the valley region are magically fused and combined through electric power into raw materials for wartime industry or wartime agriculture.

TVA was the first to produce phosphorous in electric furnaces on a large enough scale to permit this element to be incorporated in fertilizer at a low cost. At the time of Pearl Harbor its converted World War I plant was the largest producer of

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The Younger Set

You can get them off the street corners if they have an attractive meeting place of their own to go to, many communities are learning.

ELEANOR LAKE

A HAPPY, NOISY REVOLUTION HAS TAKEN place after school hours. In more than 500 youth centers from Maine to California, our high school youngsters are proving that, given a chance to help run the show, they can produce the kind of fun that pulls teenagers out of the beer joints and into a decent place of their own.

The youth centers are the kids' own idea. They start with the common meeting point of all youngsters: a juke box, plenty of cokes, and some furniture you can put your feet on without a maternal scream of protest. Then they proceed into anything the teen-agers themselves want: all kinds of games, war work, orchestras, athletic leagues, discussion groups.

When I took a swing around some of the most successful youth centers lately, I could see why hundreds of other towns are eager to start them. I could see, too, how important it is to give them community backing. The satisfaction the teen-agers get out of their hangouts is touching.

Really Their Own

In Morgantown, West Virginia, for instance, the room was simply a deserted automobile salesroom, which the youngsters themselves had scrubbed spotless. It had a cement floor, for jitterbugging needs no shiny parquet. Boys and girls were lined up five deep at ping-pong tables. They leaned against the coke bar, talking baseball, with a bottle in one hand and an ice-cream sandwich in the other. They seethed blissfully around the crowded dance floor, where the red belly of a juke box glowed under soft lighting. The din was terrific: sound beat about me in waves, a nerve-searing mixture of clicks, bangs, yells, and discordant song against the piercing background of Harry James' trumpet. The place was really "solid." In the midst of the noise, half a dozen boys calmly played checkers; a few were reading.

"We're open every afternoon and evening," said Alice VanLaningham, the city recreation director, "because we feel this should be a real drop-in spot. We have a paid director, which is important if you're going to have any continuity. But the youngsters themselves handle most of the discipline. See?" She pointed to a boy who had started to light a cigarette. Another boy stepped up and tapped him on the shoulder. "They'll take things from each other they would resent from us, and they work much harder on a place they know is really their own: we never have any trouble getting boys to mind the coke bar or clean up. I think the main reason for our success is that the entire town, teen-agers as well as grown-ups, worked together on this."

—Mrs. Lake, now a free-lance writer, and mother of three children, was formerly on the staffs of *Fortune*, *Harp-er's Bazaar*, and the *Junior League Magazine*. Since she is the daughter of William Hard, it might seem that the gift of good reporting can be inherited.

When the Citizens' Recreation Committee, worried by mounting teen-age trouble, set up a special Youth Committee, they not only called in every group in Morgantown—churches, women's clubs, labor unions, teachers, service clubs; they also created a high school committee representing every type of boy and girl. While the oldsters raised money (with help from high school teams), the youngsters combed the town for a suitable place and then did all the hackbreaking work of making it ready. A meat market contributed a cash register, a printer the membership cards, a night club owner some tables and chairs, a hardware company the floor wax, and a grocery company an ample supply of potato chips. "Yes, we're all back of the youngsters," said City Manager John Snyder. "The Youth Center is the best thing that ever happened to Morgantown."

All hands agree, however, that it is only a beginning. Dancing and cokes alone won't hold the high school crowd forever. You want other things, too.

Take a big-town center like that in Fort Wayne, Indiana. There, 4,500 youngsters pay 50 cents a year to use a three-story building complete not only with juke boxes but pool tables, a workshop, lounges, pianos, a hot-dog stand, a monthly newspaper, a dozen kinds of games from ping-pong to darts, and even a weekly radio program.

Glamour Counts

But even Fort Wayne misses one thing—glamour, which is as important to a youth center as to a night club. Teen-agers are really "sent" by centers like the Des Moines Bombardier (black oilcloth background with silver planes), the Arkansas City Ranch House (stick furniture, rough cloth curtains and cowboy murals, all by the kids themselves), the Clinton, Ohio, Deep Sea Dive (deep blue walls with life-size murals of mermaids, sea serpents, and ships).

There are two especially "catsy" spots in Kankakee, Illinois—both have been going for several years. In the Crow's Nest, a night club decorator and some hired hands helped the teen-agers turn the second floor of the YWCA into a luxury-liner lounge. While the kids sanded floors, washed windows and woodwork, professionals put up blue mirrors to give the effect of the sea outside, hung ships' wheels for lights in the

game room, swank colored lights behind frosted glass to glamour up the dance floor. Even the running of the place is done in a sea-going manner: a galley committee of youngsters cooks hot dogs and hamburgers and washes dishes; other committees, all serving for three months at a time, keep the place shipshape and plan special events like truth-or-consequence nights and WPA (woman-pays-all) parties.

Across the street, at the Knights of Columbus, another youth center called The Drum furnishes friendly competition. There, a parents' club raised \$6,000 to create a Barnum & Bailey dream of red-and-white-striped ceiling, circus murals, genuine big show posters, and a quilted leather coke bar shaped like a huge drum. The Drum is more glamorous than any commercial hot spot in town. Besides dancing, it offers every sort of game, dramatics, and study groups—but only as the demand comes from the crowd.

In many places the youngsters' interest is so intense that, when adults fail to meet the need, the high school crowd simply takes over. Consider the amazing case of Kalamazoo.

A Cross Section of Youth

I found 500 boys and girls dancing to a 12-piece orchestra in Kalamazoo's Student Canteen—a garage-turned-youth-center. It was obvious that no conventional adult had devised the window decorations (each a different shade of purple, yellow, orange, green) or the colored furniture (each chair an individual symphony of the same). The only adults in the place were the part time director and Ed Halladay, a policeman, hired by the canteen, whom the youngsters adoringly called "our cop." The crowd seemed a cross section of all types and backgrounds. Ed Halladay confirmed my impression. "They get 'em all here," he said "Do you see that girl over there? She's worried our policewoman for two years, but since she had her picture in the paper, helping clean up this place, it seems to have given her a new slant on herself. You don't know what this place means to some of the youngsters."

Conservative, Dutch-blooded citizens of Kalamazoo could see no reason for an independent youth center, but the boys and girls knew better. They got estimates on the amount of delinquency. They visited dives and counted the adolescents hanging around pool tables or bars. In high school discussion groups they threshed out what they wanted. When the Council of Social Agencies casually asked their opinion on recreation, they staggered the adults by producing a complete blueprint. The YMCA gave them temporary space and then the youngsters



Quiet checker game in Morgantown, W. Va., youth center



Fulton School, Richmond, Va., has a room for jitterbugs

looked over every empty room in town until they found their spot. Finally the War Chest gave them \$1,500, told them to go ahead.

Youngsters varnished the 100-foot floor, 11 abreast, by hand, and waxed it by night with a borrowed hospital waxer. Impressed, the Masons and Y's contributed furniture. On opening night, with soloists, speakers, and full orchestra, the place was a mass of glowing peonies. Hadn't cost a penny: one future salesman simply let each patroness know that another was sending flowers that night.

The canteen is a year old now, and, in spite of some natural criticisms, the War Chest will sponsor it for another year.

A few untoward incidents have occurred: swing-struck youngsters danced on nearby porches on their way home and (to quote the police blotter) "played tunes on musical automobile horns." The youngsters themselves feel that they desperately need a full time director to help prevent such incidents.

and to keep the place from turning into a mere dance hall.

Most big cities find that neighborhood centers, picked and run by local boys and girls, work better than these oversize youth clubs. In Raleigh, a flourishing Teen Club collapsed of its own weight, so big that discipline became difficult, the budget too oppressive. It also slipped into another pitfall: it became too much the hangout of a single high school. Indianapolis has avoided this with a series of twelve small centers furnished and decorated by the neighborhood crowd.

A problem that faces every youth center is the curious caste system of age. Sixteen-year-olds will leave a place cold if it swarms with thirteen-year-olds, whom they consider "sad sacks" and "dimmys." Different centers have found different solutions to this snobbery. Some give afternoon hours exclusively to the junior high; others set aside special days or special rooms.

When a city has a proper, thriving recre-

ation program, youth centers fit naturally into the set-up—and have much stronger roots.

In most cities, for instance, schools are morgues after three o'clock, dark monuments to our lack of imagination. Not in Richmond, Virginia. There the school-houses are turned into community centers after hours. In Richmond's Fulton School I saw a room done in Williamsburg blue, decorated with Walt Disney cutouts, and full of jitterbugging boys and girls under the benignant eye of the principal.

Says Claire McCarthy, in charge of the public recreation program of Richmond: "If you can overcome the average school board's feeling that a school is some sort of civic monument instead of a part of the community machine for living, the youngsters soon know the place is really theirs. We get them in to dance and play games, and the next year some of them are married and back for our sewing classes, and a little

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Shuffleboard corner, Bradford, Pa., center



The ever-popular soft drinks bar in the young people's club at Waterloo, Iowa

Allies in Exile

The little known story of what unnamed soldiers, sailors and airmen from the invaded European countries have contributed to the fighting strength of the Allies.

GEORGE SOLOVEYCHIK

TO THE GERMAN-OCCUPIED COUNTRIES OF Europe, invasion day has always had a special significance. Now that after the long ghastly years, the first battles to thrust out the Germans are being fought on the soil of western Europe, it is well to examine the part our Allies have played—and are playing—in the struggle for their liberation.

The war has made London a true cosmopolis. England's capital has become the capital of Europe and today is not only a stirring observation post for continental affairs, but also the scene of many epoch-making international developments. The presence of so many exiled Europeans—both in the armed forces and in civilian occupations—has made the English very Europe-conscious.

But it is not my intention to discuss here the personalities involved, or to speculate on the future of the smaller states in the postwar world. Much could be said, for instance, on the de Gaulle controversy, or on the Tito-King Peter situation in Yugoslavia. This article, however, has a wholly different purpose.

Invaded but Undefeated Countries

This is the story of people who did not falter when in the grim year 1940-41 their native lands were knocked out one by one by the Germans; of people who, at the time when the fortunes of war seemed solidly and hopelessly against the democracies, deliberately chose the dangers and bitterness of exile; the wrench of leaving behind at the enemy's mercy all they held most dear; the perils of escape and the drudgery not merely of training but, first, of learning a foreign language in order to be able to train; the loneliness of life among strangers; and finally, the sadness of braving the risks of war without the ordinary consolations enjoyed by soldiers, sailors, and airmen. These European Allies do not have the blessing of a home to return to at the end of a voyage or on leave. They do not get little gifts from their families or the warmth and stimulation of news from those they left behind. Most of them are nameless heroes to the world outside and even their deaths remain unknown save to their comrades; unknown even to their own families still eking out a miserable existence under the boot of the Nazis.

This is a story of brave and determined citizens from nine European countries—invaded but by no means conquered—who in the course of that year came to Great Britain, set up their own organizations there, and ranged themselves alongside their British comrades in arms. Eight Allied governments were established in London at that time—the Belgian, Czechoslo-

vak, Greek, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norwegian, Polish, and Yugoslav—and in addition, the Free French "National Committee." Though the Greek and Yugoslav governments later moved their headquarters to Cairo, and General de Gaulle's Committee, after the liberation of French North Africa, was transferred to Algiers and later assumed the style of "Provisional Government," a substantial part of their respective organizations still remains in Great Britain. For the sake of simplicity I shall refer to them as the nine exiled governments in London.

The contribution of these Allies to the war ranges from active fighting in all the theaters of operation to the pooling of economic resources, joint diplomatic action, and constructive planning for the future. Their contribution to our far-flung ocean battles is outstanding.

The importance of sea power has long been realized in Britain and in America, but never so clearly as in this total war. Early in our struggle against the Axis it became evident that the whole issue hung on the Battle of the Atlantic. Unless the vital link between Britain and North America, and beyond, were kept open, there was no possibility for a United Nations victory. To the Battle of the Atlantic was added that of the Pacific, of the dangerous convoy route to Russia, and the Battle of the Mediterranean.

To keep the world's sea lanes open and to use them for the transportation of vital supplies is a stupendous task for the Allied navies and merchant fleets. In peacetime the British Isles require annually between 60,000,000 and 70,000,000 tons of food, raw materials, and finished products. The goods shipped to Britain used to come from all over the world. Today the problem is much more complicated. The enemy, or enemy-occupied, sources of supply have fallen away. War makes it necessary to protect the goods coming from all other sources. Further, not only Britain's essential imports have to be carried across the seas, but fighting men and their arms and supplies. Established routes have to be safe-

—Well-known in Britain as an author, journalist, lecturer, and radio commentator, Mr. Soloveytchik recently spent a number of weeks in the United States. In the course of a crowded visit he found time to write three articles for *Survey Graphic*. Our readers will remember his engaging picture of the U. S. Embassy in London (June); his thoughtful study of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (July).

guarded, new routes must be improvised.

Britain's shipping resources, though the greatest single unit in the Allied aggregate, would have been wholly unequal to such a task, especially during the long period when American ships were not allowed to enter the war zone.

In September 1939, Great Britain possessed an ocean-going merchant fleet of only some 11,000,000 gross tons; sinkings and temporary damage considerably reduced even that figure during the first years of the struggle. But the European Allies have virtually doubled Britain's merchant fleet, bringing in some 10,000,000 tons of fast modern ships, together with their officers and men.

The Allied Navies

Of all the immense services the nine European Allies are performing for the United Nations perhaps the most important is their magnificent work on the high seas. Norway, Holland, France, and Greece, with their old naval and mercantile marine tradition, have ships of every description and a competent personnel of worldwide experience. The Belgians, Poles, and Yugoslavs are novices compared to them in these respects, but all of them in recent years have made considerable progress in their maritime activities. In a class by themselves are the "Free Danes" who, while not formally our allies, are doing splendid work for the United Nations.

The naval forces of the European Allies are an important addition to the British and American navies. They comprise some 250 fighting ships including cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, as well as sloops, corvettes, and harbor service craft. Their crews, which are constantly augmented, now total about 30,000 officers and men.

Probably the largest of the Allied fighting navies is the Free French which came into being just after General de Gaulle's historic broadcast to the world on June 18, 1940: "France has lost a battle, but France has not lost the war." French ships immediately began to make their way to British ports and were promptly organized by Admiral Emile Henry Muselier, who had managed to reach Britain, into an efficient little fighting fleet, numbering some sixty-odd vessels. The bulk of the Free French naval force was part of the pre-war French navy; but the British government has handed over to Fighting France a destroyer, a submarine, corvettes, a flotilla of MTB's, and the latest types of frigates built in British dockyards.

French ships have fought many successful actions and U-boats have repeatedly fallen victims, or "probable" victims, to the skill and daring of their crews. Per-



British Information Services

After sinking the U-Boat which had torpedoed H.M.S. *Harvester*, the men of the French corvette *Aconit* rescue the destroyer's survivors

haps the record goes to the corvette *Aconit*, which rammed and sank two enemy submarines in the space of ten hours, at the same time rescuing survivors of H.M.S. *Harvester*. She returned to port with a cargo of German prisoners.

Capitaine de Corvette Bergeret, commanding a flotilla of French corvettes, was the first French officer to win the Legion of Merit, the highest distinction that the government of the United States can award to a non-American officer.

As a matter of curiosity it is perhaps worth mentioning that the Free French naval force in Syria includes some genuine "horse marines." Mainly Ismailian followers of the Aga Khan, these troops are dressed like cavalry, with an anchor on their tunic sleeve to indicate their maritime connection. Most of them now patrol on horseback stretches of the coast which cannot be guarded by other means.

The Royal Norwegian Navy of today consists of some 80 units. At the time of the German invasion in April 1940, the Norwegian navy managed to inflict heavy losses on the enemy but was itself largely destroyed in the process. It had to be almost completely reconstituted, and in this the whalers (of which about twenty were available) turned out to be particularly useful craft. Four of the fifty American destroyers received by Britain were allotted to the Norwegians, whose naval forces are active in convoying, patrolling, and mine-sweeping. King Haakon VII, himself a sailor, takes an active interest in his fleet.

The Royal Netherlands Navy has always been divided between a Home Fleet and an East Indies Fleet. The latter, with its own bases in Holland's colonial empire, has in recent years consisted of about three cruisers, eight to twelve destroyers, a number of submarines, various auxiliary vessels, and its own naval aircraft. Its present

strength, which is reported to have been augmented, is undisclosed. The Dutch naval force, excluding the East Indies Fleet, comprises two cruisers, four destroyers, and two dozen mine sweepers. The cruiser *Helmskeerk* and the destroyer *Sweers* were still under construction in the Netherlands at the time of the German invasion. They were towed to Britain and completed there.

Poland's small young navy has rapidly made a distinguished record. Nearly three quarters of its 26,564 tons managed to slip out of the Baltic and join the Allies. The Polish navy now consists of one cruiser, six destroyers, three submarines, and a number of smaller craft. The exploits of the submarine *Orzel* will be particularly remembered, and when that very gallant ship was sunk, a new Polish submarine, the *Sokol*, took its place.

Until this war, Belgium never had a navy. But in 1941 a rapidly growing Belgian section of the Royal Navy was formed. It now numbers about a dozen units manned by several hundred ratings and men—all volunteers.

All the Allied navies have training ships, and schools for cadets, crews, and technicians. A certain number of Allied cadets are also being trained at Dartmouth, the British Annapolis. Thus the problem of developing competent personnel is being solved. Ships lost—and the Allied navies, like their British and American comrades, have had their sad losses—are being replaced as wartime facilities permit.

Men of the Merchant Marine

If the Allied navies, important though they are, aggregate only about 250 ships and some 30,000 officers and men, the merchant marine of the European Allies is far more imposing.

Here Norway leads the way. A nation of barely 3,000,000, her merchant fleet in

June 1939 was the fourth largest in the world with 4,834,902 register tons—considerably larger than Germany's fleet then of 4,493,000 register tons. Only Great Britain, the USA, and Japan possessed more ships than little Norway. In quality, Norway has the most modern merchant fleet in the world, two thirds of her vessels being driven by Diesel engines, capable of a speed of from twelve to sixteen knots under full load, compared to the ten-knot average for steam vessels. Even before the actual invasion of Norway, her shipping to the extent of over 2,000 tons was serving the British cause.

After the invasion every single Norwegian ship on the high seas—and there were about 1,200 of them—or in harbors not controlled by the Axis powers, obeyed the radio instructions of the Norwegian government.

Some 30,000 Norwegian sailors bring to Britain or take to the other theaters of war, oil, foodstuffs, munitions, and supplies of all kinds. There is also a continuous stream of men and ships from Axis-controlled harbors who brave the danger of death or imprisonment, escape to Britain, and immediately join up. Most of them are experienced men of the sea—sailors, whalers, and fishermen. Those who are not, rapidly become so. "By the scamen, who have the hardest lot of all," said the Norwegian Foreign Minister, Trygve Lie, "there has been shown the most unconditional loyalty." A British publication, *The Motorship*, has summed up the contribution of the Norwegian merchant marine to the Allied cause in the following words: "It is probably an understatement to say that, at the present time, this fleet is worth more to us than a million soldiers. It is perhaps less spectacular, but of far greater practical importance."

(Continued on page 354)

Fighting

They do not have
on leave. Most of
and even their de
known even to t



Polish tank corps lined up for an extensive exercise somewhere in Great Britain



Dutch squadron commander and pilots of the Royal Dutch Naval Air Service



Czech troops in an invasion exercise



Crew of a ship in the Belgian merchant fleet, manning a gun

of Our Allies

n to at the end of a voyage or
ess heroes to the world outside,
own save to their comrades; un-
under the boot of the Nazis.



Flier, Norwegian Air Force



Photos from British Information Services

Crew of a Greek caique carrying out secret missions in the Aegean and Mediterranean



Captain, officers and crew of a Danish merchant ship—"Free Danes," who offered their services to the Allies

Second in importance is the merchant marine of the Netherlands, which threw into the common pool some 500 ships aggregating over 2,500,000 tons. Providentially, they, too, were out of Germany's reach at the time of the invasion. Like the Norwegians they defied the German radio order to proceed to Axis or neutral ports, and following the instructions of their own government, made for Allied ports instead. Many ships in Dutch harbors managed to escape despite the bombs of the Luftwaffe.

Next in size is the Greek merchant marine, which numbered 310 cargo vessels of over 3,000 tons, aggregating 1,485,215 tons at the beginning of the war. It also had one liner of 16,990 tons and a variety of other vessels. The losses it suffered were very heavy, amounting to 47 percent of the total tonnage. The remaining 53 percent, or 171 vessels, are now with the Allies.

The Free French, the Belgians, the Yugoslavs, and the Poles have also brought in merchant fleets with their own crews. Finally, the "Free Danish" ships deserve special recognition. More than half of Denmark's excellent modern mercantile marine, including the best and fastest ships, is serving Britain in open defiance of its own government. Four thousand Danish officers and men, and nearly 750,000 tons of Danish shipping, are working for the cause of freedom. They are volunteers, for they are serving entirely of their own free will and at great personal risk. Until Christmas 1943 they sailed under the British "Red Duster," but in recognition of their services, like the Free French, they now fly their own flag, the *Dannebrog*.

Fishing Fleets off Britain

Yet one more category of seagoing folk must be mentioned. Fishermen from the shores of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark—even Poland—are now fishing off the coasts of Britain. In their picturesque little boats, several thousands of them preferred to put out to sea and to brave the perils of German patrols and of deep water navigation rather than stay at home as Germany's slaves. They brought with them their wives, their children—and their fishing tackle.

Several British seaside towns have been made the home of these oddly assorted small flotillas and now look like Belgian, Dutch or French fishing villages. At first the fishermen viewed those of other nationalities with suspicion, but soon they discovered that they could teach each other quite a lot. For instance, some British fishermen are now increasing their catch by adopting certain Dutch and Belgian methods.

The enemy has taken heavy toll of all these brave men of the sea, in the navy, the merchant marine, and the fishing fleets. Especially, in the beginning, losses of men and ships were heavy. Thus in 1941, three hundred and thirty-five ships, aggregating 1,500,000 tons, were lost.

Britain's gratitude to the Allied fleets is being shown in many ways. Clubs and hostels have been established, not only in

all the principal British ports but in many ports overseas. Innumerable organizations provide comforts and entertainment; special broadcasts are arranged for the sailors and special papers and magazines of their own are printed for them. Needless to say, the presence of these heroic men of the sea in our midst has necessitated a number of special measures not only to insure refitting and maintenance of their ships, but also in regard to problems of discipline.

Cooperating with the Allied governments, the British authorities have established the rule that Allied seamen in Britain come under their own national law, applied by their own courts. In piloting the necessary measures through the House of Commons, Mr. Morrison, the Home Secretary, said: "This is a bill [Maritime Courts] which demonstrates to the point of proof that we intend to treat our Allies and their governments as full partners and not to follow the Nazi practice of taking their friends into protective custody."

Airmen—Czechs and Poles

The contribution of the European Allies to the war in the air is somewhat better known than their great work at sea. Yet even here the full scope of their effort is not appreciated.

First in the field—or rather in the skies—were the fully trained and tested airmen of Czechoslovakia who escaped—most of them to France, a few to Poland—after the rape of their own country. The Czechoslovak Air Force took an active part in both the Polish and the French campaign, destroying a total of 158 German aircraft. The skill and the courage in combat of these airmen won them the highest tributes from the start, and the most famous French squadron, *Les Cigognes* included five Czech pilots.

After the collapse of France they came to Britain, where the first Czechoslovak Fighter Squadron No. 310 was formed on July 12, 1940. By August 26 it was in the fight. During the first month of its operations it shot down 28 enemy planes. Other squadrons were rapidly established, with their own ground personnel. Their night fighters scored their first outstanding success when, during a particularly heavy raid on London, out of thirty machines shot down, six were destroyed by the Czechoslovak pilots. From the opening days of the Battle of Britain to the end of October, 1943 (the last available figures), they brought down 173 enemy planes, and damaged or probably destroyed 181 more. Many British and Allied decorations have been won by the airmen of Czechoslovakia, whose roll of honor is a great one indeed.

The record of the Polish Air Force is equally impressive. Like the Czechs, the Poles were in it from the beginning, and their part in the Battle of Britain is particularly significant. When tributes were paid to the gallant "few," whom, in Mr. Churchill's immortal words, so many owe so much, it should not be forgotten that among them flew a handful of Czechs and Poles whose contribution to victory was staggeringly out of proportion to their num-

ber. From August 8 to October 31, 1940 Polish pilots had destroyed 220 German planes for certain, 45 "probables" and 3 damaged. During September 1940, they shot down 14 percent of the German planes destroyed by the RAF, 131 out of a total of 962.

Free French and Belgian Fliers

French pilots, gunners, and mechanics enrolled in the Fighting French forces under General de Gaulle determined to continue the fight against Germany, and help liberate their country. They came to England in ones and twos from continental France and from the most distant French colonies. Some had almost incredible escapes. One stole the Vichy Armistice Commission's plane, and flew himself to England and freedom. Others crossed Spain on foot, or took ship for the East, and joined up by way of America and Canada. The Free French Air Force was established by General de Gaulle's Order of the Day dated July 1, 1940. Since then it has never looked back.

At first, the French airmen served in mixed RAF squadrons, alongside the Polish, Belgian, Dutch, and Czech comrades. Then the first French fighter squadron—the *Ile de France*—was formed. It operated in Scotland, flying Spitfires supplied by Britain, and defending a vital area. This pioneer group established the tradition of calling each new squadron by the name of a French province, its two flights by the names of the principal towns of that province.

The *Lorraine* bomber squadron, flying Blenheims in Libya, earned many mentions in Allied communiques, especially for the attacks on Halfaya Pass, where they bombed enemy transport, defenses, artillery, and the rock shelters where the Germans and Italians were hiding. Each plane made an average of three to four sorties daily, necessitating enormous toil by the ground crew on the sodden, earthy runways.

In 1942, the *Normandie* squadron, made up of picked pilots with experience in the Battle of Britain and the desert, went to Russia. There they are flying Russian planes, and have over 100 victories to their credit.

Other squadrons include the *Picardie*, formed in Syria, and the *Artois*, which served in French Equatorial Africa. The vast territory, which came over to General de Gaulle, had to be patrolled lest the Axis attempt to cut the trans-African route which it threw open to the Allies. Convoys had to be protected and submarines tracked down off the West African coast.

Many French pilots and mechanics have served in famous British squadrons. In 1942 it was agreed that air crews to make up a French Fleet Air Arm should be trained in American naval aviation schools. Nearly every month some 150 French aviation cadets go to America for this training.

French pilots are also flying on the trans-African air route from Brazzaville in French Equatorial Africa to Beirut, Syria, a distance of 8,000 miles. This air route began, like all French enterprises since

armistice, with a minimum of equipment. Two Bloch 120's, found in French Equatorial Africa, some out-of-date Farmaud and Dewoitines, and two enemy planes seized in Syria, made up the machines available. Spare parts had to be taken off planes damaged beyond repair. Now this line is using modern British and American transport planes to carry passengers and mail.

As they have acquired modern, efficient machines, French airmen have by their skill, no less than by their valor, made it clear that there was no lack of first class human material for that powerful air support which might have given a different ending to the Battle of France. Retrained, reequipped, growing every day, the French Air Force now is taking over duties which were far beyond its capacity in May 1940.

Before the first Belgian squadron was formed in Britain, a Belgian airman performed an extraordinary act of daring. Flying back to his country, he unearthed the original flag of the Belgian Air Force presented to it on the field of battle during the last war by the late King Albert, which had been buried in a wood after the German invasion of 1940. He brought this proud symbol of the Belgian national spirit to England, and at an imposing ceremony, was presented to the first Belgian squadron formed on British soil. But long before that, Belgian pilots, like the Czechs, the Poles, and the French, had been flying with the RAF.

The first "foreigner" to lead an all-British air squadron was a Belgian Wing-Commander. Since then, several other Allied airmen have been equally honored. There are RAF squadrons today in which Allied airmen are commanded by British, and others where British airmen are commanded by Allied officers. For it should be noted that in addition to their own national air forces or national squadrons incorporated in the RAF, there are many Allied citizens serving on their own, so to speak, in the RAF.

And on Land

Although it was not possible to evacuate any substantial armies or armaments from invaded countries, and although there seems to be a definite tendency among the young men who escape to freedom to join the air force or the navy, the nine European Allies together now possess an army of well over 500,000 men. By far the largest single armies are those of the Free French and the Poles. But it would be invidious to distinguish between the size or the achievements of these nine fighting forces. Some of them are seasoned troops who have fought on several fronts. Thus there are Polish units that have served in Poland, France, Norway, Africa, Asia, and Italy. Much the same applies to the Czechs and the Free French. Dutch colonial troops were heavily engaged in the Pacific zone, and the Belgian Congo army took part in the Abyssinian campaign in 1941. Early this year the Czechs formed a division in Russia.

Broadly speaking, these Allied armies have been divided into several parts, some

of which are stationed in Britain, where certain coastal sectors are entrusted to their guard, some in the Near and Middle East, and some are now distinguishing themselves in the fighting in Europe. Wherever there is a battle against the common enemy, Allied troops are to be found in the thick of it, performing wonders of gallantry and endurance.

Exchequers of Their Own

Even this brief account of the Allied war effort, at sea, in the air, and on land, is sufficient to show the necessity of an extensive machinery for the organization and direction of all these far flung operations. Moreover, some of the Allies, like the Free French, the Belgians, and the Dutch, possess vast overseas empires which are ranged on the side of the United Nations and are making a vital contribution in manpower and in natural resources. These territories require the exercise of complex administrative functions.

For a government-in-exile to improvise war departments and other necessary agencies far from its normal centers and with a limited number of competent civilians is no easy matter. Some of the European Allies in London happened to have at hand the right men, trained and experienced or with suitable ability for government jobs. But others had to find and train new men, or allocate jobs to whatever nationals were available. It was not only a question of setting up the necessary departments with all that that implies—finding premises, getting installations and supplies, establishing contacts with British and other Allied officials, and so on—but there were also internal psychological and political problems that required careful handling.

Critics of the exiled European governments should remember Dr. Johnson's famous observation about the dog walking on its hind legs—that the remarkable thing was not that it was doing it badly, but that it could do it at all!

In view of certain popular misconceptions there are several about these governments that need to be clarified.

First, there is the question of finance. Far from constituting a burden on the British and American treasuries, most of these governments possess very substantial exchequers of their own and are largely self-supporting. The Belgian, Dutch, and Norwegian governments not only pay for everything they use, but they presented Britain with generous funds for the purchase of bombers and fighters. These governments—a unique situation for exiles—even continue to pay interest on their foreign loans.

Finally, it is worth recalling that in March 1941, before lend-lease legislation had been enacted, the Belgian government loaned Great Britain 3,000,000 ounces of gold (since repaid), to prevent the threatened stoppage of American supplies because Britain had exhausted her reserves of bullion and foreign currency.

The Free French, who had to be heavily financed in the beginning, are now wholly self-supporting, as are the Yugoslavs.

The Greeks and the Czechs still have sound resources, but they have had to take up certain credits. Even the Poles, who from a financial point of view have fared worse than the others, have a little gold of their own in the United States. At great peril the Poles managed during the 1939 campaign to transfer their National Bank's gold reserve to France—only to be despoiled by the men of Vichy who gave it to the Germans. If, as they hope, the Poles recover this gold before long, their resources will be substantial.

Thus the popular belief that Britain and America are bearing the cost of the war, not only for themselves but also for their European Allies, is as untrue in terms of pounds and dollars as it is in terms of valor and human achievement.

Their People at Home

Again, there is the accusation of squabbling. Of course the members of each Allied government-in-exile squabble; why shouldn't they? Do not the British and the Americans squabble? Does not Congress frequently oppose the President (and vice-versa), and the British voters time and again return Opposition candidates? The right to criticize and to oppose (to squabble, if you like) without being faced with the firing squad or the concentration camp, is precisely what the United Nations are fighting for. Then why do Americans demand from their European Allies a uniformity that they themselves wholly lack—and do not want?

The exiled Allied governments are not concerned today with the task of shaping the future destinies of their respective peoples. It is their present job to direct the war effort of their armed forces and at the same time to safeguard the interests of the nations they represent.

These nations today are also fighting. In every invaded country the resistance movement has reached tremendous proportions. The Germans themselves frequently speak of "Resistance Armies." They, too, are a vital Allied contribution to the war effort. There is a separate story, one of daring and endurance that defy imagination. There is just one aspect of it that must be included here. Though they are in close and constant touch with the exiled governments, these movements do not get their instructions from London. It is almost the other way around; the exiled governments have to pay a great deal of attention to the opinions and wishes of their people at home. The governments know only too well that accounts will have to be rendered and that in the long run the decisions will be made by the people they now represent. No outside decisions can be foisted on the countries of Europe after their liberation from the German scourge—not by Britain or America or by the governments-in-exile.

When that liberation comes, the European Allies will be able to take legitimate pride in a unique achievement: Under incredible conditions and against tremendous odds they are fighting the good fight undismayed by handicaps of numbers or resources.

People v. The Fascist, U. S. (1944)

The defamation of groups has become the rocket bomb of the domestic fascist. Can we control it by legal means without endangering legitimate freedom of expression?

CHARLES OLSON

Attack WAS THE NAME GOEBBELS GAVE his first paper—*Angriff*. Attack is the first and final weapon of the fascist. Attack a leader, attack a class, attack a race—attack a peace. Always attack.

Use anything—libel, slander, rumor, lie, obscenity: but ATTACK—DEFAME AND DESTROY.

We are concerned here with the protections the law offers men against defamation by the fascist. Not so much the protection of the individual as of men grouped together in associations, classes, races, religions. Nations even, for sedition in the twentieth century is but an extension of libel. The fascist has seen to that. He is *total* because he is out to destroy.

The fascist attacks you, me, anybody. If we sue, he uses the court to amplify the attack. He expects acquittal because judges are tender to civil liberties, fear to infringe freedoms the eighteenth century revolutions guaranteed the individual. Acquitted, he is a hero; occasionally convicted, he is a martyr. One Jew-baiting agitator, Joe McWilliams, after conviction under the disorderly conduct statutes of the New York Penal Law, later reversed upon appeal, acted the tactic out. Said he: "They hailed me into the Court of the Eskimo and after they got me there they did not have the guts to say six months in jail or \$5,000 fine. They got afraid of Christian opposition."

Libel is more to the canny fascist because he understands and takes advantage of a gap in the law. We still think in terms of the "individual" and our law of defamation, such as it is, is conceived only as a protection against individual injury, as the law of assault and battery is a protection for individual life and limb. Attacks upon social groups are pretty much outside the scope of existing law. And right there the fascist moves in:

"The Irish are to blame for political corruption in our large cities."

"What is the trouble all over the world? It is the Sassoons in India and China. It is the Rothschilds in Europe."

"The public officers of the United States are anti-Christian, Marxian dictators, Judas-like betrayers of their country, planning to mingle the blood of Negroes, criminals, and Jews with that of Christian-American soldiers and sailors by means of transfusions and so-called 'blood banks.'"

Of such stuff is the fascist attack systematically made. These are the calculated lies. These are the falsehoods daily circulated concerning groups, classes, and races. The fascists strike at "Reds," "democrats," "Jews," "liberals," "Negroes," "Catholics," and run little risk of prosecution for libel. A group is too vague, the courts hold, too large to be defamed.

Vague and large like Hitler's lie—the broader the libel, the better to eat you with! Exaggerate. Play upon suspicions. Get to the emotions where fear and prejudice feed. Stimulate curiosity, rage, or thirst for sensation. Attack.

Attack. Do what the tabloid, the cartoon, the caricature, the joke have done. Take libel as people have known it, with its early ecclesiastic background and later domestic character. Unwrap it from its heart-balm suits. Free it from those crusading nineteenth century editors. And hurl it into their faces to destroy them and their "democracy." Attack individuals, yes, where they are leaders, symbols. But above all, and always, attack the groups which make up, say, America.

I.

In the face of this peril, the democracies are confused, seek to strike back. To do so they turn to the law, thinking to widen libel to include groups, only to discover that their whole concept of civil liberty is involved. Thus there is the division and debate today in America over group libel.

There are those who fear that such legislation will curb freedom of speech and therefore create more evils than it is designed to cure. And there are those who declare that freedom of speech and other civil rights have both valid and invalid uses, and who hold that fascist misuse of American liberties could be punished without injury to rights essential to democracy.

The American heritage of middle class individualistic liberalism is ranged on the side of those who oppose group libel legislation. Our civil rights, like our economy, were conceived in individual terms and any move to widen them to cover groups works against the older currents of American society. Group libel focuses anew a conflict we have seen appear again and again in these years of change as America accommodates herself to the twentieth century.

Our law has consequently been slow to appreciate the role of groups in twentieth century society. It took the Wagner act to write into the law the right of workers to organize. The isolated person is as helpless in the face of systematic defamation of his kind as in the face of con-

—Here, Charles Olson discusses one of the most difficult problems before a democratic country in our century—and takes a definite stand. Mr. Olson, a writer and former Guggenheim fellow, was until recently assistant chief of the Foreign Language Division of the Office of War Information.

certed economic power. The groups that are today of political consequence are religious, racial, ideological, occupational. They are vague and untidy, with overlapping contours. But their need for protection in the face of modern political warfare is just as urgent as that of wage earners caught in economic exploitation.

Two other American peculiarities impede the passage of group libel legislation. One is the unique American attitude towards reputation. The purest sons of capitalism, we tend to take libel seriously when it strikes at profits. We take it less seriously when honor, race, morals, creed is attacked.

And we are used to license here in the West. We are cynical of law. It is just what we expected when we learn that on one cent was ever recovered in the fifty libel suits against newspapers in Colorado fifty-eight years as a state. We expect reverence, extravagance, violent words "Fair game," the lawyers call it.

Thus libel action as a whole, civil as well as criminal, is of less significance in the United States than in any other country under the common or civil law.

The general rule in American jurisdictions seems to be that a defamatory publication directed against a large, indefinite group of persons is not redressible in civil action of libel, unless the particular member of the group bringing the action is specifically referred to, either directly or by implication. The reasons which the courts have assigned for thus limiting civil liability have been that no one individual is injured by defamation of a group as a whole, and that the imposition of liability would unduly restrain freedom of discussion concerning groups and would harass the defendant and the courts with a multiplicity of actions.

II.

Some attempts to protect groups have made use of the law of criminal libel. The rational basis of criminal prosecution of libel has been said to be its tendency to inflame and disorder society, and to create a breach of the peace. Criminal libel statutes as they stand are, on the whole, not directed specifically to the problem of group libel, and most of them refer, in terms, only to the defamation of individuals.

The most noteworthy of the American cases sustaining criminal liability for group libels are the so-called K. of C. cases. They date back to 1915 and run up to 1937. Four decisions held punishable, as criminal libels, defamatory publications which charged that the fourth degree members of the Knights of Columbus were requir-

to take an oath renouncing allegiance to the United States and pledging themselves to discrimination against "Protestants and other heretics," including in three of the cases, a pledge to murder the latter.

In all these decisions, however, reliance was not placed solely on the theory that fourth degree members of the Knights of Columbus generally had been libeled; but on the contrary, specific individual members were named in the indictment as the men who were libeled. It seems clear, on the other hand, that these individual members were not libeled to any greater degree than any other fourth degree members of the Knights of Columbus.

In these decisions, the courts, moreover, regarded the law as well settled that a criminal prosecution could be maintained for a libel upon a group or class of persons, even though no one individual was specifically pointed out. The reasoning was that such a libel "may tend as much or more to create a public disturbance as an attack on one individual." One court went so far as to raise the question whether the "fact of numbers does not add to the enormity of the act."*

In contrast a decision of the Court of General Sessions of the County of New York in 1938 dismissed an indictment against Robert Edmondson, the self-styled American vigilante. He was charged with libeling "all persons of the Jewish religion." The dismissal of the indictment in this case was in accord with the position taken by a number of organizations, including the American Committee on Religious Rights and Minorities, the National Council of Women, the American Jewish Committee, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the American Jewish Congress. These organizations filed a brief, as friends of the court, urging the danger to freedom of speech that would result from an application of the criminal law to libels directed against broad classes of society.†

In the Edmondson case the court noted that in the cases in which groups have been libeled some individuals were invariably named in the indictments as having been libeled, whether directly or by implication; and it stated that the soundest rule on the subject of group libel was "that an indictment cannot be predicated upon defamatory writings assailing a class or group, unless directly or by implication, some individual is libeled." The court argued that none of the existing authorities supported an indictment "based on a defamatory matter directed against so extensive and indefinable a group or class

as 'all persons of the Jewish religion'." The court further stressed the potential dangers to freedom of speech, stating:

"As is so well pointed out in the briefs submitted by *amicus curiae*, it is wiser to bear with this sort of scandalmongering rather than to extend the criminal law so that in the future it might become an instrument of oppression. We must suffer the demagogue and the charlatan in order to make certain that we do not limit or restrain the honest commentator on public affairs.

"And when one realizes how many forms of religion might consider themselves libeled and seek legal redress, were our laws so extended, and when we reflect on how our courts might, in such event, find themselves forced to the position of arbiters of religious truth, it is apparent that more would be lost than could be gained by attempting to protect the good name of a religion by an appeal to the criminal law."

The Edmondson case thus ran counter to the four decisions cited in the K. of C. cases.

III.

Because neither the present criminal nor civil laws are adequate to cope with the modern evil of anti-democratic defamation, new legislation has been proposed. A number of group libel bills have been introduced into state legislatures and Congress in the last several years. The only statutory measure which has been enacted is the much discussed New Jersey "race hatred" law of 1935, a first attempt to deal directly with Nazi anti-Semitic agitation. But in subordinating its specific purpose in a general reference to inciting hatred "against any group or groups . . . by reason of race, color, religion or manner of worship" the law defeated itself by such broad language. It was invalidated by the New Jersey Supreme Court in 1941.

Most of the group libel bills which have been introduced have failed to make adequate provision to insure immunity from prosecution for bona fide discussion of public issues. Some of the bills, like the New Jersey law of 1935, would impose a general ban on all statements inciting hatred against any racial or religious group, regardless of the truth or falsity of the statement and regardless of the motive of the person responsible for its publication. Others bills would permit as the only defense a showing that the matter charged as libelous is true and was published with good motives and for justifiable ends. Still others, such as those which have been proposed by Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York, provide generally that "defenses of truth and privilege shall be available."

Most of the proposed legislation centers in state bills which would make it a misdemeanor "maliciously" to publish or cause to be published a libel upon a racial or religious group. One such model state bill defines a group libel as:

"a publication by writing, printing, picture, effigy or other representation, or by any form of wireless or radio broadcasting, which tends to expose persons desig-

nated, identified or characterized therein by race or religion, any of whom reside in this state, to hatred, contempt, ridicule or obloquy, or tends to cause such persons to be shunned or avoided or to be injured in their business or occupation."

Proposed federal bills aim to impose punishment for malicious group defamation by radio, to make group libels non-mailable, and to authorize the issuance of injunctions against the mailing and shipment in interstate commerce of publications containing libels on racial or religious groups.

All these bills face two fields of controversy. Some who oppose group libel legislation as dangerous claim that no matter how carefully drawn is the statute, how narrow its scope and liberal its defenses, the measure inevitably carries a threat to the full freedom of expression which is basic to our democracy. In the hands of a hostile prosecutor and in a hostile community, it may be turned against the very minority groups which it is designed to protect. Whether so used or not, the presence of the law may operate, they fear, to discourage discussion of public questions where the expression or opinion should be most free. In their opinion, no provision on the books designed to protect statements made in good faith could, for instance, give authors and publishers the assurance that they might express their honest opinions without fear of prosecution. The creation of that fear, they say, may be as effective as an actual conviction in imposing a curb upon the full and free discussion of public questions.

Others who oppose this type of legislation see proceedings by the federal government through sedition statutes as an alternative way to fight back at the fascists, without the risks of new legislation. It is already folklore that Washington got Al Capone for income tax evasion. The federal government is seeking twenty-nine convictions in its present mass sedition trial.

Opponents of group libel legislation also point out that the government, by revoking mailing privileges, by interning alien enemies, and by denaturalizing Bund members, already has put many native fascists out of business. And they refer to the Federal Foreign Agents Registration Act, which requires every agent of a foreign principal who transmits in the mails or by any instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce, "any oral, visual, graphic, written, pictorial, or other communication or expression" which is reasonably adapted or intended to "promote in the United States racial, religious, or social dissensions," to file copies of such publication with the Library of Congress and the Attorney General, and to preface such publication with a statement setting forth that the person transmitting such publication is registered as an agent of a foreign principal.

Among those who regard group libel legislation as necessary—whatever safeguards the sedition statutes offer—argu-

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* *People v. Turner*, 28 Cal. App. 766 (1915); *People v. State*, 14 Okla. Cr. 30 (1917); *Alumbaugh v. State*, 39 Ga. App. 559 (1929); *People v. Gordan*, Cal. App. 627 (1923). The pledge to murder did not appear in *People v. Turner*.

† The current approach of the American Civil Liberties Union to the problem of group libel was crystallized in a memorandum issued in June, 1944. The pertinent portion follows:
"The control of defamation of groups on grounds of race, creed or color constitutes a problem not easily treated. The difficulty arises from any effort to penalize speech or publications directed against a race or religion without imposing far too general restraints on freedom of speech and press. The American Civil Liberties Union has opposed all such measures, but is open to argument in behalf of any proposal which is restricted to accomplishing the desirable end of combating attacks on races and religions without impairing legitimate freedom of speech and press on these subjects."

"Here's a New Thing Altogether"

Doing spade work of all kinds in the communities in which they are located, the USO clubs serving Negroes do an extraordinary job of social pioneering.

J. SAUNDERS REDDING

THE WORK OF NEGRO DIRECTORS OF USO clubs is, of necessity, more far-reaching and wider in range than the work of their white confreres. White directors find the social forces of the community at their command.

Negro directors, on the other hand, have had to break down walls of prejudice and public indifference—on the part of Negroes as well as whites—and in some cases actually have had to create a social milieu in which they could work. For these reasons, their work has a social value much deeper and broader than its primary purpose of providing relaxation and entertainment for Negro servicemen.

Take the case of the club director I went to see in a community on the eastern seaboard. Few Negroes live in this community. A few years ago the erection of a Negro church there lighted fiery crosses in the town. When the USO moved in, the local USO committee did not wish to make facilities available to Negro soldiers on a bi-racial or an equal basis. Negro soldiers might have a dance one night a week, and that was all. Why not build a unit for Negroes? It was an unreasonable suggestion, since facilities there were adequate for all servicemen in the area. A few progressive members of the committee got together with consultants from the national USO office. Local policy stretched a little. Negro soldiers might have a program on a second night.

On this margin the Negro director started working. He knew prominent show people—a famous song writer, a dancing star, a comedian whose antics were sure-fire laugh stuff. All of them came for the Negroes' program night. Seeking entertainment, white soldiers also came. And then the community wanted to come. We're not selfish, the Negro soldiers said. The community came.

Since that time Negro servicemen have been using the club daily. The community did not quite know what had happened to it; but it was learning an easy lesson in tolerance, and it was having a good time at it.

From the Ground Up

In New York and Pennsylvania, in New Jersey and Virginia and Georgia it is the same; everywhere Negro USO directors have had first to do the missionary and pioneer work that, because it had long been done among the whites, was largely assumed to have been done among the Negroes as well. It takes no feather from the caps of white USO directors to say that for the success of their programs in general they have had only to organize and in some cases reactivate forces already in

—By the author of "To Make A Poet Black" (1939) and "No Day of Triumph" (1942). English instructor and contributor to leading magazines, Mr. Redding is the first Negro to win the Mayflower award in literature given annually by the state of North Carolina. National headquarters of the USO asked him to visit the clubs for Negroes and record his impressions. This article is the result.

existence: resources of the community were theirs for the asking.

But not so the Negro. Instead of having buildings turned over to him, he has frequently had to fight greed and prejudice to rent even a third class building. In one northern town an organization of white realtors (at least one of whom was on the board of management of the white USO) opposed the Negro director's rental of a building so bitterly that for several months his office was virtually in his hat and at the nearest telephone. When he did get the building, the rent was exorbitant and he had to spend considerable money for renovations.

In some southern towns city officials have a propensity for designating the worst slums as sites for Negro USO centers. In one city, for example, the USO location is so bad that for a long time respectable Negro families would not permit their daughters to attend USO functions. (And some still do not.) Servicemen complained of being mugged in the neighborhood.

A Neighborhood Center

But it is not always as bad as this sounds. Frequently a diligent, knowing director makes the slum location work toward the long range objectives that, until his coming, were often thought unattainable.

In one town the underprivileged, rachitic



Devoted Boy Scouts give free shins to servicemen at a Missouri USO club

children of the slums objected to the location of the USO club on their playground—a swampy vacant lot. They were determined that if they could not use the playground no one else would. They stonewalled visitors. They tore out screens, broke windows, chalked obscenities on the building. Before the director could begin his authorized industrial program, he had to do special service spade work generally spanned by white directors.

First, he organized a club for the children. He showed the youngsters moving one day a week; a second day he gave them a party. He organized their mother into a club. A trained nurse teaches the simple home nursing; someone else teaches home care. The director himself teaches reading and writing two evenings a week. An unusually talented industrial worker leads group singing once a week. With volunteer to help, the director solicits books from the Victory Book Drive as well as from the backdoors of likely white homes and began the only circulating library open to Negroes in the town.

Now, fourteen months later, the children do voluntary chores of sweeping and dusting, fetching and carrying. They have imposed upon themselves a nine o'clock curfew. Under the guidance of a panel of five volunteer women, two of whom are white, the mothers of the slum are trying to reason out their problems and are learning something of civic responsibility. At a recent visit to the club, the police precinct sergeant, addressing the Negro director with the familiar condescension that is the custom of the South, remarked: "You think so I wouldn't know these for the same niggers. I'm right pleased."

Bringing in the Community

But it is not only in the slum areas that Negro directors must carry on pioneering social work. It is among the more respectable members of the race as well—in churches and schools and lodges, and in the homes of the hard-working people who support these. Negroes have had little training in community activity and community responsibility. Their organizations are likely to be very closed, very exclusive, almost tribal. Negro ministers are very apt to think in terms of "my church" rather than "the church."

This attitude has been broken down by education, by suasion, and by stimulation—a sense of communitywide cooperation among the ministers and their congregations. The breaking down sometimes takes novel forms. One director seriously considered having himself baptized in one of the three scattered communities to which he depends for volunteers.



Snack bar above, and right a Sunday singing led by the club music adviser at an attractive USO in New Jersey

Exhortation to "high patriotic duty" and proud privilege" sometimes leaves the Negro cold. Moreover, he is a worker, his wife is a worker, and his daughter is a worker. Because of the increased tempo of work and the allurements of overtime pay, he is out of the USO picture almost entirely. Though in some centers his wife and daughter are also in industry, the usual pattern of Negro women in service occupations is not greatly disturbed. There is no large middle semi-leisured class among Negroes to draw on for volunteers. In spite of this, Negro directors have won the support of volunteers in numbers that put other groups to shame. They have appealed to the cooks, the housemaids, the factory girls, and appealed to them on the grounds of "having a good time"—not always the best appeal, but one which works. "We simply had to put in a training course for our volunteer girls," a director of a USO-YWCA agency told me. "They're not dumb. It's just that they've never lived at this level before. They've never had parties or debutante clubs, and the commercial recreation they've been exposed to has been . . . well, just look about you. Beer joints, beer parlors, everywhere you go. And the places they have to live in! We've done nothing but change the atmosphere for these girls, we'd be doing all right. It's better now, I think," she said confidently. "But what was it before?" She paused for a moment and gazed absently at the week's program tacked on the wall above her desk. Then, as if she had completely forgotten me, she said in a low voice: "And what will it be afterwards?" So wonder Negro directors think in long range terms. They know they can do their immediate jobs until these



long range problems have been started on the way to solution. They are having—the good ones—an educative influence far beyond USO's original conception of the need.

A Venture in Understanding

In the South, the core of the directors' thinking is to lift the level and stabilize the status of the Negro community and to bring about the mutual white and Negro tolerance so necessary to democratic growth. Neither end can be accomplished if the Negro's sensitiveness to his own problems results in silence about them. This is often a sore point with whites who sit in on USO area conferences. "How can we help if we don't know?" And they are willing to help, though sometimes their good will

is hampered by a reluctance to disturb old and outworn community patterns. This is a sore point with Negroes. "Now is not the time," even the most helpful whites are inclined to say. But on USO councils and in area conferences they are learning to understand the Negro and his problems, and also that these problems are America's problems.

This learning is on the level where it has always been most needed—the pattern-setting level, the white middle class level. A banker's wife in a large southern city did not know (she said it with a face pink with embarrassment) "that ordinary colored girls could be so neat and well-deported;" a white clergyman in an industrial town was surprised to discover that

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Is There an Answer?

Sometimes a small room in a safe free country can hold the tragedy and spiritual force of millions in occupied Europe.

GERTRUDE KUMMER

YESTERDAY I WENT TO SEE A YOUNG FRIEND. A year or more had passed since I last saw her. She is from Czechoslovakia, I am Austrian. Her parents moved to Vienna in the pre-Hitler years. It often strikes me that we refugees have a new way of counting time: pre-Hitler—post-Hitler. Almost everything we think of or discuss with old friends begins with these terms. For a whole generation of Europeans that name has become a terrible signpost marking the break of a century.

Before Hitler, my young friend was a sheltered child, the youngest of four in the family and the only girl. When I first met Eva I was even younger than she is now. I came to spend a vacation as a guest at her father's farm in Czechoslovakia.

To me, fresh from the city, everything seemed fascinating. I roamed about the stables, and reveled in the smell of the pigs, cows, and horses. I mounted an old mare, without knowing the least thing about horseback riding. A few minutes later, to my surprise, I found myself lying on the hard road, for the horse had moved under a tree and the branches swept me off her back. I learned to drive a coach with two heavy horses and loved it. I remember to this day the doctor who had come for a visit, looking at me doubtfully when he found me on the driver's box ready to drive him back to town. "Young lady," he said, half joking, half in earnest, "remember I have a family at home!"

I loved the many miles of fields full of corn, wheat, and barley swinging with the wind; the costumes of the peasants on their way to church on Sunday. I remember my effort and pleasure in talking with them, mixing my German with the few Czech words every Austrian knows.

Austrians—Czechoslovakians; how artificial it always was, and still is, to foster hate or antagonism between these two nations so close to each other both physically and psychologically. The geographical situation makes the two countries neighbors and centuries of intermarriages and friendships have made their people appreciate each other. Naturally, it is always possible for clever political propaganda, pursuing its own aims, to produce to some degree the reaction it wants from the people, usually the kind that spoils genuine human relationships.

A Family Separates

But I started out to give my earliest recollection of Eva. When I arrived at the farm in the late afternoon, the two youngest children were already asleep.

—Mrs. Kummer writes about her own friends; but her work at the International Migration Service in New York brings her into daily contact with tragic stories all too similar to this one. She is Viennese, and came to this country in 1940, after a year's stay in England.

Their father showed me about, stopping at her bed. The bedclothes had slipped, and so had the child's nightgown, revealing the tiny back of a child of three. From that moment, without even seeing her sweet little face and big dark eyes, I loved Eva. One small thing I still remember from that particular visit which took place so long ago. I was swimming in the river and Eva was sitting on the ground with her mother, watching me. Suddenly, I heard the high childish voice calling anxiously: "Mammie, Mamminka, why is the Teta (Czech for aunt) flowing away?"

Eva has always loved children. She had just finished her child training studies when Hitler invaded Austria. Soon after the invasion she and her brothers got out of Vienna. Eva went to Prague first; later she joined two of her brothers in Australia. The third came with his young wife to the United States. Their father, involved in the liquidation of his big farm which the Nazis had ordered, was not allowed to leave; the technical term coined for this was he did not get his "exit permit." Eva's mother stayed with him. As soon as possible, the son in the United States started the procedure to bring his parents to this country.

The Door Closes

Eva, hoping she might soon be with them here, applied for a U. S. visa and arrived about two years ago. At the time, she and her brother believed their father might enter the United States under the preferential quota for farmers. After much time had elapsed they were told he was too old to benefit by that privilege. So they started anew, this time on the usual procedure of getting an affidavit of support. When they had succeeded in procuring one, suddenly there came the change in immigration regulations requiring two affidavits instead of only one. They started all over again. Then came the day when this country was completely closed to people from Germany or German-controlled countries. Only one possibility was left to those trying to escape Nazi persecution—Cuba. Eva and her brother tried this, too.

There is no need of describing all the difficulties and obstacles they met and their despair in not making any headway. All

this has been told many times before by many people. To make it so before anything was achieved—and there are very few who did achieve results in this direction—America was at war with Germany.

Meanwhile, Eva's parents had gone to Czechoslovakia to live with her paternal grandfather who was eighty when Hitler took over that country. He lived in a small village where he had lived and developed a factory whose products years in the past were exported to the Americas, Great Britain, Australia, and other countries. Now all his children came back to live with their old parents in the home of their childhood. According to the Nuremberg racial laws they were classified as non-Aryans. Only one member of the family had succeeded in escaping to England, hoping that he would soon be able to have his wife and three boys with him. But his efforts, too, were thwarted by the war. Including Eva's parents, there were twelve persons—five of them young boys between fourteen and twenty—trapped, prey for Hitler.

Eva held a position at a nursery school in one of the large cities in Austria. I saw her shortly after her arrival in this country. She seemed very mature for her age; how else could it be after the tremendous upheaval in her life? She grew into a beautiful young woman. Her dark eyes I had so loved in the past a few years ago, were very serious and underlined by dark shadows. After coming here she lived for two years in a family where she had charge of two children. We had been in contact through occasional letters.

For the coming year she has obtained a position at a kindergarten in New York City, and yesterday I was able to go to see her. We talked about many things in her furnished room. About the present, she said she was looking forward to her new experience in the kindergarten. One of us talked of something that would take us back to the past. I did not mention her family back home, but asked whether she had any news from her uncle in England. She told me the story in a few sentences.

Without Roots

The day her grandfather was buried in that little village in Czechoslovakia she sent her grandmother to a concentration camp; she must have been far up in her seventies if not eighty. They deplored Eva's parents—nobody knows where they are. Three sons of the uncle who had gone to England were taken from their mother.

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The United States and World Affairs

HARRY HANSEN

MR. WELLES IS AN INTENSELY PRACTICAL business man with confidence in the good intentions of human beings. Without having all the attributes of an appeaser, he is inclined to support any legitimate action that will preserve peace, especially if there is some hope that the war clouds will pass with time. Well aware of the invidious demands of the enemies of democracy, he is also aware that the world is a checkered board of peoples who express themselves differently in politics. Nor does he forget that the dominant party in a nation does not always speak for all of its people and that with patience the better elements may be cultivated. He is a man who believes in a well prepared nation, treating other nations as equals, seeking trade on a mutually beneficial basis without coercion, and ready to cooperate with others in maintaining peace without interfering in regional disputes or permitting its own military forces to serve under a superstate.

Mr. Welles' new book, "The Time for Decision" (Harper; \$3), is of paramount importance. Its informal discussion of matters of diplomacy give the average man a new insight into the procedure of the Department of State. Since its author worked for over twenty years for better relations with Latin America and practically made the President's Good Neighbor policy a reality, he writes with authority about South and Central American affairs. As Under-Secretary of State he had access to information vital to our existence, and as the President's emissary he met and interviewed many of the world's leaders.

His book has certain specific contributions to make. First, it is practically a defense of the President's foreign policy, pointing up his efforts to stop the European war and to delay action in the Pacific. It characterizes the President's dealings with Britain on over-age destroyers and Japanese bases as matters of great foresight and praises his policy toward Franco as "wise and realistic," though admitting our failure to support the republic was our gravest error.

Second, it explains Mr. Welles' battle for non-interference in South American affairs and, without referring specifically to Secretary Hull, condemns as highly dangerous the policy of non-recognition of the Hitler regime in Argentina.

Third, it gives a conservative view of the world settlement, rejecting the superpower and the international police force, suggesting a continuation of the United Nations in a supervising body, with regional commissions looking after local interests. While

by no means certain of the best way to deal with Germany, Mr. Welles concludes that partition into three administrative areas will be necessary to prevent another centralized effort to make war.

Western Hemisphere Relations

Mr. Welles gives an account, more general than specific, of the development of better relations with Latin America during the Roosevelt administration. He approved the results of the Montevideo conference of 1933, at which the agreement or treaty on the rights and duties of states expressly forbade intervention in the internal and external affairs of any state. Mr. Welles was fresh from the Cuban upheavals and had been instrumental in getting President Machado to resign. The Hoover administration already had reversed the Wilsonian policy of not recognizing governments established by revolution, and the Roosevelt administration went further in conciliatory measures, although not as far as Mr. Welles might have wished, for he supports the so-called Estrada doctrine of 1934, under which recognition is automatically given any government that reaches power.

Mr. Welles states that the Secretary of State signed the treaty prohibiting intervention, but does not mention the reservation of Secretary Hull that the United States reserved its rights under the law of nations. The agreement was meant to remove the threat of American coercion; it was presented to the conference by Argentina. This makes all the more significant the author's emphatic condemnation of the present policy of the State Department in not recognizing the government of General Farrell in Argentina.

Mr. Welles believes that this non-recognition constitutes intervention in its traditional form and serves only to build up the Falangists and other anti-American elements, obscure the real issue in Argentina, and unite the people behind a dictatorship that could not stand if left to function by itself. As Samuel Flagg Bemis wrote before the Farrell coup: "The Latin American policy of the United States has become identified in our time with the security of the whole Western Hemisphere." Mr. Welles believes this security too valuable to risk by the "catastrophic" policy of the State Department.

Out of his association with South American affairs comes his belief in regional obligations, which he translates into the first step toward an international organization to maintain peace, much on the order of Walter Lippmann's "nuclear" groups. He

is especially eloquent on the subject of the "inter-American system," which stems from the conference for the maintenance of peace held at Buenos Aires in 1936 at the suggestion of President Roosevelt. Mr. Welles thinks this was "intrinsicly the most important inter-American gathering that has ever taken place." It established the principle that "every act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America affects each and every American republic and justifies the initiation of the procedural consultation" among the nations.

This agreement helped materially when war came to the United States. Argentina, again, was uncooperative; the foreign minister of Argentina even requested lend-lease aid, in the form of warships, planes, and munitions, and when Mr. Welles refused, pointing out that Argentina had failed to take any part in defending the hemisphere against the Axis, he retorted that this was discrimination against his country.

Cooperation with the USSR

If Mr. Welles's views on Russia are representative of those in the departments of state of the other democratic nations, then the Soviet Union may write its own ticket at the peace table. Indeed, there is little else that any other nation can do without risking war. Mr. Welles is not wholly satisfied with Soviet plebiscites. When he reviews pre-war history he takes sides with Joseph E. Davies in the opinion that the purges were directed against men "suborned by the German general staff" and that the non-aggression pacts with Hitler and Japan were highly ingenious proceedings, giving Stalin important advantages and hoodwinking Germany.

In passing, Mr. Welles says that Germany agreed to Russia's war on Finland and adds later that Russia no doubt wants Finland independent. He has little sympathy for the territorial demands of the Poles, whether based on the historic lines of 1772 or the peace of Riga; neither are "sacred" and the Curzon line is the best. He thinks an eastern regional system of friendly states presided over by Russia is legitimate, but is a bit apprehensive over the possibility that they may become protectorates and eventually be incorporated into the Soviet Union.

Obviously Mr. Welles is unable to suggest more than advice and friendly watchfulness on the part of the United States, for Russia is powerful in its own areas. He thinks it may become the greatest menace or the greatest power for good the world

has ever seen, and wants the United States to hold it in a cooperative arrangement for peace and "a democratic and effective world organization."

Maintaining the Peace

Germany will be difficult, and so will Japan. Mr. Welles expects the military experts of both nations to resume their secret methods, and devotes some space to describing the theory of "indirect complicity," or secret penetration of other nations, which can be met by a vigilant and awakened concern for the welfare of America.

Mr. Welles meets the arguments against partition of Germany by declaring that the dangers of centralized control are greater than the "centripetal urge" of a partitioned Germany; that three divisions might be made: one of Prussia, Mecklenburg and Saxony; another of Upper Hesse, Thuringia, Westphalia, Hanover, Oldenburg and Hamburg (and presumably Schleswig-Holstein); a third of Bavaria, Wuerttemberg, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, the Rhineland, and the Saar. East Prussia would go to Poland, thus placing Danzig and Gdynia in Polish hands. This would mean moving two thirds of the population out of East Prussia, on their own volition.

Mr. Welles expects the indoctrinated youth of Germany to become a force of fanaticism and revenge. He fears that the German military command may stimulate the growth of communism in its world-revolutionary form and that "many well intentioned liberal elements" in the United Nations will hail this as popular self-government. This differs slightly from Walter Lippmann's view. Mr. Lippmann thinks defeated Germany may try to agitate for anti-bolshevism in the West and anti-capitalism in the East in order to get the balance of power and "squirm" free of restrictions.

Mr. Welles' review of pre-Pearl Harbor negotiations is full of praise for the President's course which, he says, successfully delayed the Japanese. Before Pearl Harbor there was no popular support for a positive policy.

It seems that the closer men are to the business of state, the less eager are they to present blueprints for a postwar world organization. Mr. Welles' discussion is decidedly conservative. He is in agreement with Walter Lippmann rather than James T. Shotwell. Like Mr. Lippmann he supports a system that grows up from small beginnings rather than an over-all government imposed at the top. His opposition to such a super-government, as well as his opposition to mandates, is based on the failures of the League of Nations. Today, says he, it is shown that Woodrow Wilson was wrong; Theodore Roosevelt and Clemenceau were largely right.

Starting with a regional system, such as the inter-American, Mr. Welles wants a provisional United Nations executive council able to check regional rivalries. States in regional systems must deal with conflicts in their areas; in this way American troops would not be called upon every time there is trouble in the Balkans. Representation in the council would be by regions.

The mandate system must be replaced by international trusteeships, in which all the powers of a region would join hands. This would avoid such flagrant violations as the fortifying of mandated islands by Japan. Various other agencies are outlined, some to be taken over from the League.

Obviously, much of this is in the way of suggestion. But it shows the direction of official thinking. It is logical that Mr. Welles' long experience in state matters makes him an eager supporter of a consistent foreign policy that will make the United States a force for democracy abroad, a good neighbor, and a just competitor without imperialistic designs.

DEMOCRACY REBORN, by Henry A. Wallace. Selected from public papers and edited with introduction and notes by Russell Lord. Reynal & Hitchcock. \$3.

WITH THIS BOOK, MR. WALLACE MOVES into first place among the champions of the American way of life. For he lays it down as a maxim that the obligation of freedom is the security of the common man. Then he shows how that obligation is to be discharged.

Mr. Wallace rejects the well-thumbed ritual which unctuously acclaims the national system as a faultless thing. The system, in fact, is faulty because it has failed to serve the people upon the level of its maximum capacity. It has within its gift boundless security for everyone. Yet it hands out poverty and unemployment, preventable disease, premature death.

Before the war, the people as a whole did not know that these evils were avoidable. Now they do. Today the system is to them a colossus able to work miracles in prosperity, if it so desires. This knowledge is, of course, the spur to action. If the old system continues willfully to dissuade the people, they will get a new system.

The classical alternative to capitalism is socialism. As the people's antagonism to a defaulting capitalism mounts and mounts, it more and more will turn into approval of the alternative. If capitalism fights the movement towards socialism—as it will—then the people will fight back. Socialism will toughen into communism. Class war will follow. Freedom will be driven underground.

It would seem that chaos is inevitable if socialism is the only alternative to reactionary capitalism. But it is not. The immense value of Mr. Wallace's contribution lies in his insistence on the fact that the real alternative to the old capitalist system of scarcity is a new capitalist system of abundance. Capitalism itself is not the cause of the nation's woes. It is the misuse of capitalism. Special privilege misuses capitalism to get high profits.

America's national policy must be economic security for the people. To Mr. Wallace, America's foreign policy is America's domestic policy extraterritorially applied. Mr. Wallace is not an isolationist. He is a nationalist who would put the benefits of internationalism at the service of his country. He bases the foreign policy of America squarely on national self-

interest. He knows that America's security is possible only in a world itself cured. Therefore, Mr. Wallace would ask all nations at the future level of America's prosperity. By doing so, he states the world towards peace.

W. D. HERRICK
Former Canadian Minister to the United States, Ottawa

POTENTIAL WORLD POWER

THE MAKING OF MODERN CHINA
Short History, by Owen and Eleanor Lattimore. Norton. \$2.50.

THE VATICAN AND THE WAR,
Camille Cianfarra. Dutton. \$3.

CHINA HAS BEEN FOR MORE CENTURIES than any other nation a civilization of great profundity and an empire of vast powers. During the nineteenth century the imperial power and the civilization decayed. In our time, China seems to resume her triumphant march—amid the chaos of more than thirty years of civil and international war a national and imperial consciousness is being hammered out. At the same time, a new civilization is emerging in China as a result of the impact of Western influences on ancient tradition.

Owen Lattimore has traveled widely through the vast Chinese empire, was an advisor to Chiang Kai-shek and is now deputy director of the Overseas Branch of the OWI, in charge of Pacific operations. Mrs. Lattimore shared her husband's travel and study. They have undertaken the difficult task of describing in little more than 200 pages the character and history of the Chinese civilization and its transition from its legendary past to the transformation of the twentieth century, which about half of the book is devoted to.

The purpose of the authors has been largely achieved: it is a brief introduction to Chinese problems. Though the book is favorable to the present Chinese government, it makes clear that China is a party dictatorship, and that its future is entirely uncertain. "The Kuomintang, the party that controls the government, yet to make a great historical decision whether it will champion the interests of the people as a whole, or itself submit to domination by the landlords who are strongest survivors of the old society of China."

The authors know the Chinese Empire too well not to discuss the role of its subject and dependent nationalities. Today Chinese nationalists often speak as if they wished to "emancipate" the Asiatic people under French, British or Dutch rule. They maintain that these nations will never store liberty to their subject peoples, forgetting that Britain gave liberty to Egypt and Iraq, and set India, Burma, and Ceylon far on the road to self-government. The Chinese nationalists forget to include, in the lists of those to be emancipated, the peoples of southwest China—ethnically related to the peoples of Thailand and Burma—and the people of Sinkiang, Tibet and Mongolia.

The Lattimores hope that the Chinese will give the Tibetans local autonomy which

...ping the conduct of foreign relations in Chinese hands. Though why such a solution should satisfy the Tibetans but not the Burmese, to whom Britain has given at least as much as China would grant Tibet, is difficult to understand. Nor, in view of the completely unknown future of democracy and human rights in China, is it certain that it would not be in the interest of Chinese liberalism and security for Great Britain to continue to keep Hongkong the citadel of liberty under law and progress which it has been for the last hundred years. Whatever the future of democracy in China may turn out to be, the British base in Hongkong can harm China as little as the American base in Newfoundland or Trinidad will harm Britain.

Rome was once a world power, an empire like China; Mussolini's attempt to restore it to that place failed lamentably. But Rome has been the center of a civilization claiming universality as the see of St. Peter, and there is no doubt that Rome as the seat of the papacy will continue to exercise its influence on the course of world civilization and, at least indirectly, on world politics. Liberals often are critical of the Vatican's role in modern history, and not without justification; too often the Vatican has regarded itself as the bulwark against liberalism. It is all the more necessary for liberals to gain a comprehensive picture of the ideals and forces influencing the actions of the Vatican.

Camille Cianfarra, an American-born newspaperman of Italian descent who has been educated in Italy and has lived there for a greater part of his life, has written what may be regarded as the story of the relations of the Vatican to the present world which is presented probably as the Vatican wishes it to be viewed in America. The well-written book makes clear the great role which the Vatican intends to play in the development of the postwar world.

While many Catholic influences, especially in Spain, in Latin America, and even in France, have opposed the liberalism, protestantism and "commercialism" of Britain and the United States, the Vatican may be represented in the rather paradoxical situation of regarding the two protestant Anglo-Saxon nations as the natural allies of the Catholic faith."

Mr. Cianfarra sums up the attitude of the Vatican in the following words: "Admittedly the two arch-foes of religion are neo-paganism fostered by Nazi Germany, and communism fostered by communist Russia. . . . With German powers smashed, Russia will automatically become the most dangerous enemy, not only of the Catholic Church but of all other faiths as well. To counter this long foreseen danger, the Vatican will support the postwar policy of England and the United States, the two conservative powers which cannot conceivably accept Russian hegemony." The Pope, like many other religious leaders, is preaching peace and good will among men; but the Vatican is also a political power, for many centuries of the past a political world-power, and even today not devoid of world-power aspirations.

Mr. Cianfarra's book tells the story of Vatican diplomacy and of Italian politics during the last decade both faithfully and uncritically. Though the reader may often find himself disagreeing with the author's opinions, he will find the book full of many interesting details which make the story of the last crowded ten years even more colorful.

HANS KOHN
Professor of History, Smith College

HOW NEW WILL THE BETTER WORLD BE? by Carl Becker. Knopf. \$2.50.

A WISE OLD MAN ONCE REMARKED THAT NO one should go out into the world without imagination in one hand and a knowledge of history in the other. The author of this

book has whole fistfuls of both. Professor Becker has for at least twenty years been considered one of those rarities in American scholarship—a sound historian who writes so well that it is a pleasure to read what he has to say. Equally at home in the history of the old world and of the new, sparked with imagination and common sense, Professor Becker has written a book which deserves to be widely read. In a welter of important books about the postwar world this stands out as one of the few which are truly great and are indispensable to an intelligent approach to the problem.

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book around the answers to eight questions, each serving as a chapter heading:

1. What is wrong with the world we have?
2. Can we return to normalcy?
3. Can we abate nationalism and curb the sovereign state?
4. Can we abolish power politics and end imperialism?
5. What are we fighting for?
6. What kind of collectivism do we want?
7. What kind of international political order can we have?
8. What kind of international economic order can we have?

One note runs throughout the volume: a demand that we be realistic and maintain historical perspective. Thus Mr. Becker asserts that the super-world state is a definite impossibility, because nationalism will be even more potent after the war than before. Liberals criticize and condemn the British Empire, yet we are reminded that that empire stood alone, for twelve months, against a Hitler conquest of the world and gave us the time to prepare for victory.

Idealistic visionaries think this war is so horrible that at its conclusion all peoples will combine to prevent future wars. The author realizes that "when the war is over, most people will be so glad that it is over and done with that they will wish not to have to think about it any more. Their strongest desire will be to return to the occupations and interests which, on account of the war, they have had to give up for the time being." A keen student of historical trends, Mr. Becker is sure that some form of collectivism is inevitable. We have only the choice of what form it will take.

That this book was not selected by one of the book clubs, or has not become a best seller throughout the nation, is a reflection on the thinking qualities of the American people. If, after reading this review, you do not rush out to buy or borrow a copy, it is the fault of the reviewer—but it will be your loss.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN, Q.M. 3/c
United States Coast Guard

MAJORITY RULE AND MINORITY RIGHTS: A Study in Jeffersonian Democracy and Judicial Review, by Henry Steele Commager. Oxford University Press. \$1.50.

WHEN PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT OFFERED Congress his plan for reorganization of the federal judiciary, the hustings and the market place resounded with violent discussion of the place of the judiciary in American life. If Professor Commager had seen fit to publish his balanced and carefully reasoned little volume at that time, he would only have added fuel to the fire, for he presents a definite thesis. Seen under the changed light of conditions of wartime activity instead of domestic upheaval, the temper and the sanity of his argument become apparent as they could not then have done.

The thesis of the volume is an amplification of the idea expressed by Justice Holmes in his "Collected Legal Papers" that the United States would not come to an end if we lost our power to have the courts declare acts of Congress void. Mr. Com-

mager, however, makes no attempt to discuss the idea of the judiciary as a harmonizer of the federal system but revolves his discussion around the questions of majority rule—as expressed in acts of Congress—and minority rights. He points out that Congress in but few instances has ever threatened the integrity of the constitutional system or the guarantees of the Bill of Rights; that in fact Congress rather than the courts has protected these basic freedoms. His most important point is that the majority can be trusted without judicial interference to respect minority rights and that "with full realization of the risks involved—training in such governance is essential to the maturing of democracy."

For all its cogency—or perhaps because of it—there is something not entirely convincing about the argument. Mr. Commager is too clear in his thesis and too inclined to fail to take adequate account of the arguments of those who disagree with him. He quotes Jefferson overmuch, for despite Jefferson's great importance in the upbuilding of American life, he is not of the twentieth century. Last of all, Mr. Commager's use of the term democracy to mean majority rule is too simple, for the assumptions of democracy mean much more than mere counting of heads.

But he has made a real contribution with his work, not the least important part of which is his realization that liberalism has emphasized too much the individual interest in minority rights, and that the real task confronting us is to make clear to majorities that the interest of the whole of society is at stake in questions such as those raised by legislation impairing any aspect of civil liberties in the world today.

JANE PERRY CLARK CAREY
Barnard College

THE GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY, edited by Harold F. Williamson. Prentice-Hall. \$5.35.

THIS BOOK IS THE JOINT EFFORT OF TWENTY-SIX economists and historians of high standing to depict and evaluate the salient elements which have contributed to the growth of America from the early days of its colonies to 1943. The first chapters describe the physical environment into which the colonists came, the European investment of capital and labor in the colonies, and the efforts of Britain to regulate the colonial economy in the British interest.

The westward expansion before the Civil War, with the influx of immigrants, the struggle with the Indians, and the sectionalism of a new country of wide area and without easy methods of travel, shipment and communication, are given as the second epoch of the nation's development. The importance of agriculture and of the evolution of agricultural tools, exports and the manufacture of products made from agricultural materials, form the climax of this period.

The third stage of development was inaugurated by the beginnings of the heavy manufacturing industries before the war between the states and the early efforts to develop a banking system that would serve the needs of both expanding agriculture and

expanding industry. Considerable emphasis is laid upon the business fluctuations and successive economic crises before 1860. The passage of the Homestead Act, the emergence of agricultural regionalism, and the rise of manufactures in the central part of the country between 1860 and 1880, bring this earlier period to a peak.

From 1860 to 1900 the country was growing up—in manufactures and trade, banking and monetary systems, railroad and steamship transportation, the rise of the modern labor movement, and the tendency to large scale production and large scale use of credit for industrial and commercial development.

The closing chapters trace the history of American public finance, the anti-trust policy, and forms of business organization and management.

It is a book well worth the attention of both professional economists and laymen.

DON D. LESCOPIE
*Professor of Economics
University of Wisconsin*

THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION, by Karl Polanyi. Farrar & Rinehart. \$3.

THIS BOOK DEALS WITH IMPORTANT MATTER in a fascinating mood of discovery. "Is there such a thing as freedom in a complex society or is it a temptation designed to ruin man and his work?" It seems to the reviewer that the book, original and full of meat though it is, is sufficient neither in scope nor in logical cogency to justify the author's sweeping conclusion: "The freedom that Western man gained through the teachings of Jesus was inapplicable to a industrial society. . . . The post-Christian era of Western civilization has begun."

For such a millennial judgment, the proof adduced for the alleged failure of the liberal and individualistic approach to the problems of the last one hundred and fifty years and unnumbered years ahead is meager. The argument is this: Liberalism as conceived under the special circumstances of the industrial revolution in nineteenth century England, was built upon the sands of pernicious fictions. Liberalism invented the system of self-regulating markets that was to bring the world unending technical and human progress. But to constitute these markets, the fiction had to be established that men, land, and money were also freely marketable commodities.

In consequence, the industrial revolution went awry for the human beings involved in it. Creating a huge proletariat, sacrificing land husbandry to industry, crucifying the countries of the world on the cross of the gold standard, England's liberalism did almost irreparable harm to herself and to the world. Natural society—to characterize which the author goes all the way to the Trobriand Islands—has been killed by individualism, and only chaos has ensued. If the British proletariat gave up revolt after the defeat of Chartism, it was because it was cowed into submission and never recovered civic vitality. If America until recently was spared the full impact of the

effects of liberalism, she had her open frontiers to thank for it; but that is over now.

In a peculiarly loose and fictional vein, Mr. Polanyi makes out both world wars to be the unavoidable outcome of the chaos created through the Market. In the course of this development, a few enlightened Englishmen discovered the remedy for these deadly liberties—they discovered Society, with a capital S, which now must redeem the world. Freed from the shackles of the self-regulating world markets, modern man will thrive once more in new societies, "organized in a great variety of ways, democratic and aristocratic, constitutionalist and authoritarian, perhaps even in a fashion yet utterly unforeseen. . . . Industrial society will continue to exist when the utopian experiment of the self-regulating market will be no more than a horrible memory."

Prof. Robert M. MacIver, in his foreword, praises the author for successfully re-writing history. To a critical reader who has had some previous contact with the subject matter, Mr. Polanyi's studies would have seemed truly worthwhile if modesty had inhibited his jumping from slender premises to stark conclusions. He does not rewrite English history correctly when he erects barriers of bookish logic between English visions of Liberty and of Society. Western civilization has been and is being built up in the creative interaction of both principles. It takes poor vision to see in the individual influenced by Christianity the antithesis to Society.

Could Mr. Polanyi have written a cautious history of the liberal "fictions," or rather his working-hypotheses, along with all the other social, economic, and cultural working-hypotheses that have guided the actions of Western man, he might have brought us nearer to the truth. He would then perhaps have learned why much maligned liberalism has given Western society the resiliency with which it now faces that "variety of other societies," his not too attractive alternative.

Former associate editor **TONI STOLPER**
Deutscher Volks-wirt

GERMANY: A SELF-PORTRAIT, edited by Harlan R. Crippen. Oxford University Press. \$3.75.

MR. CRIPPEN'S BOOK ON GERMANY conveys a considerable amount of valuable information. It is a very readable anthology of political and cultural documents covering almost half a century of German history, from around 1900 to the present. Each is presented with a biographical note on its author and a brief characterization of the historical events to which it refers.

The majority of the documents are anti-Nazi and rightly so in order to warn us against the outrageous caricature of a German self-portrait which the Nazis have given the world. Especially do the avowed anti-Nazi authors, who range from a relative of the Hohenzollerns to German communists, present a most useful picture of the multitude of psychological, sociologi-

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cal, economic, and political motives which have to be taken into account if one wants to understand modern Germany and modern history in general. Of the documents excluded, to my regret, I should like to mention Wolfgang Koehler's courageous "Talks in Germany" published in April, 1931, and selections from Friedrich Schulze-Maizier's "German Self-Criticism."

The chronicles provided by Mr. Crippen himself give, in many respects, excellent, pregnant surveys. On the whole, however, they seem to me too fatalistic in their retrospective valuation of the development of the Weimar Republic. How often did I hear from neutral observers between 1936 and 1940 that Baldwin's and Neville Chamberlain's England was heading for an even more gloomy doom than Ebert's and Brüning's Germany!

Yet, be this as it may, Mr. Crippen's book is, in my view, a much to be welcomed help in teaching the great lesson that this first half of the twentieth century is a fascinating, though dangerous time in which to live—a time of much farsighted, noble will to reform, and a time for fanatically blind adventurers who ruthlessly exploit the half-hearted confusion around them. And the confusion of thought and feeling as well as the clear-sighted will to reform are not even limited to one country in this "one world."

DAVID BAUMGARDT

Consultant of the Library of Congress
in Philosophy

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IS THERE AN ANSWER?

(Continued from page 360)

and they, too, were sent to a concentration camp (or perhaps it was into forced labor.) They had separated the family of Eva's other aunt, deporting the two boys and the parents to different places in Poland. At the time only one member of the family was left at the old home—the mother of the three boys, wife of her uncle in England. They may have left her because she was considered "half Aryan."

I watched Eva while she talked. I felt paralyzed; I could not have uttered a word. Her lovely face was rigid, her voice did not falter. She added, "I think it would be better if Father and Mother were dead." I nodded; she was right, of course.

I had to fight hard to keep my self-control. Eva had to be like that, quietly composed, I thought, or she would not be able to go on at all. I looked around the room. There were a few snapshots on the fireplace. I took one; I had to say something entirely apart from that terrible report I had just heard. I saw the picture of a small child. "What a darling baby," I said. Eva took the picture and smiled—the genuine, sweet smile of a very young girl. "This is the baby of a friend in Australia," she said. Then she went on to tell me a few things about her life in that country.

It grew late and I had to leave. I said goodbye as if nothing had happened to us both; as if I were leaving her old home of the pre-Hitler days, where she had lived as the young, protected daughter of adoring parents, parents whom now she wished dead because "it would be better for them." I did not kiss her lovely face as I had done in the past when saying goodbye. What right had I to be sentimental or over-emotional?

The Invisible Barrier

I do not know exactly what thoughts crossed my mind on my way back to my own room—one of those typical furnished rooms which to thousands of us have become a substitute for our lost homes. We do not "go home" any more—we just go back to our rooms. I was glad it was night so that no one could see my face.

There was again that thought which had come to me often before and will, I know, come many times more, like a vision: Before me the tangible world, New York, a city where millions live the kind of life that we, too, before Hitler, lived and enjoyed; what some would call a "normal" life. Between us and these tangible millions was an invisible barrier built by our experiences. Such experiences conveyed to them through print, black as it may be, cannot, fortunately, duplicate the reality. Have those experiences then transferred us to another planet? Is that why life seems so unreal to us?

There is the other side of that vision: other millions, thousands of miles away, in places called ghettos or concentration

camp or labor camps; or walking the streets of cities and villages which we have known well—where we were born. They, too, are not living a normal life; they are tortured; they suffer atrociously, unimaginably, pains both physical and mental; they are killed. Again I asked the eternal question, the question that has been asked ever since man's faith was shaken by events too cruel for weak human beings to bear: "Why can all this happen if there is a God in Heaven?"

I came back to my room somehow and sat down without taking off my coat. After a while, almost mechanically, I took from the bedside table a small book of daily quotations from the Bible and opened it, seeking the quotation for that day. The book had been given me before I left Vienna, and though the dates are for 1939 I still use it when I need it. And I did need it badly last night. I found the line. It said, "Oh thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?"

"HERE'S A NEW THING"

(Continued from page 359)

at least some Negro ministers could talk intelligently about problems common to the profession; a young college girl, seeing a Negro captain at a USO club, learned for the first time that Negro soldiers could attain commissioned rank.

There is, of course, a lot they still need to learn. They need to know that there is a Negro of general's rank in our army, but also they need to know that too many Negroes cannot read and write. It is helpful to know that "ordinary" colored girls can be well-deported, but it is also important to know that "ordinary" colored girls in some communities are unwed mothers at sixteen. It is salutary to know that Negro professional men can talk intelligently about professional problems, but it is no less salutary to have some inkling of the problems that beset them as Negro professionals.

In the North, East, and West the core of the Negro USO directors' thinking is integration and cooperation with the whites. There is a bi-racial USO club at Sacramento, Calif. Pittsburgh has bi-racial USO activities. In Ayer, Mass., and in other communities, whites and Negroes get along together in the USO.

But it is in its primary function—the work with servicemen and industrial workers—that the more immediate effects of USO are seen. There are 286 USO clubs and extensions under Negro direction and the total budget for free services rendered in these runs to hundreds of thousands of dollars. With many Negro professional workers, the Travelers' Aid, under the auspices of the USO, is doing an important job of casework and counseling for the relatives of service personnel. USO lounges located in railroads and bus stations render services of inestimable value to the large number of servicemen in transit. In three months at one Negro USO club, the number of servicemen served jumped 850 per cent as a weekly average; in another, in-

dustrial workers use the showerbath facilities on the average of 410 times a week. In still another, there are 900 junior hostesses, 70 percent of them domestic servants and industrial workers, who give eight evenings a month for volunteer services.

The Little People Benefit

But this is not the whole picture. To get a true picture one would have to talk to little people like the humble domestic who lived in one of a row of newly repaired and painted shot-gun houses facing a USO club.

"Mister," she said, "for nine years I tried to git the lan'lord to do som'pin in this place. Every time I seen him, almos' nine years. Then they put up the club 'cross the street an' I felt too shan. Ain't it a nice place? Then they had openin' of it on a Sunday an' I went to seeen my lan'lord settin' up there with the mayor an' such-like, an' he made a speefyin' speech 'bout treatin' the colored w' justice an' such. The nex' day—yes, the very nex' day—I got me out a nice clean dress an' fix' myself up real nice. I went on downtown to that man's office an' I th'owed that speech right back in his face. I did it perlite-like, but I did an' tol' him 'bout bringin' his heart to his mouth more together. B'lieve me, 'fo' that week was out he had his mens here fixin' and' doin'. This row look' right nice now, don't it? That ol' USO is the principal cause of it lookin' thisaway. That ol' USO is all right with me."

Then there was the Negro sergeant attached to the medical corps. I was frankly skeptical of what he told me. "All right," he said, "let's go to the company commander." We passed through the day room where I saw a placard warning in French language against social disease. Below that was the weekly program of the village USO—dances, movies, socials, vespers, and even a music appreciation hour.

The captain laughed when the sergeant explained his errand. He was a young fellow, modest-seeming, frank-eyed. "True," he said. "The incidence of social disease in my company has dropped 50 percent. I can't go all the way with the sergeant here," he said, "but it really did start dropping until they got that USO club in the village. Maybe the officer ought to get some credit too. Can't give it all to USO," he said, laughing.

Later the sergeant took me along to a bluff above the river, where ugly crowded houses squatted. "The girls who live here work in the paper box factory," the sergeant said. "They're not prostitutes. That's the trouble. If they were professionals I could handle them under some military law, I suppose. But when USO moved here, I told the director about them and he went to the clinic in the town up to the river, and then to the factory people. Now we're getting things cleaned out a little."

Part of that picture, too, would be the gaiety of USO dances; the earnest concentration of the chaps writing unaccustomed letters to folks back home; the happy, sometimes loud-mouthed rivalry at checkers and ping-pong; the quiet, free talk

boys around the snack bars and the babies; the simple nerves-loosening services, rendering of which are after all the in purpose of the United Service Organizations and which often result only from close, unaffected, sincere and sometimes subtle cooperation of whites and their negro colleagues.

"Did they have this in the last war?" I heard one soldier ask another.

"No. This here's a new thing altogether."

"D'you suppose they'll have something like this for us when this war's over? Some place where we can go an' not feel like bums?"

"I don't know."

"Jeez, I hope they do. Snooky's beer par-hack home ain't nothin' like this."

"Ah, come on. Let's get us a coke."

WAR AND MUSCLE SHOALS

(Continued from page 347)

phosphorous in the country. Muscle Shoals is a large producer of ammonia and ammonium nitrate, and of calcium carbide and synthetic rubber. Near these nitrate plants are also large plants of the Reynolds Metals Company, producing aluminum from bauxite, and of the Electro Metallurgical Company producing ferrosilicon. In hundred ways Muscle Shoals is at war.

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PEOPLE v. THE FASCISTS
(Continued from page 357)

ment exists over whether the civil or the criminal law offers the better remedy. Those in favor of the criminal law take the position that only responsible public officers should be authorized to institute proceedings under any proposed group libel legislations and that, accordingly, no private civil action should be authorized. They observe that to allow any private action, whether for damages or an injunction, would present the possibility of serious abuse, since many people fancy themselves to be wronged by statements which in the public interest men should be free to make.

Those favoring the criminal law further observe that legislation of this character should be based on the premise that its purpose is the prevention of a public wrong, not the redress of an injury to particular individuals; that the individual damage to members of the defamed group is at best speculative; and that the machinery for the redress of a wrong to the entire community should be criminal prosecution by responsible public officials, not private actions by irresponsible individuals.

Those who object to the use of criminal libel show much more comprehension of the fascist tactic in the twentieth century struggle. The whole cast of our law favors the criminal defendant, particularly where his crime is not a shocking one. The need for a unanimous verdict, the proof beyond a reasonable doubt, the politics of the district attorney's office—all these conditions play into the hands of the criminal defendant.

As Joe McWilliams demonstrated, criminal action puts the defendant, if he is released, in a position of vastly enhanced prestige and increase the contempt of his followers for the weakness of democratic processes. If he is convicted, the sentence is short, and the cry of martyrdom serves, among the supporters of the anti-democratic leader, to fasten them to him. And throughout the proceedings he and his gang are able to charge the opposition with violating civil liberties, as has Lawrence Dennis in the current sedition trial. This tactic weakens the democratic forces, for among them are those whose feelings of guilt for untraditional conduct are real and deep.

Turn now to those who favor a civil remedy. This has the advantage that the courts can operate with the background of experience crystallized in the law of defamation. It would also be relatively

easier to obtain a verdict in a civil action than a conviction in a criminal case. The civil law leaves open the possibility of an action in equity for an injunction against the distribution or further publication of libelous matter. And, lastly, a staple of civil suits at common law is the defense of truth. Permitting that defense in group libel suits would go a long way both in avoiding the complaint of martyrdom and in meeting the need for public discussion which the Constitution recognizes and which Americans profess and value.

IV.

Objectors to any legislation and those who prefer criminal as opposed to civil action both suffer from too traditional an approach to a problem which is at the center of the twentieth century. As David Riesman, a lawyer, professor, and the man who has made the most complete and penetrating study of democracy and defamation, points out: "In the more or less democratic lands, the threat of fascism and the chief dangers to freedom of discussion do not spring from the 'state,' but from 'private' fascist groups in the community." In fact if the problem is approached from the traditional point of view the whole discussion is relatively futile. For law will not serve if both legislatures and courts follow rather than lead society.

To depend today only upon civil liberties or the government to meet the evils of group libel is to avoid the battle. For the field of the fight is the people, that large and mobile public opinion which is the controlling force in politics. Defamation is aimed at the people. Give the fascist devil his due. He works there and there he must be met. He attacks opposing groups—"labor," for example, and weakens them in the eyes of the community as a whole—and even in their own eyes. Or, instead of attacking the prevailing system, he cunningly shifts his defamation to relatively powerless scapegoats—Negroes, Jews, Mexicans. The fascist manipulates group against group, and wedges in. He must be stopped there, and only a vigorous people can stop him.

The law alone is not enough. Modifications in libel law and practice must go hand in hand with such administrative controls as the Foreign Agents Registration Act and Federal Communications Commission regulation. They must be planned along with active governmental education, information, and counter-propaganda. They must be integrated with "private" efforts to eliminate poisons from the stream of communications.

But a law awakened to the demands of the people can prove one arm in the struggle. That is why the civil law, where the people can bring their own suits, is important. That is why libel law which goes beyond individual and liberal concepts of "liberty" must be made available to a people joined together, as we are, in the groupings which modern technological society makes inevitable. To frame such a law is the challenge on the doorstep of the believers in civil liberty. A people locked in combat with the fascists must fight on all fronts.

later they tune in for the discussion and movies. We keep the neighborhood and all ages, closer together." Since the program started, the rate of delinquency in Richmond's Fulton School district dropped from one of the highest in the city to one of the lowest anywhere.

In American small towns, the new centers are sometimes the first sign of community spirit. Laurel, Maryland, for instance, midway between Washington and Baltimore, had no program until near Camp Meade, and gas rationing, youngsters idling around the streets. Then a young physician, Dr. John Warren, started a crusade for a youth center. Through the Lions Club he got the entire town together making talks between shows at the movie house, asking ministers to mention the project from their pulpits. The idea caught like wildfire, and Laurel adults found themselves having as much fun as the youngsters. George Barkmann, florist, who raised the money for the center, says, "It's the first time we've been a real town instead of a place to commute from."

But Laurel, like other towns, warns you should have an idea of what you're for before you start a youth center. There are many pamphlets available as guides. The National Recreation Association, 100 Fourth Avenue, New York, has several expensive ones. A pamphlet "What About Us?" is available free from the recreation division of the Federal Security Agency, Washington. The University of Michigan has mimeographed material on many western centers. The Clinton (Okla.) Rotary Club has a good report called "Town: Clinton, Oklahoma, Plan."

The basic, important thing is simply give youngsters the sort of understatement help any good parent gives a child. To quote V. K. Brown, head of Chicago's recreation program: "The youngsters want to buy their own ticket, but we have found they have a sense of relief when they are told that community resources are theirs on whether in equipment or in expert knowledge."

Good youth centers are no flash in the pan. Some, like the one in Minneapolis, are more than four years old and still growing. No one pretends they are a cure for delinquency, but they have proved to be a way of preventing situations that lead to delinquency, a way of drawing off the gang-struck following of the gang leader—"hep chick." And they are a great cure for the 99 percent of normal, noisy, adolescent boys and girls.

We have been slow to realize that the high school crowd needs to sit in with all their jive talk, their "T" shirts, "sloppy joes" and "clam-diggers." Youth centers have proved that the terrible can solve their own problems, without "snoopervision," and that their own sense of a good time is as mystifying, as wise and as generally "all right" as the school boys and girls themselves.

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Survey Graphic for September 1944

Cover: Cartoon by Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

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DUMBARTON OAKS, SETTING FOR THE INTERNATIONAL conference discussed in our leading article, takes its name from the Rock of Dumbarton on the Clyde, the place of origin of Ninian Beall, to whom the New World estate was given by royal grant in 1700. The present building was started in 1801 by the fourth owner, William Dorsey. In 1920, Robert Woods Bliss, art collector and former American diplomat, and his wife bought the estate, enlarged and elaborated the house and gardens. Twenty years later, they presented the property to Harvard. Until the international gathering broke its almost cloistered quiet, the university used Dumbarton Oaks as a research library for studies in Byzantine and medieval humanities.

The three international delegations meeting there as this is written are headed by Edward A. Stettinius, this country's Under-Secretary of State; Andrei A. Gromyko, Soviet Ambassador to the United States; Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The Chinese delegates, who will confer later with the American and British representatives, will be led by Dr. Wellington Koo, for many years his government's Ambassador to London.

IN THE FIELD OF EMPLOYMENT AND THE MIGRATION of workers, international planning has suffered a tragic loss in the untimely death of Pierre Waelbroeck, assistant director of the International Labor Office, who was drowned recently in a canoeing accident in Canada. A native of Belgium, Mr. Waelbroeck joined the staff of the ILO in its early days, and was one of those chosen for transfer from Geneva to the wartime working center in Montreal. Characteristic of his broad, exact knowledge and his vision was the article he wrote for our special issue, "From War to Work," May 1943. There he described the functioning of employment machinery in the warring nations, and sketched employment policy, organization, and services for demobilization and postwar needs.

Liberty Ship

THE U. S. MARITIME COMMISSION HAS ANNOUNCED that a Liberty Ship will be named for the late Joseph B. Eastman, who was for twenty years a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and who, as director of the Office of Defense Transportation, bore the wartime burden of getting men and supplies to camps, war plants, and American ports. Survey Graphic readers will recall the warm account of the man and his work, "Joe Eastman: Public Servant," written by his lifelong friend, John Daniels, and published in the May number.

A Roving Friend

OUR SPECIAL FEBRUARY ISSUE, "AMERICAN RUSSIAN Frontiers," carried a spirited account of travels in the Arctic—American and Siberian—by Ruth Gruber. This month the same Ruth Gruber appears again in our pages as a traveler, in Blair Bolles' article on the work of the War Refugee Board. A field agent for the U. S. Department of the Interior, Miss

Gruber was assigned to accompany the 982 European refugees who recently were brought from an Italian port to this country.

Flying Bombs

TWO YEARS AGO, A BRITISH NEWSPAPER WOMAN serving as an industrial personnel officer sent us a lively account of the experiences of girls and women in the war plants ("Bevin Belles': Wartime Specialists," by Therle Hughes, July 1942). Last month we had a letter from Mrs. Hughes, telling a bit about life in southern England in July, 1944:

"I am working four long days a week on a nearby herb farm. (Herbs help so much to give interest to our rather monotonous diet.) It seems very unsuitable to harvest our fragrant crops wearing tin hats — instead of sun-bonnets.

"We are on a busy route for the flying bombs, and can fully appreciate the strength of our defenses—balloons, guns, fighter planes, and the rest. Tin hats are a necessary precaution against shrapnel. I don't think the Germans could have designed a missile more calculated to make them utterly despised. From a military point of view, their effect is obviously almost negligible; to the children they are a source of splendid trophies; to us

housewives, a source of endless dust and plaster and broken glass shaken out of the depths of our long suffering houses by the blast.

"While writing this, four flying bombs have passed directly overhead, and I have heard them all explode well this side of London. Everyone goes about pointedly ignoring them, but with one ear cocked so as to take immediate action if the buzzing stops before the thing has passed over. I am reminded of our oldest English lyric of about 800 A.D., with its refrain, "That passed over, so may this."

Material Wanted

A Survey Graphic READER BESPEAKS HELP IN gathering material for an educational, non-commercial pamphlet on "the common variety of anti-Semitism found among people who are not consciously following the fascist line." He asks that they send him personal-experience examples of "either anti-Semitic remarks or actions observed in their neighborhood; or any effective steps, no matter how small, taken by themselves or others to counter this subtle form of anti-Semitism. Direct quotations are desirable; contributors will not be identified by name." Material should be sent to Alexander L. Crosby, 8 West 40 Street, New York 18, N. Y.



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The Cost of War

Beyond all reckoning is the price the world pays because we lost the last peace.

This time, in the words of Cordell Hull at Dumbarton Oaks, "The people of the United Nations . . . will not be content with a precarious peace."

SURVEY GRAPHIC

Magazine of
Interpretation



Published by
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Prefabricating the Peace

Repetition of Versailles may be avoided if a General International Organization is set up before the war ends. The United Nations have been putting their house in order room by room. Now at Washington, the over-all framework is in the drafting room of what may prove the most portentous of wartime conferences.

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

REPRESENTATIVES OF GREAT BRITAIN, RUSSIA, China, and the United States are now meeting at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D. C. Their common assignment is to draft the framework of the General International Organization promised in the Moscow Declaration and agreed to in principle here at home in the Connally Resolution which passed the United States Senate by a vote of eighty-five to five. Actually, two conferences will be held: one between Americans, British, and Russians, and another between Americans, British, and Chinese—to accomplish the same result.

Dumbarton Oaks

Early announcements of this meeting on American soil were overshadowed by the war itself, which in the Western World is moving rapidly toward a climax. As this is written the Russians are sweeping the Germans out of territory which cost the Germans several million lives to conquer. United Nations' armies are moving up through Italy. Paris is liberated and our armies are rolling toward the Rhine. In the Pacific we are striking ever closer to Japan.

German unity, however strong in victory, is rapidly disintegrating in defeat. The general staff and the Nazis are trying to destroy each other. The masses of German people, many of whom were willing to support aggression so long as they were winning, are now turning against the government because they are losing.

Our own military victories were long in

preparation. They are the result of unity among the United Nations and of boldness of execution. Plans for the General International Organization must evoke a similar unity; must be executed with equal boldness.

Not only was the importance of this Washington conference overshadowed by the drama of the war, but little advance speculation as to its outcome was forthcoming from the various governments involved. They thought it better to approach the matter quietly to see if early agreement could be secured upon a framework of organization before public hopes were aroused to high pitch. Nevertheless, the significance of the meeting and the challenge of the task cannot be minimized.

It may very well be that the plans under discussion at Dumbarton Oaks will fully

—By the national director of the League of Nations Association. Born and bred in isolationist Illinois, most of Mr. Eichelberger's adult life has been devoted to the cause of international organization. For five years he was head of the mid-western office of the League of Nations Association; since 1934 he has been that body's national executive. He also is a director of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, and of the International Free World Association, vice-chairman of the United Nations Association, and editor of "Changing World."

measure up to that challenge. Sometime ago the U. S. Department of State revealed that for over a year a special division, aided by advisors from civilian life, had been preparing plans for world organization. One thing is certain; an overwhelming public opinion in the United States wants plans that are both bold and united. Our people will support the government in working for them.

Waging Peace

There seems to be a general air of expectancy in Washington that the Americans, British, and Russians may reach agreement within three weeks or so, after which the Americans and the British will hold a brief conference with the Chinese. If a four-power agreement is then attained, it will be submitted to all of the United Nations and, if generally satisfactory, a full dress diplomatic conference will be held to declare the plan in effect.

There are grounds for optimism, also, in the background of the conference. With the Atlantic Charter, the Declaration of the United Nations, and the Moscow Declaration, with the agreements reached at Cairo and Teheran, and with the experience gained in a number of specialized United Nations Conferences, the statesmen of today are far ahead in planning for the future, as compared with the corresponding stage in the first World War.

On this side of the Atlantic, American organizations and private citizens have been prolific in plans and ideas for submission

to their government. The two most recent plans are those on the one hand prepared by a committee headed by Judge Manley O. Hudson, and, on the other, just published by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, which has been at work since 1939. This article, rather than presenting a blueprint, largely centers on the exploration of the major issues that must be met in the creation of a general international organization. Since the conference at Washington is to outline primarily the political structure of the organization, with security as its major consideration, three questions at once arise:

Who should belong?

How should it maintain peace?

When should it be set up?

Who Should Belong?

One of the most challenging issues that arose in the deliberations of the private groups referred to above was that of membership in the world organization. Both reached the conclusion that the entire idea of limited membership must be abandoned. All nations must be bound by the laws of an international society and should be privileged to use its machinery.

A recent cartoon illustrates what is meant. A robber was saying to a policeman, "You can't arrest me, I have resigned from Indianapolis." In the future it should be thought just as ridiculous that a Germany or a Japan could resign from the world organization. (They both did from the League of Nations because they intended to break the law.)

In a world in which no city is more than sixty hours by bombing plane from any other city, no nation can be permitted to decide for itself whether it will abide by rules upon which the nations of the world have agreed. This is one of the most advanced steps over the League of Nations system that has been proposed.

Judge Manley O. Hudson, in the introduction to the plan drafted by his committee, states in clearcut language his conception of universality. He says:

"The universality of the GIO [General International Organization], is contemplated, not as a goal of aspiration but as a fundamental concept. All existing states would at all times be comprised in the GIO. Every state would have the general obligations to keep the peace which the charter ordains; each state would be entitled to representation in the assembly, though only a recognized government of the state could accredit its representatives; no states would be encouraged to form a rival and hostile organization because of their being left out. The whole community of states would be organized in the GIO, and the charter would be the basic instrument of the law of that community. Such an extension of international law, like some of the great extensions made in the past, could be effected by the states upon which events have placed responsibility for the future—by the United Nations and such others as may associate with them for creating the GIO."

It was my privilege in 1938 to present a plan for linking universal obligations with automatic membership before the Interna-

tional Federation of the League of Nations Societies meeting that summer at Copenhagen. Obviously, a group of statesmen cannot of themselves create such a universal system. But if the four nations represented at Washington submit their plan to the other forty United Nations and associates, and these subscribe to it, a start can be made with behind it an overwhelming proportion of the peoples of the earth. Provision for the eventual admission of the neutrals and even for the admission of enemy states after rigorous probation can be incorporated in the constitution.

How Maintain Peace?

The conference at Dumbarton Oaks confronts a more immediate issue in the second of our three questions, one to which all of suffering humanity demands an answer.

How shall war in the future be prevented? How shall peace be maintained?

It can at last be said that the American people are convinced that the world community must be able to use military force to prevent aggression. This sentiment was expressed this summer in the resolutions of our two great political parties. It is registered in statements by some church organizations and by such varied bodies as the United States Chamber of Commerce, the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the National Association of Manufacturers.

Where shall this force come from? The nations must first of all agree to use their combined military forces wherever aggression is threatened. When the international council requests action, the governments must be in a position to respond instantaneously. There will not be time for debate in Congress, in Parliament, or the other national legislatures of the world. A few hours may make the difference between preventing aggression and having to fight a war. In the present conflict, certain countries lost in thirty-six hours the independence they had enjoyed for hundreds of years. The nations must agree in advance that when the call comes certain of their armed forces will be put to use immediately. And they must be willing, as the United States Chamber of Commerce suggests, that a combined general staff direct these forces.

There are those who believe that after the war the burden of policing the world will be the job primarily of the four major victorious powers—the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China. Undoubtedly power will be concentrated as never before in the hands of a small number of nations. Few nations will be strong enough to defend themselves for even a brief period under the conditions of modern warfare brought to a crescendo in this world war. For some sixty small states military preparedness will have little value other than to satisfy pride, maintain internal order, or police colonies.

Are the nations, therefore, to set up a dictatorship of the few great powers? Are they to tell the billion people in this world who compose the smaller states that their security will be guaranteed entirely by the four great ones? That is not the democratic

way. Power shifts. Who can look ahead twenty-five years and tell us what nations will then be most powerful?

Obviously, in the very difficult transition period ahead, the four great powers must exercise heavy responsibilities. They must have corresponding authority. But their authority must be exercised within the framework of a democratic world organization.

It is very encouraging to note that in many of the conferences held so far, such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, food and agriculture, the International Labor Organization, and currency stabilization, all the forty-four United Nations and associates were invited. The procedure was democratic. There is every reason to hope, therefore, that similarly, in welding security into the new world organization, the rights and contributions of the smaller states will be respected. Where so much is demanded of the great powers, these powers must exercise wisdom and understanding. The right of every nation to participate in the maintenance of international law and order must be recognized. If this spells out an international police force, the public must be ready for it.

In a civil community there are constant reminders of police power to maintain law and order. The policeman, the traffic light, the courthouse, all come to mind. In its proposals, the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace suggests that there must be certain instruments of international community power to maintain law and order. Thus it proposes an international air force capable of reaching the scene of danger in a few hours—one composed entirely of volunteers, dressed in the uniform of the world organization, and operating under the direction of its Council.

To win the war certain strategic bases are being used jointly by the United Nations today. Others we are fighting to regain, like the Japanese mandated islands. The commission suggests that certain of these air bases be placed under the supervision of the General International Organization; that they be occupied by the troops of the nations which have greatest security interests in the area, but occupied and operated in the name of the world community. Its flag should fly there in addition to the flags of the individual nations.

When Do We Start?

The answer to the third question: When should the General International Organization be set up, is definitely *now*. The European phase of the war may come to an end with surprising suddenness. Will the nations be ready for peace? It is to be hoped that a general peace conference can be avoided. The peace settlements should be planned now, ready to be put in force as one enemy power after another surrenders. Unquestionably, there are many problems and situations that cannot be resolved in advance. Millions of people whom the Germans dispersed throughout Europe must be repatriated before plebiscites can be held. But the strategy of the peace can be determined in advance and afterward, in line

with it, the appropriate conferences and agencies can apply the broad policies agreed upon.

Such a procedure calls for the creation of the General International Organization *before the end of the war.*

Time is running out so rapidly that the statesmen who are meeting at Washington might well consider the establishment of a provisional United Nations Council ready and functioning should Nazi Germany suddenly collapse. But this must not be all. Let them at the same time take steps toward setting up before the war ends the large framework of world organization.

Some may say that even a Council cannot be created because of uncertainty as to the status of several of the governments-in-exile. But forty-four United Nations and associates, representing eighty percent of the world's population, should not be held up on that account. Nations that have overcome stupendous military obstacles can clear this hurdle in diplomacy.

The writer shares the feeling of those who believe that had a United Nations Council been set up soon after the Declaration of the United Nations on January 1, 1942, not a few of the difficulties of certain governments-in-exile might have been avoided. Rather than interfering with the authority of the great powers, such a step might have made their exercise of that authority easier.

If statesmanship waits until after the war to establish a General International Organization, there is likelihood that some of the United Nations will have committed themselves in the interval by unilateral acts which would make concerted action more difficult. There is the further danger that postwar reaction of a back-to-normalcy sort might blast the peoples' dreams of an organization for permanent peace. Now, while many nations are fighting and sacrificing together for common deliverance from aggression, is the time to forge organizations for the future.

Hand in hand with machinery for the enforcement of peace must come machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The general run of these will naturally be settled in the ordinary course of diplomacy. But where this fails, the General International Organization must provide a variety of ways for composing them. And finally, the new Council or the World Court must have the authority to bring about a final settlement in any matter which threatens the peace of the world.

Freedoms and Welfare

Along with the establishment of such means of security must come the development of means for carrying out the promises of the Atlantic Charter—first of all, that nations shall be relieved of the crushing burden of armaments. Should the world emerge from the present conflict with the common safety at loose ends, the military preparedness necessary in each and every country would destroy freedom of enterprise, impoverish and regiment labor, and lower educational standards. There must be release from these needless sacrifices.

Dealing as it does primarily with the political framework of the General International Organization, the conference at Dumbarton Oaks will doubtless do nothing more with respect to agencies for the promotion of the general welfare than to provide for their coordination by the political body. In this connection, the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace has consistently held that an international community, to be successful, must be able to perform three functions: It must be able first to give security from war; second, to provide means for the adjustment of disputes; and third, it must be able to advance human welfare. It is in this third category that the United Nations have already made greatest progress. A number of conferences have been held to give practical effect to that phrase of the Atlantic Charter which promises "that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

At once more urgent and more temporary in character than other agencies, UNRRA is already in operation. An organization for food and agriculture is now under way. The conference just concluded at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire (if its recommendations are adopted) would establish an international bank and provide for the stabilization of currencies. The existing International Labor Organization, in conference last May at Philadelphia, achieved unanimous agreement among representatives of workers, employers, and governments on what has come to be known as the Philadelphia Charter. This document charts a course for economics and social justice for the masses of the people of the world.

Further conferences are projected in aviation, education, and other fields. Each of them will propose an operating agency. As compared with the League of Nations which, so to speak, was created at one stroke, a more comprehensive structure is being built today, section by section. But clearly there must be an over-all political organization to hold them together; and the conference at Washington, as we have seen, is for the purpose of fashioning this keystone for the arch.

Enactment and the U.S.A.

The acceptance of any effective over-all plan hangs on whether mankind has learned the hard lesson which war has taught twice over since the turn of the century. In two world wars casualties have mounted to seventy-five million. Eighteen million have been killed. Such are the estimates. The cost in cultural monuments, in reduction of standards of living, in destruction of social standards, in depletion of manpower for future generations, cannot be estimated.

Between the two wars—except for a brief interlude of immediate postwar prosperity—the earth saw very little sunlight. Much of that time most of the people lived under clouds of depression, hunger, discouragement; of rising fascism, and military preparedness. Of the two billion one hundred million people on our planet, not more

than fifty million escaped direct or indirect involvement in one or the other of the two conflicts. All partook of human misery.

Why? Because of the failure to create a political and social community fit to control the forces of applied science for man's good rather than for his destruction. Nations chose to live in international anarchy when scientific advance calls for nothing less than an organized world.

The machinery which may be projected at the Washington conference is of great importance. But above everything must be the spiritual will of the people. A comparatively imperfect constitution will succeed if the peoples of the world are determined that it shall. A perfect constitution for world organization must fail if those peoples will not make the sacrifices necessary for its success.

Opportunity—and Responsibility

The United States, probably better than any other nation, can give the answer which will wreck the present hope of the world or will transform that hope into agencies for permanent peace. True, other nations are growing in importance. The growth of Soviet Russia exceeds all imagination. China may match this growth before the century ends. The British, with their capacity for adjustment, may convert the British Commonwealth into something stronger than the Empire ever was. Nevertheless, as things stand today, the United States is the greatest physical and moral force on earth.

But another reason why the world waits for the American answer is not so complimentary. The United States shattered the hope of the world in 1919, and at that time public opinion here seemed as strong for the League of Nations as it does for a General International Organization today. Ours is the only power of importance which at some time or other has not belonged to the League of Nations.

While the conference at Dumbarton Oaks goes forward at our own capital, American citizens may be tempted to speculate on what the British and Russian attitudes may turn out to be. It would be salutary for us to remind ourselves that, based upon previous records, there is much more reason for the British and the Russians to wonder what the United States of America will do.

Meanwhile, American citizens can do more than speculate as they anxiously read every shred of news about the conference. They can indicate to our government and its negotiators that they favor maximum rather than minimum accomplishment; that the people will support their efforts to create a strong organization. The moral and spiritual forces of this country should be mobilized at once in support of bold action. Let there be services in the churches; resolutions from civic groups; letters from men and women everywhere. Let us all make it known to both parties that there must not be any repetition of the tragic rejection a quarter century ago of the League of Nations Covenant. This time Congress must respect the wishes of the people.

Big Magic for the Big Muddy

Missouri Valley, the nation's second greatest, becomes alive to its opportunity and—in a ferment of conflicting ideas—seeks a plan.

RUFUS TERRAL

"THANK GOD I DON'T HAVE TO DO ANYTHING about the Missouri River," a top-ranking government engineer once said. For the Missouri is a lawless rogue of a river—never flooding without changing the course of its channel somewhere—and flooding nearly every spring. Those floods spill and waste precious water that Montana and Wyoming, Colorado and the Dakotas sorely need. In Nebraska and Kansas, Iowa and Missouri, the river's erratic course and that of its tributaries carry away and waste a huge tonnage of choice topsoil—dumping it into the Mississippi.

Thus the river is the Missouri Valley's sorrow, as the Hwang Ho is China's. That is called the "Yellow" for the same reason that the sobriquet of the Missouri is "Big Muddy." They are two of the most destructive rivers in the world, spendthrift of earth and water and latent energy. It remains to be seen whether in the years ahead, the Chinese or the Americans will be the first to turn them from regional sorrows into regional assets. Plans are afoot in both countries.

Meet the Missouri Basin

Everyone knows now that something has got to be done about the Missouri. The farmers at the top of the valley know that the stability of their agriculture—of their statehood, even—depends upon it. Great urban centers, such as St. Louis, Omaha, and the Kansas Cities, know that their protection against floods depends upon it. The something which has to be done must be

—By an editorial writer on the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* which has taken the lead in mustering the newspapers of nine states to open-minded give and take on plans for an all-round waterhead development that will serve the future of six and a half million people.

Mr. Terral is a Mississippian, with a diploma from the School of Journalism, Columbia University. A copy reader on the *Birmingham (Ala.) Age Herald*, he became a reporter and editorial writer for the *Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times* and has covered the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority from its inception in 1933.

This is the third article in a series which began in July: "Healing Waters for a Wounded Earth."

on a big scale—a united effort. That is the new thing that is taking hold.

For this is a big valley which the Big Muddy traverses. It is a valley of a half billion acres, composes one sixth of the area of the United States, takes in a territory the size of Germany, France, and Italy combined.

Three mountain streams, the Gallatin, the Jefferson, and the Madison, come together at Three Forks (Mont.), northwest of Yellowstone National Park, and form the Missouri. Eastward the river flows into North Dakota, thence rambles southeast. Altogether it is 2,460 miles long. Its watershed stretches north into Canada,

west to the eastern slopes of the Great Divide and the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. Taking in segments of nine states, it is the second largest river valley in the United States.

Here is the home of some 6,750,000 people. Most of the population and nearly all the large cities and industrial establishments are concentrated in the eastern third of the region. So great is the contrast in density with the western third that the entire state of Wyoming—with roughly a quarter million—has less than one third the population of the city of St. Louis. So great is the spread in elevation that it ranges from 13,000 feet in the west to 400 feet at the southeast.

This huge basin contains millions of sheep and cows, thousands of acres of wheat, enormous forests and deposits of coal, copper, gas, iron, lead, manganese, oil, and zinc. Its people range from ranchers on the lonesome plains to swing-shifters in the teeming war industry plants of Kansas City and Denver, St. Louis and Omaha.

As for the electric power possibilities of the Missouri River system, they have barely been touched. In 1934 the total capacity of all existing hydroelectric installations was computed at 500,000 kilowatts by the Mississippi Valley Committee (Morris L. Cooke, chairman) of the Public Works Administration. The committee estimated that the river will support a power system with a generating capacity of 2,500,000 kilowatts. This would bring it abreast of the TVA.

The Floods of '43—and Colonel Pick

The urgency of doing something about the Missouri was borne in upon the entire valley early in 1943. In March and again in April, floods inundated 2,000,000 acres and caused damage to farms, towns and cities that was estimated at \$26,000,000. Congress was aroused and the Flood Control Committee of the House called upon U. S. Army Engineers to submit immediately a plan for the control of floods throughout the whole basin.

The army engineer at that time in charge of the Missouri River division, with headquarters at Omaha, is a remarkable personality. This was Col. Lewis A. Pick, whose name later became the familiar designation of the Missouri River report prepared under his direction. Colonel Pick has a flair for stirring up good will by personal contact and extending it by sound techniques. Into his division office, he introduced the first public relations man—and to date the only one—ever to operate in the sacred and somewhat tongue-tied purlieu of the Army Engineers. This



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The Missouri Basin—one sixth of this country's area, home of 6,750,000 people



Downstream—recurring floods inundate millions of acres, waste water, topsoil and latent energy, damage farms, roads and cities

was William E. Langdon, an able ex-journalist from New England.

Colonel Pick has considerable rough and readiness, and no liking whatever for folderol. He knew his fellow engineers would look down their noses at any report trumped up in fewer than a couple of hundred pages and having a gross weight of less than five pounds. But he knew, also, that there was no time to prepare such a ponderous document and that, with public interest stirred by the floods, a report in the hand would be worth two in the bush.

So he set his office about the business of

preparing what became a sort of prospectus, or statement of intentions. Flood control and navigation were to be sketched in broad outline. Irrigation, power, erosion control, forestation, and the other elements of a comprehensive plan were to be represented by a series of nobly conceived and boldly executed blank spaces. At the same time, Colonel Pick busied himself with speaking engagements, bringing word of what was underway. In three months, the work was completed.

Meanwhile, the U. S. Reclamation Bureau had become alarmed. For five years

this bureau had been working on a survey of the Missouri Valley; but partly because there had been little public urgency about it, and partly because the bureau was handicapped by a shortage of engineers, the project had strung out and was not nearly completed. When Army Engineers let it be known from one end of the valley to the other that their planning was on the stove and would soon be served up, the Reclamation Bureau forthwith announced that the same was true of the progress of its five-year study.

The Pick Report was made public in



Bureau of Reclamation

Upstream—lack of water makes the difference between waste land (foreground) and fertile fields reclaimed by irrigation projects



FLOOD CONTROL



Fitzpatrick

Cartoons by Fitzpatrick in *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*
All One River

August 1943. It called for a system of twelve dams on the Missouri River and its tributaries, and for levees from Sioux City, Iowa, to the mouth, at a total cost of \$490,000,000. One of the first obvious facts about it (once it was examined, rather than merely heard about) was that the report was not a comprehensive plan at all, even for flood control. What it offered was a practical start plus a unified framework into which, as the text itself explained, the components of an over-all program were to be fitted in detail as the work of planning and building went on. In other words, here was a beginning and, while only that, it looked to be a good one.

Congressional Shoals

A storm of objection to the plan—or statement of intentions—broke out, not over the flood control bill itself, introduced in Congress to implement the Pick Report, but over another measure. An obscure passage in the rivers and harbors bill was discovered by Governors Moses of North Dakota, Ford of Montana, and Hunt of Wyoming.

This passage related to a proposal by the Army Engineers to deepen the navigation channel in the Missouri downstream from Sioux City, Iowa—from its present six feet to a proposed standard depth of

nine. It simply said, innocently and obliquely enough, that the engineers thought they would be needing a certain specified amount of the flow of the Missouri River annually for navigation purposes.

The governors of the irrigation states had found to their amazement and consternation that the amount which the Army Engineers specified was virtually all the average flow of the Missouri for the past ten years. Hence their objections and those promptly registered by the Reclamation Bureau, and the National Reclamation Association. In self-defense or retaliation, Senators and Representatives from the irrigation states offered competing pieces of legislation which were equally one-sided. One of the most drastic, introduced by Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, sought to reserve to the Upper Valley states all the waters of the Missouri river that originated within their boundaries.

The Army Engineers protested that the disputed clause in the river and harbor bill would not constitute a legal reservation of water for navigation. The reclamationists, frankly, did not believe them. The Army Engineers said there was plenty of water in the Missouri for both irrigation and navigation. The reclamationists did not believe that, either, and they wondered

why, if it were true, the Army Engineers were in such a rush to get in their priority. The Army Engineers declared that if there ever were a conflict between irrigation and navigation, they would not dream of standing in the way of irrigation. The reclamationists said that was fine, and would the Army Engineers just put it in writing? Oh, no, the Army Engineers said; that was not necessary; the reclamationists could trust them implicitly. So the reclamationists distrusted them more than before.

The issue was joined in the valley itself, no less than in Congress. Extremists on both sides belabored each other with heat and without compromise. Among the proponents of navigation, the Mississippi Valley Association and the *Kansas City Star* shouted "Parasites!" at the reclamationists. Among the proponents of irrigation, the *Miles City* (Mont.) *Daily Star* yelled "Robbers!" and "Water filchers!" right back at the navigationists. The *Omaha Evening World-Herald* lifted its eyebrows and tucked in its skirts. "Even old-time fighters for Missouri River development," it commented, "are astonished by the heat generated by the present battle. This is more than a sectional battle. This appears to be Armageddon."

Into the fracas stepped the brief, beetling governor of South Dakota, Merrell Q. Sharpe. The South Dakotan looks like the War Labor Board's Frank P. Graham of North Carolina, with a case of dyspepsia added, and he is not of the hail-fellow-well-met type. In conversation he avoids looking at his *vis-a-vis*, and is apt to give his whole attention to the floor. A hard man to meet, as even his friends admit. Also a tremendous worker, with an amazing singleness of purpose, and an equally amazing ability to persuade and lead, as even his enemies admit.

Governor Sharpe is chairman of the Missouri River States Committee, an organization consisting of the governors (and their citizen appointees) of the nine Missouri Valley states. Last March, when virtually nobody was agreeing on virtually anything, Governor Sharpe called the committee together at Omaha. He had been plugging for the Pick Plan ever since Colonel Pick started his missionary work in the valley.

Omaha—and Governor Sharpe

By this time the colorful colonel had gone overseas where he was building the fabulous malaria-ridden, leech-and-orchid-strewn Ledo road to reopen the China lifeline, the Burma Road. The burden of support of the Pick Plan at Omaha fell upon Governor Sharpe, and the outcome of the conference was a personal triumph for this irascible, stubborn, hard-working Dakotan. He was the only one of the nine governors present who really approved the Pick Plan, but because of his insistence upon a front of unity, the public utterances of every governor contained a few kind words for it. If there was a sound as of the grinding of teeth—if, at times, the true feelings of one or another governor broke through the calm surface—the fact re-

maintained that because of Sharpe the conference acted as one man right down to the adjournment.

Colonel Pick's successor, Colonel Miles Reber, himself an ingratiating personality, was on hand along with Publicity Director Langdon and a formidable array of engineers. These technicians went into a day-long huddle with the governors. One of the first questions the state executives plumped at the engineers was by what facts they arrived at their conclusion that there was enough water in the Missouri for both navigation and irrigation. One of the very first answers from the Army Engineers was that they did not know. They were sure there was enough water, but they did not know how much "enough" would have to be, because they did not know how much they would require for the channel.

When question after question brought only these dubious answers, it was sober, mannerly Gov. John C. Vivian of Colorado who rose and banged his fist on the conference table. "By God!" he cried, "if you don't know, maybe we can find out." And that was the declaration upon which the conference acted.

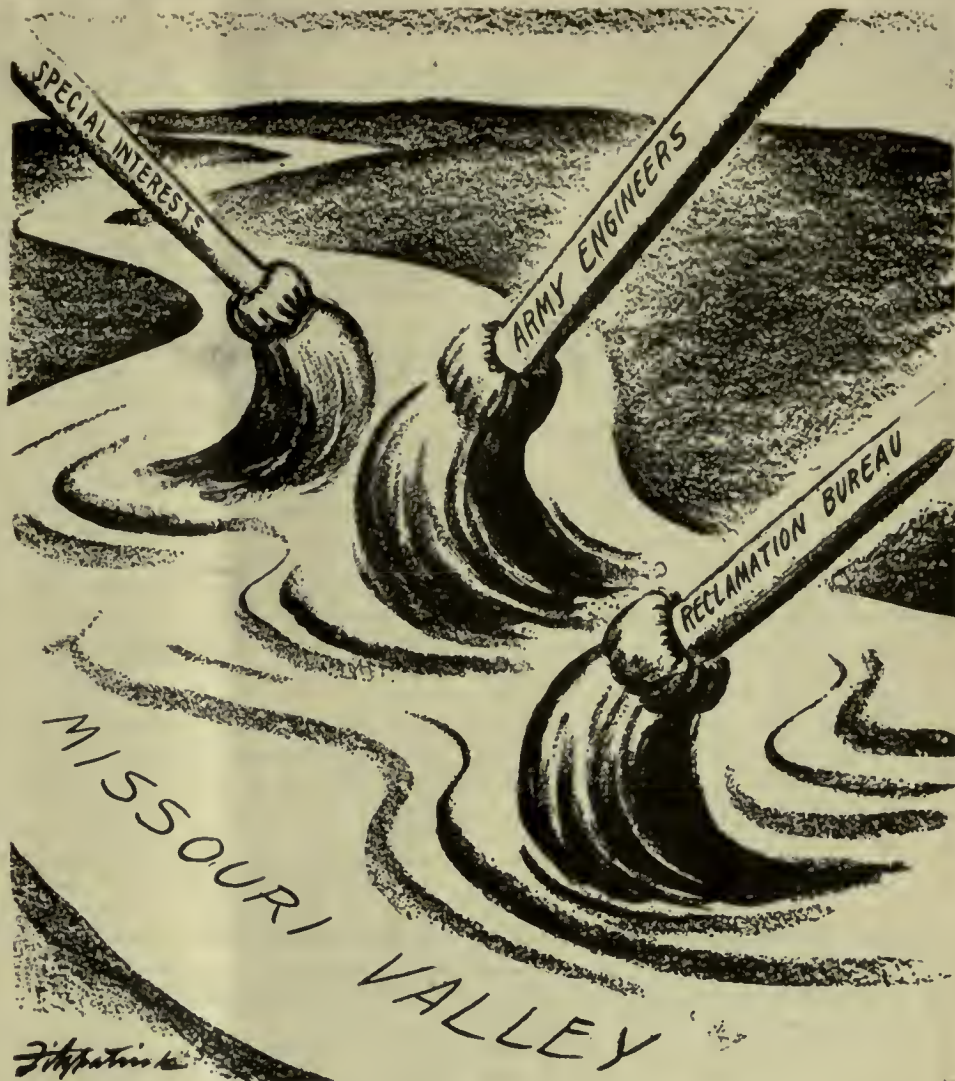
Forthwith a committee composed of engineers from the nine states was set up. To begin with, it was to find out *how much water there is* in the Missouri River; then it was to determine whether this is enough for irrigation and navigation; and, if possible, to synthesize the plans of the Army Engineers and the Reclamation Bureau. Three months later the nine-state engineers' committee came out with a report which studiously said nothing much, but said it with a harmony that was encouraging.

The Dispute Wells Up in Washington

Hearings on one phase or another of Missouri River development were held by the Commerce Committee in the Senate and by the Flood Control and the Rivers and Harbors Committees in the House. In May, the Reclamation Bureau finally issued its long awaited report (90 dams, cost \$1,250,000,000). Senators and Representatives of the irrigation states fought water-grabbing with water-grabbing, and Governor Sharpe sought to push the Pick Plan through Congress before anyone could say too much against it. Through it all, it began to look as if the people of the Missouri Valley were being thwarted by the very form and habits of government, legislative and administrative, that existed to serve them.

The nub of the matter was put by Governors Moses of North Dakota, Ford of Montana, and Hunt of Wyoming. They declared to a congressional committee: "It was inevitable that these two agencies of the federal government [the Army Engineers and the Reclamation Bureau] would come into conflict over the use of the waters of the Upper Missouri River. Here are two separate federal agencies working under entirely different basic laws, responsible to separate committees of Congress, and serving conflicting purposes."

"The suggestion has been made," ob-



For Lack of One Big Mop

served the *Minneapolis Tribune*, "that the reports of the Reclamation Bureau and the Army Engineers be synthesized—to bring about a workable, equitable plan for the whole basin. The Senate subcommittee testimony indicated that the difficulties in such integration might be virtually insurmountable."

So much was this the case on Capitol Hill that proponents of a unified approach could not even obtain the consent of the House committees concerned to sit together and consider the problem. No—the Flood Control Committee must consider flood control, and the Rivers and Harbors Committee, navigation—and never the twain should meet. In the Senate, the Commerce Committee would function; and as for irrigation, there was quite another committee for that. As David E. Lilienthal, chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, wrote in his book "TVA—Democracy on the March," one of the most bothersome things about Nature is that it cannot be made to conform to the organization chart of the federal government.

Enter the Editors

This was how things stood in mid-May, when the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* addressed a letter *To the Editors of the Missouri Valley*. This was accompanied by a list of representative editors of the valley,

a map of "The Empire of the Missouri," (page 376) and a Fitzpatrick cartoon showing irrigation, navigation, and flood control, as "All One River" (page 378). In its full page editorial, the *Post-Dispatch* proposed an independent federal development corporation modeled on the successful Tennessee Valley Authority.

"Where," asked the newspaper, "is the plan that will solve the one big problem of the one big river?"

"The Missouri Valley must find that plan. The place to begin with is with the newspaper editors up and down the 2,460 miles of the valley itself. In this editorial, we address them.

"We address the editor of the *Miles City Star* of Montana, the editor of the *Bismark Tribune* of North Dakota, the editor of the *Pierre Capital Journal* of South Dakota, the editors of the *Sioux City Journal*, the *Omaha World-Herald*, the *Emporia Gazette*, the *St. Joseph News-Press*. We address the editors of the *Kansas City Star*, the *Jefferson City Post-Tribune*, and all the other editors up and down the valley.

"We address them because finding the plan is a job for all of us, working together; because time is precious if we are to master the river instead of permitting it longer to enslave us. The floods of this

Lines Drawn in the Valley Debate

Wrote the editor of the *Montana Standard* of Butte, E. G. Leipheimer: "Those at the mouth of the river are for the first time making common cause with us at the head of the river. . . . Because there is today for the first time a desire to examine and consider the needs of all who live in the river's basin, I am confident the solution will be found. The *Post-Dispatch* speaks in the name of all humanity in this vast basin.

". . . We fear the government bureaus. We have had much to do with them. They have all been here to investigate our water resources, but always with a view to taking our water away for the use of people far below.

"Through interstate compact, we can reach a common cause with common purpose. It may take time. But it will be better in the long run than the arbitrary regulations of a bureaucracy. The *Post-Dispatch* speaks eloquently of the TVA. We up here would fear its powers to control our destiny. Let our progress be true to American tradition—by voluntary action. We shun any other course."

Said the *Casper (Wyo.) Tribune-Herald*: "The *Post-Dispatch* presents the river as one big problem which must be solved by a plan big enough to serve all the constructive purposes to which water can be put in addition to providing safeguards against disastrous floods. There is much to be said in support of the idea."

Mitchell (S. D.) Daily Republic: "It has long been the contention of this newspaper that realization of a comprehensive and adequate Missouri River development program depends in a large measure upon unified action by the nine Missouri Valley states. Therefore, it is with special pleasure that we reprint an editorial appeal for united action from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, which confesses a past error of preoccupation with the interests of its own section to the exclusion of other sections of the valley. It has not been alone in that error. It is to be hoped that other interested groups and individuals will fol-

low the example . . . in a give-and-take program which will insure the maximum benefits to all concerned."

The Minneapolis Tribune: "So far, the Missouri basin has been looked upon almost solely from the bias of irrigation, or flood control, or navigation. In view of this, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and a number of organizations and individuals have been advocating a TVA for the Missouri basin. . . . The TVA plan could not be applied in its entirety to the Missouri. But the principles by which it works with local communities, its regional characteristics and its lack of politics might well be considered for the Missouri Basin. Applying the framework of TVA should be given consideration before Congress commits itself to any further piecemeal projects."

Des Moines Register: "Because we regard it as a first-rate presentation of the fundamentals of the Missouri River problem, we reprint the whole of the *Post-Dispatch* editorial. The *Register* is not ready to plump for any detailed formula. But, particularly with the experience of the recent flood conditions in front of us, the *Register* does not for a moment hesitate to say that it is greatly impressed by the *Post-Dispatch's* approach."

Mexico (Mo.) Evening Ledger: "We agree . . . that something should be done. We would favor a plan formulated by competent representatives of the nine states involved, insuring a fair program."

Lincoln (Neb.) Star: "There has been only one river valley in America where methodically, deliberately, intelligently and soundly, the will of the American people set out to complete scientific development. It is the valley of the Tennessee. People of the Missouri Valley should profit by the experiences gained in the development of the Tennessee. Back of the Pick Plan now before Congress is the model of the Tennessee Valley. It can do the same for the Missouri Valley."

Kansas City Star: "These various bureaucrats (the Bureau of Reclamation, the Department of the Interior, the President of the United States), it now seems clear, are planning to set up in this valley a Missouri Valley Authority, similar to the TVA, which will be completely under the thumb of the bureaucrats. . . . What is the need of 4,000,000 extra acres of irrigated land? A critical condition could be created by the addition of crop surpluses produced on 4,000,000 acres of land which could be made productive only at the expense of the nation at large. What is being proposed by the upriver interests is a form of parasitism. They desire to levy upon the free water, impounded for other purposes, to develop these potentially disastrous competitive areas. The upriver interests are entirely local and provincial. They have displayed no willingness to cooperate with the rest of the river. . . . What the Missouri needs is a single authority, and that authority should be the engineers of the United States Army."

Omaha Evening World-Herald: "The Bureau of Reclamation lives on irrigation projects. To stay in business, it must find a steady stream of new ones. Naturally some of its employes take the long view and seek to hoard water, even though they may see no immediate need for it. Then there is the grandiose scheme to create a 'Missouri Valley Authority,' after the TVA pattern. Such a colossus would be operated completely by the bureaucracy."

St. Louis Globe-Democrat: "One thing is certain. The Missouri Valley does not want a TVA. The example of what has happened to the Tennessee Valley. . . . is sufficient evidence to convince the people of the Missouri Valley of the danger of this type of bureaucratic control."

As the *Louisville (Ky.) Times* said: "If it can get 580,000 square miles of editors to agree on something, the *Post-Dispatch* will have fame which no individual ever dreamed of, or could, serenely, live with."

spring are the final and convincing proof that we have got to accept the river's challenge now.

"We address them because the plan that will rule the river is one that must be chosen and formulated through public education, understanding, and popular acceptance. Through such a plan, all dwellers in the valley can be made neighbors, pulling together in their common task. This is the creative function of journalism. This is what editors are for."

The *Post-Dispatch* had early supported the Pick Plan as a good start toward a comprehensive plan. Later it had repudiated the indirect attempt, in accompanying legislation, to discriminate against ir-

rigation by putting priority on the lion's share of Missouri River water for navigation. The paper now urged that irrigation and navigation receive equal treatment, that neither receive legislative quotas of water, that an impartial administrative agency be set up to determine, on the basis of good engineering, how the water should be used in specific situations as they arose. In order to start from a position of fairness to everyone, it proposed that irrigation be included in the uses of the water impounded by Fort Peck Dam on the Missouri River in Montana—a project hitherto limited by Act of Congress to navigation, flood control, and power production.

The editors of the Upper Missouri Valley responded eagerly to the invitation to friendly discussion with the Lower Valley. (See above.) As for a TVA on the Missouri—that was another thing.

Between much of the opinion of the Upper and Lower Valleys there is this marked difference: The Upper Valley has concluded that to realize it must have the support of the Lower Valley for its legislation. There are many in the Lower Valley who are blind to this community of destiny. And there are others who propose "compromise"—by having everything their own way. The Mississippi Valley Association, the *Kansas City Star*, the *Omaha World-Herald*, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Se-

Four Alternatives

Through what device can all the states of the Missouri Valley work together? Four possible methods have been suggested:

1. Joint operation by the Army Engineers and the Reclamation Bureau, with the Department of Agriculture and the Federal Power Commission consulted in their fields.

2. Interstate compact.

3. An independent federal corporation, similar in principle to TVA.

4. A commission, roughly patterned on the Mississippi River Commission.

The joint-operation idea is represented in the current Congress by a bill introduced by Senator J. H. Overton of Louisiana. This would partition the Missouri River, giving the mainstream over to the Army Engineers and the tributaries to the Reclamation Bureau. The utter inability of the two agencies to get together on their plans has not created too much enthusiasm as to their ability to get together permanently on joint operation.

An interstate compact is favored in the Upper Valley states. Some of them even have state sovereignty over water written into their constitutions as ratified by Congress. "I believe," says Gov. Samuel C. Ford of Montana, "in states' rights. We shouldn't expect the United States government to provide dams for reclamation and flood control. We in Montana want to pay for all the water we get for reclamation. When we surrender this to the federal government we are surrendering inalienable rights to the water in those streams."

Says Gov. Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa: "Regulations and operation should be in the hands of the states. Sentiment is against an MVA. Full federal control is too apt to emphasize one phase of the program over another."

Says Gov. Merrell Q. Sharpe of South Dakota: "When the governors of the Missouri Valley states took this to their people, they found that inevitably there was sentiment against a TVA or an MVA, on the theory that we didn't want to relinquish states' rights to some superstate set up by federal action."

Says Gov. John C. Vivian of Colorado: "If any system of development similar to TVA is ever constructed on the Missouri River, it should be by private enterprise. There is entirely too much government in business. Private business is entitled to any of the benefits to be derived from power generated on our rivers. So far as Colorado is concerned, it would strongly favor private enterprise in the development of electric power on the Missouri River as against unwarranted and unfair encroachments of the federal government in this connection."

Nonetheless, there is sentiment for a federal developmental corporation to make the Missouri Valley blossom as the Tennessee Valley has been made to blossom, and this is the most vigorously growing sentiment in the river basin. Alone among

the governors, Gov. Lester C. Hunt of Wyoming, a state in which state sovereignty over water is guaranteed by its constitution, has said: "Wyoming is not opposed to comprehensive, over-all development of the Missouri River, similar to that achieved through TVA, provided Wyoming's rights to prior use of all the water originating in Wyoming are guaranteed."

The National Farmers' Union, with the bulk of its membership in the Missouri basin, has come out unconditionally for a Missouri Valley Authority. And the people of the Missouri Valley cannot fail to hear confident voices from elsewhere such as that of the *Washington Post*:

"In establishing the TVA, Congress directed that the resources of that valley were to be developed not separately, as in the past, but in a unified way. A demand for this sort of development has arisen in the valley of the Missouri River. TVA has furnished a pilot operation which should be a goal to the government in remedying the problem which has arisen upon the Missouri which, evidently, cannot be solved piecemeal."

TVA, in its proved success, provides the most promising principle for Missouri Valley development. Two factors hinder its application to this river basin: First, many of the people, particularly in the Upper Valley, lack exact knowledge of what TVA

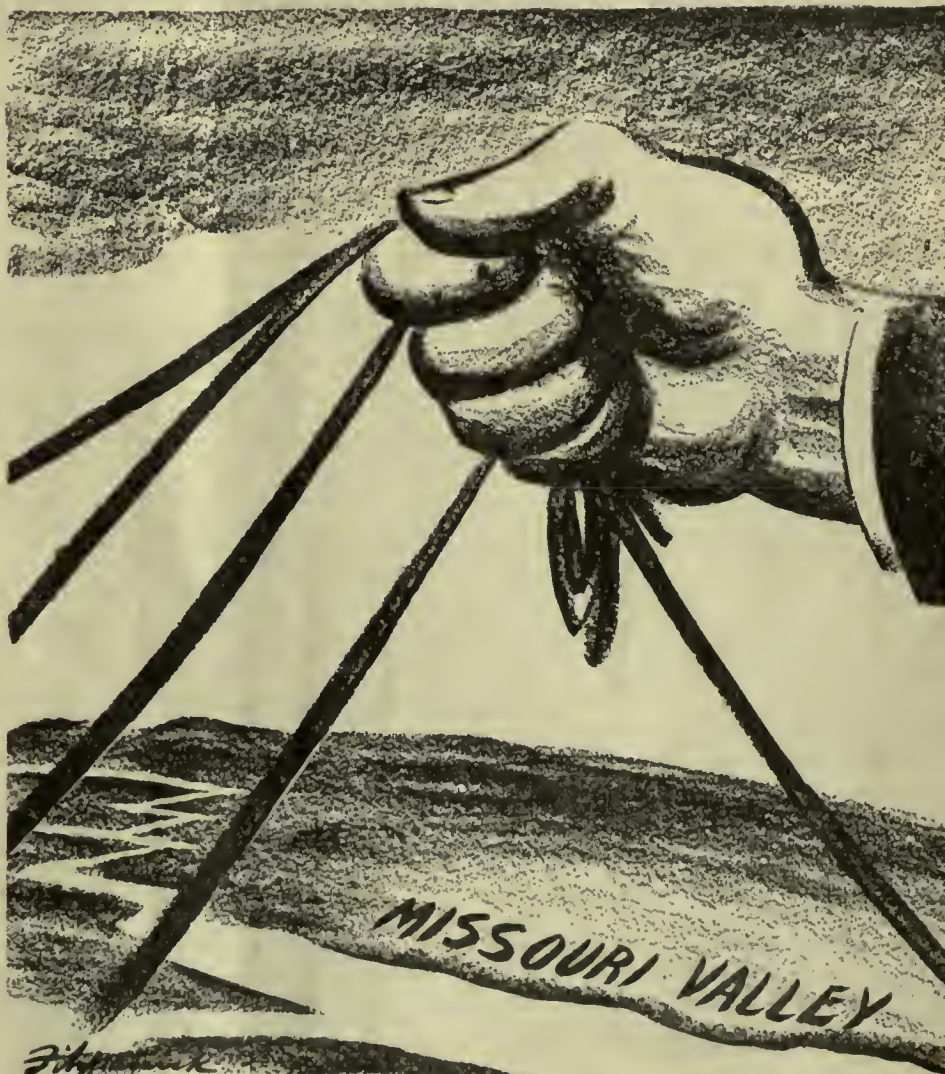
is and how it works. They labor under the delusion which enemies of TVA have spread so diligently: that TVA is solely a power agency. Second, a strong sentiment in the Upper Valley toward any federal developmental agency is one of distrust.

The Long View

Can the facts about TVA be presented to the people of the Missouri Valley so well that they will catch the vision of its meaning in terms of their own lives and the future of their region? Can legislation creating a Missouri Valley Authority be so drawn, and can men of such caliber be appointed to direct it that irrigationists will trust the law and its administrators to protect their interests?

Before minds can meet, they must be open. In the Missouri Valley today we see that process unfolding in a search for a device that will work, and one that can gain public acceptance.

Above the clamor of the breast-beaters and the professional special pleaders there are beginning to be heard the voices of those who see the whole as a whole. There is beginning to be seen the vision of those who understand that in building the future it is important to "make no little miracles." There must be nothing less than big magic for the Big Muddy.



One Valley—One Authority



USDA photograph by Knel

Lining up for lunch in an Atlantic Coast shipyard which has found that good food on the job boosts both morale and production

Food for Workers

How industry serves good meals at fair prices to millions of men and women in war plants and shipyards; what this means in terms of health, morale, output.

ERNESTINE PERRY

WHEN LUNCH TIME COMES AROUND FOR THE men and women working on the day shift, the swing shift, or the graveyard shift, they no longer have to run for the nearest "Greasy Spoon" or sit in the rain to wolf a couple of sandwiches. They can get a meal right at the plant. That is, they can if they are among the 6,500,000 American workers employed where food on the job is now available.

There still are plants where food is not in easy reach—and plants where the food provided is not adequate. But the expansion of industrial feeding has been one of the lusty wartime industrial developments. It gives promise of coming of age in the postwar period and of exerting a real influence on the lives of millions of workers and their families. Its wartime progress has made industrial feeding an accepted practice.

Planes, tanks, ships, ammunition, and other materials of victory for our forces around the world have been turned out in the man-hours saved by providing food on the job. It has made it possible to step up production, and at the same time to maintain the health and efficiency of workers in overcrowded communities.

The Pre-War Picture

Here and there, even before the war, there were some plants with food service.

—By a journalist and social worker who launched the country's first industrial feeding demonstration in her native New England. Called to Washington by the War Food Administration, she has been active in securing the cooperation of management, labor, and federal agencies in its nationwide industrial feeding program.

For the most part, these factories served only their white collar workers; some let production workers use a vacant room while they ate their home-packed lunches.

Typical of conditions the country over in 1941, however, was the scene at America's oldest arsenal in Springfield, Mass. Shifts of arsenal workers were already toiling around the clock to turn out Garand rifles in the plant where Garand himself was directing revolutionary developments in our firearms. Row upon row of weary men sat on curbstones in the day and night lunch periods, the dust blowing over them or the rain drenching them as they ate sandwiches brought from home. New buildings were going up, but not a corner anywhere was made available for workers' use at lunch time. Only a few "greasy spoon" restaurants were nearby. There a few day shift workers who ran fast enough could crowd in and grab a "hot

dog" and a glass of beer or cup of coffee. Even these eating places were in Stygian darkness when the night shift workers emerged for their lunch period.

As the influx of workers poured into war industry areas, many had to live where there were no cooking facilities. Men and women worked in factories that grew like mushrooms, miles from the nearest restaurants; or in factories so filled with workers that only a small fraction could crowd into nearby hot dog stands or cafeterias.

Fortunately a few farsighted leaders in industry and in community organizations were aware of the importance of adequate food on the job in order to meet the strain of longer work hours and increased production—and they did something about it. (See "A Prescription for Production" by Victor Heiser, M.D., *Survey Graphic* March 1942, page 108.)

New Needs—New Ways

The importance of the right food to maintain health, and the fact that most Americans were not eating the right foods were shown by studies made by the U. S. Department of Agriculture and other agencies. As the result of the National Research Council's survey of industrial conditions, and the activity of business and community leaders, the government established an industrial feeding program in

the summer of 1941. In three years the picture has changed. The way in which food for the man and woman on the job has been made available is another example of how American ingenuity rises to meet changing needs.

The scale of the food service operations varies from cafeterias seating a thousand on staggered lunch shifts night and day, to the modern version of the old-time chuck wagon that brings food from a central kitchen to workers in small plants and to stevedores on the docks. New equipment, new methods of transporting food and of shortening queues have been developed.

There are lunch stands on skids that follow the changing locations of men and women at work in yards sprawling over acres of ground. There are canteens lifted to shipways by huge cranes. Rolling food cars, like toy trains, travel through huge aircraft plants. Simple canteens in the "bull pen" at the mine pit-head have been organized by miners themselves to provide lunches when they come up from the workings. Hot meals are served at the rate of 100 a minute in a fast feeding service recently installed in a West Coast shipyard. The food, prepared in a central kitchen, is carried to each location in insulated containers. Individual plates are dished up and placed in heated and humidified cabinets, and the worker serves himself, depositing the price of the meal in a "pay as you go" turnstile. A short in-and-out line cuts the "queuing" to five minutes.

Large Scale Operations

Fifty percent of all manufacturing plants now have some type of food service. These are the plants that employ 80 percent of all workers in manufacturing industry, according to figures recently released by the War Food Administration after a national survey made by its Office of Distribution.

In 91 percent of the plants employing 2,500 or more workers, some type of food service is available, and eight out of ten plants employing 1,000 to 2,499 workers provide food service facilities.

There is also increased use of the opportunity to get food on the job. Half of the plants with facilities report that they serve from 60 to 100 percent of their workers. Experience shows, according to the WFA, that where fewer than 60 percent of the workers fail to take advantage of food service, the facilities, not the workers, are at fault. The reasons include inadequate or inconvenient arrangements, inefficient operation, high prices, unsatisfactory food.

That the provision of food on the job is not for wartime only is seen in the findings of the national survey. About one out of four of the larger plants are planning new or expanded installations this year and the majority report that these will include cafeterias, the most permanent type of food service facility. It is estimated that these new provisions will serve an additional 1,500,000 factory workers.

Large and small plants from coast to coast have found that food-on-the-job pays off in less absenteeism and turnover, few-

er accidents, better health and morale, and increased output.

The Pay-off

The superintendent of a plant in Burlington, Iowa, where a modern cafeteria has been installed, says: "Workers' attitudes have shown a marked change. They are more alert and the output per worker has increased. Absenteeism has dropped to the lowest point in years. I am told that the health of the employes is much better. Very few have taken time off this winter for sickness or colds."

Workers returning questionnaires placed on trays in this plant cafeteria did not offer a single "gripe." They did make comments like these: "Would sure hate to carry lunch box again." "Think amount, variety, and quality of food is O.K." "The cafeteria is one of the fine inducements the company has to offer and I think that it is surely fulfilling its purpose."

From an iron works in Seattle, Washington, came the following statement from management: "Because of production difficulties caused by high labor turnover and absenteeism, the plant built and equipped a modern cafeteria at a cost of about \$30,000. Approximately 95 percent of the plant employes are using the cafeteria. . . . Labor turnover the month before opening of the cafeteria was 12.5 percent and in five months it was down to 5.9 percent. Absenteeism has dropped in the same period from 9 percent to 4.1 percent."

A steel company in Oklahoma City reports that the number of accidents in its plant was reduced 50 percent after workers began eating balanced meals in the new lunchroom.

A southern mill president says production went up 10 percent the first two weeks after the government's recommended industrial feeding program was established.

The development in the new field of industrial feeding has been achieved through the cooperation of management, labor, business, community groups and government. It has not been, as in Britain and Russia, a compulsory program. The purpose of the government program here is to encourage the development of adequate on-the-job food service and to help workers and their families make the best use of available food.

Government Plays a Part

No hard and fast rules have been set up in Washington. It has been recognized from the beginning that each plant has different problems and only on-the-ground study can determine the most practical way to meet the food needs of the workers.

A small staff of specialists is available in each of the five regional offices of the War Food Administration—New York, Atlanta, Dallas, Chicago, and San Francisco. These experts are being called upon constantly by management to give advice on types of food service and on operation, equipment, food purchasing and preparation, menu planning, and nutrition education. They also certify to the War Production Board the need for material and equipment for new installations and expansions.

What the specialists recommend is governed by the number of employees, the number of meals at peak load, the length of the lunch period, the plant area and distribution of workers, and costs. The types of food services suggested may include one or more of the following: cafeteria, lunch counter, lunch stand, canteen and shelters, mobile units. Layout plans have been prepared for various sizes and combinations of services.

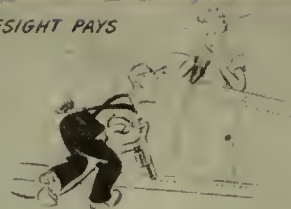
Food services are variously operated—by the plant management, by industrial



USDA photograph by Kneil
Miners at the end of their shift get sandwiches and milk from the pit-head canteen

Eat the Basic 7... EVERY DAY!

GOOD EYESIGHT PAYS



GROUP ONE
GREEN AND YELLOW VEGETABLES...
some raw — some cooked, frozen or canned

GROUP TWO
ORANGES, TOMATOES, GRAPEFRUIT...
or raw cabbage or salad greens

GROUP THREE
POTATOES AND OTHER VEGETABLES AND FRUITS
raw, dried, cooked, frozen or canned

GROUP FOUR
MILK AND MILK PRODUCTS...
fluid, evaporated, dried milk, or cheese

GROUP FIVE
MEAT, POULTRY, FISH, OR EGGS...
or dried beans, peas, nuts, or peanut butter

GROUP SIX
BUTTER AND FORTIFIED MARGARINE
(with added Vitamin A)

GROUP SEVEN
CITRUS FRUITS

U.S. NEEDS US STRONG
EAT THE BASIC 7 EVERY DAY

FIGHT THAT TIRED FEELING

TEN STRIKE FOR ENERGY

BUILDS MUSCLE

PROTECT YOURSELF FROM ILLNESS

HELPS YOU DISH IT OUT

FOR STRONG BONES AND TEETH

EAT A LUNCH THAT PACKS A PUNCH!

War Food Administration, Office of Distribution, U. S. Department of Agriculture
Posters in plant lunchrooms help spread the nutrition gospel of the National Research Council's "Basic 7" food groups

feeding contractors, or by employe cooperatives. The government specialists recommend that responsibility for seeing that the food is adequate, well served and reasonably priced rests with management, and that the plant employ a dietitian wherever that is practical. In many plants, a food committee of the workers meets with representatives of management, the dietitian, the food service manager, the company doctor and nurse, to discuss the service. By-products of this collaboration often are improved labor-management relations and also the spread of nutrition education.

The "Basic 7" food groups of the National Research Council's recommended daily requirements underly the program's menu suggestions. Since surveys show many workers coming on the job without an adequate breakfast, factory food service often provides breakfast as well as a mid-shift lunch. The between-meal snack recommended by the experts includes citrus fruit, tomato juice, or milk.

A "lunch special" often called a "victory lunch," is one device for insuring an adequate, well-balanced meal. Where the lunch special has had some sales promotion as a bargain in food value, money and time, it has become very popular. In some plants, at the suggestion of the workers' food committee, it has replaced *à la carte* lines. Incidentally, it has meant better health habits through daily repetition of

what experts call "a good food pattern."

To help popularize the lunch special at the Thompson Aircraft Products Company in Euclid Ohio, Mrs. Earl Hoover, the nutritionist, started a menu suggestion contest among the employes. Brisk food and nutrition messages and the daily lunch special menu appeared as "Tapco Table Talk" cards at each table. Then the cards announced the menu contest with requests for suggestions.

The first response was a widespread demand for "humming birds." "Tapco Table Talks" retorted that a humming bird lacks the food value needed by war workers but that if that was what they all wanted, Joe Paduka, a Tapco humming-bird hunter, would go to Shangri-la to bring back supplies. From that day on, practical plans for well-balanced menus came in from an increasing number of employes.

Each day's menu printed on the card was credited to the worker who suggested it. A \$5 prize was awarded twice a month.

To show how such a program can help establish better food habits, Mrs. Hoover compares a check-up of workers' luncheon trays in June 1943 with a check made in June of this year:

Basic 7 Food Groups	June 1943	June 1944
	Percentage	
Good (3 or 4)	23	52
Fair (2)	50	36
Poor (1)	27	12

A year ago, many Tapco workers were paying eighty to ninety cents a day for their lunches, though often their trays were rated "poor" in food value. The balanced "lunch special" in that plant today costs forty-five cents.

During the year of the nutrition drive at Tapco, absenteeism has been reduced and a health record set which is better than that of nearby Cleveland. In a recent poll of employes, 92 percent voted the food "good"; 80 percent declared the price "all right."

Learning by Eating

In a practical way the industrial feeding program is showing the worker the importance of choosing the right foods. He learns by eating. Many a man who used to think salads were rabbit food and milk for babies only, now gets raw vegetables and milk on his lunch special at the factory, and enjoys them. He eats vegetables that have been cooked a short time in a little water, and finds they taste (and look) a lot better than peas boiled pale and spinach cooked to strings. Material for plant magazines, radio programs, posters, and table cards provided by the government's industrial feeding program are so colorful and arresting that few connect them with anything as forbidding as "nutrition education." Workers' comments gathered in the course of a survey conducted by the U. S.

Department of Agriculture for the Office of Distribution, showed the "moral value" of this easy-to-take instruction:

"The company cooperates with the government in putting on programs to keep the people healthy and strong. It's a sensible thing to follow their advice. I think we've really got something. They've done a wonderful job," said one worker.

Another commented: "At the plant . . . they keep you well informed on proper eating. They have good food out there at the cafeteria, too. They serve plenty of fruits and vegetables. They really do all they can to help workers along. They are really a fine concern to work for."

Changing Habits

Sixty percent of the workers who ate in one plant cafeteria said the food and nutrition program had affected their habits, in that they now ate a well balanced lunch. One out of every four of these said they were also using more vegetables and more milk at home.

Food service workers as well as production workers are affected by in-plant programs, through their training in the preparation of adequate and attractive meals. A number of plants give this training, as well as nutrition courses for workers and supervisors, on company time.

The government's industrial feeding division is encouraging college courses to train food service managers, dietitians and assistants for industry. Further, it helps place them in factories for internships in industrial feeding. Several plants which have tried out the internship are enthusiastic about its possibilities, provided the students are wisely selected. "They have to really like people, and know how to get along with all types," said one plant dietitian who had taken several on her staff.



USDA photograph by Kneill

The "vitamin van" in a Pennsylvania steel mill brings around a mid-shift snack

The War Manpower Commission in Newark, N. J., recently started a "training within industry" course for food supervisors in war plants. The project followed a series of monthly meetings which indicated the interest of food service managers in getting together to discuss their problems and plans, and in visiting the food services in other plants. The broad co-

operation of government, management, labor, and community leaders has helped establish industrial feeding as an accepted part of our industrial life. But as Dr. Robert S. Goodhart, chief of the Office of Distribution of the War Food Administration, points out:

"While there has been considerable progress made through the expansion and installation of food service facilities, there are still some five and a half million workers employed where food service on the job would be practical, and there is a lot of work to be done before all food services are providing adequate food and reaching the workers with effective nutrition education that will have a long range effect in establishing food habits for better health."

In furthering the program, the government works through an Inter-Agency Committee on Food for Workers, which is under the direction of the War Food Administration. The committee includes representatives of the War Production Board, Office of Price Administration, War Manpower Commission, Federal Works Agency, National Public Housing Authority, War and Navy Departments, and the Maritime Commission. Each agency has specific responsibilities in connection with the expansion and development of industrial feeding.

Such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States have cooperated in the program, chiefly by spreading facts and urging action on the part of their members.

There has been a great change in the
(Continued on page 399)



War Food Administration, Office of Distribution, U. S. Department of Agriculture
Food service workers arrange fresh vegetables for "eye appeal" in a plant cafeteria

Millions to Rescue

How a new American agency is saving some of Europe's refugees; what more must be done, now and in postwar years, to help the victims of Nazi persecution.

BLAIR BOLLES

AFTER YEARS OF PERSECUTION, FEAR, AND homelessness, 982 refugees reached haven in this country on August 4. Selected from among the 36,000 refugees thronging Allied camps in Italy, they came here aboard an American army transport.

There were family groups among them, single men and women, and "lost" children. They ranged in age from eighty years to three weeks. A dozen were ambulance cases. For one baby girl the doors of freedom opened too late. She died on shipboard of malnutrition and pneumonia, and candles burned at the head and foot of her coffin as the rescue ship docked.

Within a few hours of their landing on American soil, the refugees were on their way to Fort Ontario at Oswego, N. Y., where, in the first emergency shelter of its kind in the United States, they will live until after the war. Then they will be returned to their homelands, or sent to places of permanent resettlement.

This Is Luxury

Meanwhile, they are quartered in thirty reconverted army barracks under the supervision of the War Relocation Authority. Each of the 261 families has its own apartment and they are being fed, clothed, and housed in what seems to most of them almost unbelievable comfort after their years in concentration camps, prisons, or as hunted creatures hiding in terror-filled ghettos or wandering the long, fear-haunted roads of occupied Europe. Many who had not seen an egg or tasted meat in four years gasped at the sight of homely American meat loaf, served to them for their first dinner in Fort Ontario. A room furnished only with a bed, a few chairs and a table, seemed utterly luxurious since it included clean sheets, a pillow with a pillow case, and a fresh towel. Best of all, as Joseph H. Smart, director of the center assured them in his speech of welcome: "Your privacy will be respected. Whenever there is a knock at your door, it will be a friendly one." The only restrictions placed on the refugees are that they remain within the eighty-acre fort area, and that they go to meals on time.

The 982 refugees now given asylum in our midst include representatives of nineteen nationalities. While more than 90 percent of them are of Jewish faith, there are among them forty-seven Roman Catholics, fourteen members of the Greek Orthodox Church, and five Protestants. Ruth Gruber, a field representative of the Department of the Interior, who accompanied the refugees on the ocean voyage, said they were "a cross section of every type of refugee now pouring into Italy."

Of the millions of Hitler's victims, several hundred thousand, like the 982 newly

arrived here, have made their perilous way to temporary or permanent haven. Each is in himself a story of brutal persecution, of courage and endurance.

The Human Hunted

David, for example, was eight years old when the Germans came to his home. The boy was playing under the trees, fortunately out of sight of the brusque men in uniform who were bent on murder. They shot his father and mother dead. His sister tried to run from them, and they trampled her to death by the roadside. Thus the Nazis killed three more Jews in Poland.

The little boy, alone in the world, crept into the basement of the house and hid in a rain barrel through the long night. In the morning the Germans had gone on, and David set out alone, down the road away from his home. He had joined the ranks of the sad millions, the refugees.

He traveled for almost five years before he reached a haven of safety. His road took him in time over the mountains to Slovakia, where he fell in with kind men and women engaged in a desperate adventure in humanity. They were members of the underground devoted to saving lives from the destroying Nazis. They passed him on to Hungary, then to Rumania.

David's is the saga of the human hunt. The Rumanian government flung out a great net to catch Jews, and David was among those they fished in. With 200,000 others, men, women, children, gaffers, blind, cripples, some once rich, now all poor, the Rumanians sent him to the lonely area between the Bug and Dneister Rivers. There in hunger and filth, half of the victims died.

But David managed to survive, and today he is a free child in Palestine. For his liberty, like the 982 at Fort Ontario, he can thank President Roosevelt who, in January 1944, set up the War Refugee Board in Washington. The board, consisting of Secretary of State Hull, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, and Secretary of War Stimson, was directed "to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death and otherwise to afford all possible relief and as-

—By the director of the Washington bureau of the Foreign Policy Association. Born in the Midwest, educated at Phillips Exeter and Yale, Mr. Bolles was a newspaperman in Washington and New York City in the dramatic 1933-1943 decade. He is a frequent contributor to magazines and was co-author, with Duncan Aikman, of "America's Chance for Peace" (1939).

sistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war."

At the board's insistence, the Rumanian government released 40,000 Jews from Transdnistria net. The Jewish Agency Palestine, with the help of the board, arranged for a ship to carry David and some of his fellow refugees from Constanza, the Black Sea, to Turkey. From Turkey he was moved on to Palestine. There, from Europe's terror, he soon will celebrate his thirteenth birthday.

What the WRB Tackled

The refugees of Europe include persons of many races and religions. Catholics, Protestants, even Moslems, are among those seeking escape from Nazi tyranny. Some have fled not because they themselves were victims of Hitler's brutality but because they wanted to hasten the downfall of the dictators and so made the hazardous way to Britain or North Africa or Italy in search of recruiting offices where they could enlist in the fight. But the problem predominantly is Jewish, for the great majority of the refugees who seek escape from Fortress Europe are in flight from persecution inspired by anti-Semitism. Even in pre-Nazi Europe, Jews often were subjected to discrimination. In regions controlled by the Nazis, they have faced systematic liquidation. And of those who manage to get out of Europe, few have resources with which to begin life anew.

When the War Refugee Board was created, there remained inside Europe millions of persons whom the Nazis in the first destructive stages of their rule had marked for oppression, torture, and liquidation. The board has been able to rescue only a fraction of those seeking haven. But in terms of what had been accomplished before, the agency is a success.

For the most part the activities of the War Refugee Board are secret, because publicity would jeopardize the delicate diplomacy on which the board relies for its accomplishment. Hence any account of the board's work can only hit the highspots and can claim in no way to be an official story. The board is not ready to speak for itself. So the lid is on not only the internal activities of the board itself but also on the activities of those who have helped it meet its end—the tireless private agencies which, in spite of discouragement, have worked ceaselessly to save the millions; and this country's diplomats like Ambassador Laurence A. Steinhardt in Turkey. But a little more can be told, even now.

The War Refugee Board broadened the avenue of escape through Turkey, Sweden, Yugoslavia, and Italy. It brought pressure to bear that saved the lives of many in Europe. It got food to some interned



Refugees at the rail of the army transport bringing them from Europe salute the free American shores that offer them haven

Press Association, Inc.

that limbo. With the diplomatic aid of the Swiss, the Swedes, the International Red Cross, and the Vatican, it made insistent demands which even the Germans could not wholly disregard.

What is the source of this success? In the first place, the technicians of the board are specially qualified men. John W. Pehle, the board chairman, is compassionate and driving. A deceptively quiet, reflective pipe-smoker, he is one of that relatively small number of Americans who early decided on a career of public service. Ten years ago he went straight from Yale Law School into a federal department, the Treasury. He has been there ever since.

During the first years of the war, Mr. Pehle occupied a key position as director of Foreign Funds Control. That post gave him a knowledge of the fiscal problems of many countries, and made him a man for other governments to reckon with. The funds of refugees come under the scrutiny of the Foreign Funds Control Division, and gradually he gained a practical grasp of the whole refugee question.

Mr. Pehle brought something new to the official American handling of refugee problems—a belief that a measure of rescue was possible and practical. Here was a marked departure from the attitude of the concerees at Evian and Bermuda. Mr. Pehle wastes neither time nor energy searching for reasons why he cannot act.

How the WRB Works

The board has a staff of about twenty-five and they are all picked people. To Turkey Mr. Pehle sent Ira Hirschmann, an outstanding department store executive from New York City. Mr. Hirschmann, in collaboration with the American Ambassador, Laurence A. Steinhardt, induced the Turks to do what, diplomatically speaking, they did not want to do—assist in the rescue of refugees from Rumania and Bulgaria. To Sweden he assigned Iver C. Olsen, a Treasury representative in Stockholm. To Italy and the Mediterranean area he



Army barracks at Fort Ontario, N. Y., remodeled to give each family its own apartment

War Relocation Authority



The newcomers are assigned living quarters, given requisitions for bedding and towels

Press Association, Inc.

assigned Leonard Ackermann, another Treasury representative on the spot. Roswell McClelland, long identified with the American Friends Service Committee's refugee work in Europe, was assigned to Switzerland. In Portugal, Dr. Robert C. Dexter, formerly affiliated with the Unitarian Service Committee, became the board's representative.

Mr. Pehle has received official reinforcement in Washington. The State Department cooperates fully with him, although, only two months before the War Refugee Board came into being, Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long appeared before Congress to oppose the establishment of such an agency.

From his desk in the Treasury, Mr. Pehle has been engaged in something like the struggle between the angels and the devils for human souls. As his agency has grown more active in saving men, the Nazis have grown more active in destroying them. In March, Jews were proscribed in Nazi-held Greece, and Christians who hid them were sentenced to death. In June, the puppet Hungarian government rounded up hundreds of thousands of Jews for deportation and destruction. In July, the Allies learned that the Nazis had deported half the Jews from Rome.

Like the thousands who perished in Transnistria, many Jews had been exterminated before the War Refugee Board came on the scene. Rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis, leader of the Mosaic Congregation in Stockholm, estimated on June 27 that at least half of the Jewish population in Europe had died from natural causes, been murdered, or were afflicted with serious physical or mental illness. The prewar Jewish population of western Europe came to between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 persons. The Jewish population in the Netherlands alone has dwindled from 180,000 to 40,000 during the war.

The satellite state of Slovakia had but 15,000 of its original 90,000 Jews last March, when the Vatican interceded for them with Premier Tiso, who agreed to hold the remainder in internment camps and not permit their deportation. Three fourths of the Jews of the area which the Germans have designated the Bohemia-Moravian Protectorate have been sent to Poland, which the Nazis turned into 'the Seventh Circle of the Jewish hell on earth. Few Jews are left in Yugoslavia. Thirty thousand were believed to be alive in Bulgaria last spring, although those who resided in cities were despoiled of their property. The main avenue of escape for the Bulgarian Jews was closed when their government ceased issuing exit permits.

On April 7, little more than two months after the War Refugee Board was set up, the SS *Maritza* arrived in Istanbul carrying 244 Jewish refugees from Constanza. This was the commencement of a rescue traffic which was interrupted through May and June by the sinking of the only authorized rescue ship. It was revived in August after the Turks permitted five small ships to be used in the refugee service. (As this is written comes a Reuter's report that one of these has been lost with all but 13 of

its 290 passengers. "There are no details.") The trip from Constanza to Istanbul, 195 miles by man's measure, is the distance between perdition and hope.

The arrival of the *Maritza* represented a major triumph in persuasion. The Turks, who always have disliked foreigners, were adamant against admitting anybody to their country without proper papers. Step by step, however, the Turkish government was led to agree to admit these refugees.

Grim Roads of Rescue

Europe under the Nazis has been a trap with many closely guarded avenues of escape. One avenue is over the cold Pyrennees from France into Spain. There guides sometimes charge as much as \$300 to conduct a harried child to safety. The Spaniards have admitted 40,000 refugees over this avenue but, like the Turks, they urge the refugees not to tarry. The Turks pass them on to Palestine, the Spaniards principally to North Africa, where about 10,000 of the rescued have joined the French army to fight elsewhere against the Nazis from whom they were fleeing.

During the cruelties of the Inquisition, Jews were refugees from Spain. Today many of the descendants of those Sephardic Jews have returned to Spain seeking haven from the Germans. The Spanish government decided to issue passports to Sephardic Jews and arrange for their temporary return to Spain. The German government yielded to the Spanish request and to pressure from the Vatican, and from the Balkans last spring sealed freightcars began long, slow journeys. In them, cramped,



John W. Pehle
Chairman of the War Refugee Board

underfed refugees traveled as citizens of Spain to the homeland of three centuries ago. Spain, however, has insisted that arrangements be made to move these refugees on and most of them now have gone to Palestine or North Africa.

Everyone who finds his way across the Pyrennees carries, like David, a personal story of the will to survive. Inevitably, the refugee problem is discussed in terms of statistics, shipping, and haven. But fundamentally it is the human problem of harried men, women and children.

On the outskirts of Paris last winter lived Leon and Ruth, an aged Jewish couple. In the years since the Germans

overran France, they had faced each day uncertainty, not knowing whether they would be permitted to see its close. On Christmas, 1943, they made a great decision. They would end this intolerable strain. Putting some scanty supplies into their pockets, they set out secretly and afoot for the south.

They reached the Pyrennees and crossed them. Then Spanish officials took them into custody. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee secured their freedom by guaranteeing their maintenance. Now they are in North Africa, in a camp set up by the United States and Britain near Casablanca.

About sixty refugees a day have been making their way from France into Switzerland. That small republic, crowded by the great numbers who fled there, has been watching hopefully the progress of Allied armies in Italy, because the departure of the Germans from Italy would make possible the distribution of some of the refugees in Switzerland. Canada and the United States, Paraguay, Peru, Nicaragua and Eire, among others, have agreed to take refugee children from Switzerland.

Hungary's Murder Chamber

The greatest single problem confronting the War Refugee Board this spring was raised by Hungary. The policy of vicious persecution followed by the Hungarian puppet government since it came into power on March 19, 1944, is unparalleled by anything except the anti-Semitism of the Nazis themselves. As Mr. Pehle has stated, it, this is the situation presented to the board:

"Altogether 800,000 Jews in Hungary faced annihilation. Hungary, which has been a temporary sanctuary for many refugees from Poland and other countries before the Nazis took it over, had become a murder chamber overnight.

"Negotiations were being concluded for deportation to Poland (and death) of 300,000 Jews who had been in concentration camps in Hungary since the German occupation. And reports reached us that efforts were afoot in German-occupied Italy to raise the anti-Jewish campaign there to the same level of intensity as in Hungary.

Between May 15 and June 15 the deportations from Hungary averaged 12,000 a day. The victims were taken to Poland in sealed freightcars, sixty or seventy to a car, on a trip of several days. At the same time the Hungarian government established ghettos, most of them close to factories subject to bombing by Allied planes.

Opposing this cruelty, Mr. Pehle's office set in motion a ramified diplomatic operation. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee condemned the Hungarian cruelty. The United States forwarded a warning note to the Hungarian government. Secretary Hull from Washington and Foreign Secretary Eden from London denounced Hungary's brutal program. The Vatican used its power and prestige fully. Sweden warned that 800 of the Jews in Hungary were under Swedish protection because



War Relocation Authority

Faces at Fort Ontario—men, women and children marked by years of persecution and hardship, and by the spirit that sustained them

Stockholm had promised them entry visas and the King of Sweden personally interceded with Admiral Nicholas Horthy, the Regent of Hungary. Even the Spanish government lent support.

This anxious campaign finally brought at least a minimum result. It became known on July 29 that Regent Horthy had promised the United States and Great Britain his government would stop sending Jews to Nazi death camps and offered to let them leave the country. Deportations to the notorious Birkenau and Oswiecien camps in Poland apparently ceased.

As the mighty Allied military successes rolled up, there were further concessions. On August 4, the press reported that the Swiss legation in Budapest was authorized to "facilitate the immigration of several thousand Jews to Palestine," and that the International Red Cross had received Hungary's permission to give "immediate material relief to refugees at present interned in concentration camps." Three days later, the Hungarian government dismissed Andor Gross, Minister of the Interior, who had been in charge of the Jewish persecution. At about the same time, Premier Ivan Bagrianoff of Bulgaria let it be known that Bulgarian persecutions would halt, and that his country would offer asylum to Jews from Hungary.

But such a grave problem of transportation confronts those anxious to save the Hungarian Jews that the prospect is slim or any large scale migration. Hungary has a long history of anti-Semitism, although Jews made up most of its middle class. Hungary in 1920 barred Jews from many professions. In 1941, the Bardossy government deprived the Jewish religion of all public rights. In 1942, the Kallay government expropriated Jewish property.

Perhaps more European Jews could be rescued if there were more havens open to them. Governments put many obstacles in the way of migration—visas, permits,

shipping controls, passports—and today such pieces of paper are more necessary than legs for moving from place to place.

Islands of Safety

Under the sponsorship of the WRB the United States last month opened the refugee camp at Fort Ontario. By its decision to establish this emergency refugee shelter, the United States government assured asylum for many more refugees than the 982. Some of the other countries which are in a position to care for refugees had indicated they would follow an American example in offering asylum. The British subsequently agreed to establish a similar camp in Tripolitania, and Mexico has now agreed to establish "free ports" for refugees.

Canada previously had taken in almost 500 refugees, and Mexico already has permitted the establishment of a camp (*Colonia Santa Rosa*) for Polish refugees. Various agencies of different governments, chiefly the British, maintain more than fifty refugee camps in Africa and Asia, and transient camps have been set up in Italy. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration runs Camp Lyautey in North Africa and six others in the Middle East. In July, these camps were accommodating a total of approximately 100,000 refugees. A list of the camps shows how widely they are scattered:

Souk-el-Gharb in Syria; Athlit, Haifa, and Nuseirat in Palestine; Moses Well, El Shatt, El Tolumbat and El Khatatba in Egypt; Dhekelia and Ziyi in Kenya; Kigoma, Tengeru, Kondo, Ifunda, Kidugala and Morgoro in Tanganyika; Dire Dawa in Abyssinia; Kitega in Nyanza; Ruanda in Urundi; Bunia, Irunu, Djadju, Mahaji, Ruashi, Shituru, Beni, Lubero, Uvira, Usumbura, and Charlesville in Belgian Congo; Masinki and Koja in Uganda; Bwana Mkuba, Lusaka, Fort Jameson, and Abecorn in Northern Rhodesia; Rusapi and Marendellas in Southern Rhodesia; Oud-

shoorn in the Union of South Africa; Kihapur, Gannagar, Karachi, Panchgani, and Bombay in India; five camps in Iran; two camps in Mauritius; three camps in Italy.

As its name suggests, the War Refugee Board was established for a short term operation. Yet when the military phase of the war ends, the problem of the refugee will be as great and as urgent as it is today. Where will the homeless go? Must they always be uprooted wanderers?

"In finding new homes for Europe's refugees, many areas throughout the world will have to be explored, but the mere uncovering of widespread possibilities will accomplish little so long as plans for resettlement rest merely on appeals to hospitality and tolerance," Winifred Hadsel wrote in a special study on refugees for the Foreign Policy Association. The report continues:

"An essential condition of gaining admittance for refugees in new countries is that immigration be divested of the appearance of charity by having the settlers bring with them not only technical ability and the will to work, but also some economic resources for developing their new homeland.

"Since, however, the impoverishment of Europe's persecuted people will probably remain a primary factor in postwar economy, funds for their transportation, settlement, retraining, and adjustment will have to be raised from outside sources."

Paraguay is seeking 100,000 immigrants. New Zealand is ready to expand its population by new blood from the outside. Nicaragua, Peru, and Eire have said they would take refugee children from Switzerland. But that will not solve the problem. Both Democrats and Republicans in their 1944 platforms envision Palestine as a true Jewish home. Perhaps Palestine offers the most hopeful immediate answer to the problem. But the final answers will have to be written in terms of controls which will effectively check and modify the forces making for cruelty and prejudice in all nations.

Labor in Politics

Labor plays the game two ways—one wing traditionally non-partisan, the other taking a lively part in the campaign. A dispassionate look at a 1944 hot spot.

BEULAH AMIDON

TRADITIONALLY, ORGANIZED LABOR IN THIS country has not taken a leading role on the political stage. Early in the century, Samuel Gompers, up-builder of the American Federation of Labor, assigned an unspectacular part to the unions. Labor, he declared, would remain non-partisan, but it would "reward its friends and punish its enemies."

In practice, this meant that, insofar as the unions were able to do so, they have thrown votes to a candidate of either party with a "good labor record," and refused support to the man whose stand as office holder or office seeker they rated anti-union.

There have been exceptions to this policy, notably in the 1912 "Bull Moose" campaign; in the 1924 presidential candidacy of "Old Bob" La Follette of Wisconsin; in the 1936 campaign of Labor's Non-Partisan League, which drew its support from both the AFL and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Parting of the Ways

In the congressional elections, two years later, Labor's Non-Partisan League was definitely a CIO agency, through which the more militant wing of the labor movement experimented with political alignments. The parting of the political ways between the two national bodies of organized labor, old and new, was more marked in 1940. This year, they are far apart, both in policy and method.

The AFL still keeps to its established strategy. However closely some of its outstanding leaders are identified with the opposing political parties—William L. Hutcherson, head of the Carpenters union with the Republicans, for example, Daniel Tobin of the Teamsters with the Democrats—the Federation counsels labor groups as such not to commit themselves to any general allegiance. In urging union members to judge candidates solely on their labor record, the AFL officially goes further, and views with alarm any other union procedure. Thus the *American Federationist* for July declared editorially:

"Every central labor union should see to it that its non-partisan political committee interviews all candidates to find out their attitude on legislation demanded by labor. Do not confuse the Federation's program of action with that of other programs not designed to maintain our free democratic institutions."

The conspicuous "other program" offered by organized labor this year is that of the CIO's Political Action Committee, successor to Labor's Non-Partisan League. The PAC has been the object of much comment by editorial writers and columnists, in line with their economic as

—By an associate editor who has made a special study of American labor organization and the changing patterns of its growth and development.

well as their political outlook. Its activities often have been front page news, sometimes because they were new and arresting, sometimes because of the controversy they aroused. Moreover, the PAC has been the target of congressional investigating committees. Early scrutinized by the Department of Justice, the Attorney General gave it a clean bill of health, but as time went on this did not meet the contention in many quarters that the PAC was overstepping the bounds set by the Smith-Connally act. "Labor wants to take over the government," say some critics; others, "the unions are up to Tammany's old tricks."

Admittedly a national campaign, when Americans traditionally give themselves to strong feeling and stronger expression, does not provide the best climate for cool evaluation. Nevertheless, here is a new force in our industrial democracy, and it seems worthwhile to try to "look at the record" of this much discussed agency.

What is the PAC? Why was it organized? Who are its leaders? What are its objectives? What are its methods of work? Is it simply a campaign development, or does it seem likely to become a permanent factor in American life? This article will attempt to offer some answers to these questions.

What Is the PAC?

The Political Action Committee had its beginnings in Cleveland in March 1943, at a meeting of the CIO executive committee to which Philip Murray, the CIO president, had invited about two hundred key leaders of the constituent organizations. In these union groups there was a growing impatience with the rising cost of living, with the handling of prices and wages by the wartime agencies, with the attitude expressed by press and public toward wartime labor. In the split between Congress and the Executive, CIO leaders sensed congressional opposition to all liberal and labor measures.

In the "swing to the right"—inside and outside governmental circles—they discerned not only a threat to labor's gains in recent years but the possibility of dangerously narrow and short-sighted postwar policies. Further, in a period of shifting alignments, this group viewed labor issues as no longer soluble in industrial terms alone. Today, they hold, many of these issues have become public concerns, involving questions of public policy, of public

regulation and control. Given this overlapping of labor and political issues, CIO leaders felt the need for a political agency to express the workers' views and represent their interests, much as the union itself speaks for labor in collective bargaining. Finally, in July, they formed the PAC in response to this need—frankly as a pressure group as well as a campaign agency.

The committee is made up of six union executives: Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; R. J. Thomas of the Auto Workers; Van A. Bittinger, vice-president of the CIO; Albert T. Fitzgerald of the Electrical Workers; David J. McDonald of the Steel Workers; Sherman H. Dalrymple of the Rubber Workers.

Sidney Hillman is chairman. He has been since 1915 the president of the labor organization in the men's garment industry which has been a pioneer not only in industrial relations but in unemployment insurance for its members, in labor banking, housing, and labor research. In recognition of his constructive capacity, Mr. Hillman has been called to Washington repeatedly—as a member of the labor advisory board of NRA, member of the National Industrial Recovery Board, labor member of the National Defense Advisory Committee, associate director-general (with William Knudsen) of the Office of Production Management, director of the labor division of WPB, special labor adviser to President Roosevelt. His first tasks as chairman of the PAC were to further the organization of regional and state Political Action Committees, and to raise funds from CIO unions.

Early Activities

For some months the work of the PAC reported in detail in the labor press, received little public attention. Full employment at wartime wages means well filled union treasuries. The PAC had no difficulty in raising a fund of about \$675,000 to carry on its work. Though the Smith-Connally act bars contributions to political parties by unions, PAC was free to spend money for political education, and in state primary campaigns. In due course the PAC became front page news with its countrywide drive for registration of labor unionists, and its active part in state primaries.

The first major educational goal of the new group was to bring home to CIO members their responsibility as citizen. Pamphlets, handbooks, flyers, house-to-house canvassers, articles and cartoons prepared for the labor press, all stressed the significance of the ballot, the necessity of voting, and for complying with election



Steelworkers crowd the office of the election board in Duluth, Minn., where every eligible CIO member is now a registered voter

requirements in order to be able to vote.

Taking a leaf out of the notebook of the political "machines," the PAC went about this job systematically. Files of union members and their status as voters were built up. The campaign reached down to work benches and assembly lines. Shop committees buttonholed CIO members, reminding them to register, getting them "on record" as registered or not registered, pointing out that "If you don't register, you can't vote." Cardboard "buttons" blossomed out: "My Token— I'm Registered," "I Registered— How About You?"

In some communities, boards of election kept registration offices open evenings at the union request to accommodate workers on late shifts. Election officials opened special registration places in industrial plants. The results of the registration campaign were impressive.

Thus, in Duluth, Minn., every eligible CIO member registered. From Ohio, California, Illinois, the labor press published reports that the "Register Now" campaign had broken "all records in pre-primary registration."

In a number of instances, AFL unions disregarded the word from the Federation president, William Green, not to cooperate with Political Action Committees. Rather, they joined the CIO group in the registration drives and in primary campaigns. Thus, in Cleveland, Ohio, not only the local CIO and AFL but the Railroad Brotherhood formed a Joint Committee for Political Action and stepped up the daily registration from an average of 400 to more than 1,000. As a result, pre-primary registration includes a bigger proportion of

the people than it ever has before.

In many other communities the AFL-CIO "split" has not prevented united political activity at the state and local levels. Thus the Delaware Federation of Labor at its quarterly convention in the spring rejected President Green's ruling on cooperation. The AFL Central Labor Union in Springfield, Mass., authorized delegates to take part in political action with the CIO. The Central Labor Union (AFL) of Jamestown, N. Y., joined with the CIO unions in a two-day conference on politi-

cal issues and labor's responsibilities.

In Tennessee, a call for concerted political action went out to union members over the signatures both of the legislative chairman of the Tennessee Federation of Labor and of state CIO officials. Representatives of the CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods, and farm groups in Texas organized a joint council, which announced as one of its objectives, to "secure better representation for the citizens of Texas in state and national legislative bodies."

Along with the registration drive went



PAC files in Wayne County, Mich., list the names of some 460,000 union members

the educational program on election laws, and on state and national campaign issues. The PAC analyzed the records of congressmen and distributed the information among state and local committees and to the press.

The PAC in the Primaries

It was the primary campaigns that brought the CIO into the newspaper headlines. One of the most conspicuous of these campaigns was that for control of the American Labor Party. In spite of its name, this third party has no organization outside New York State, and its chief strength is in New York City. In a primary election in which there was no other contest of consequence, the press, with some exceptions, played it up as a "struggle between rightists and leftists."

In spite of the fact that Sidney Hillman had successfully fought off communist efforts to "bore from within" his own union, he was now painted as the leader of "communist controlled forces." The background for this was the fact that, especially in New York City, there are strong CIO unions, including the Maritime Workers, Electrical Workers, and Office Workers which always have had a substantial number of communists and "fellow travelers" in their membership. In seeking to exclude all communists from participation in the ALP, Sidney Hillman held that the "right wing," hitherto in control of the organization, had tried to narrow unduly the base of labor's participation in New York politics. This was not the first clash between Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky, a leader of the "right wing," who is head of the International Ladies Garment Workers (once of the CIO now readmitted to the AFL). The primary gave control of the ALP to the Hillman following and led to the formation by the minority of a Liberal Party which will seek to poll enough votes in November to attain party status.

But much publicized as the New York primary was by the metropolitan press, it was not this local battle which established the PAC as a political factor to be widely reckoned with. Adopting at this point the Gompers line, the PAC had entered a number of state primaries for the frank purpose of campaigning against candidates it viewed as foes of social and economic progress. Here was the old policy of "punishing our enemies" applied with new definitions. For the PAC did not rest its case solely on the "labor record" of the candidates it opposed; it looked also at their votes and views on war and postwar policies. In a substantial number of instances, these candidates were defeated.

In two conspicuous instances, candidates vigorously opposed as isolationists by the PAC and other organizations won their party nominations (Hamilton Fish of New York and Gerald Nye of North Dakota), though with sharply reduced majorities. On the other hand, there were legislators labor had regarded as particular "friends," whose seats were threatened. These received the very active support of the PAC, and won out. Outstanding among them were Senators Pepper of Florida and Hill of Alabama. Sidney Hillman and those

associated with him were the first to point out that the labor group probably did not in any campaign deserve all the credit given it by the press and by somewhat startled old line political leaders. But the record stands, and rightly or wrongly the PAC is held responsible for the outcome in primaries where it could throw tangible strength, and did.

In the National Campaign

But again, it is not the Political Action Committee's educational effort in behalf of registration nor its part in the primaries that have brought down on its leadership the most hectic criticism. That sprang from the all-out campaign by this labor agency for the renomination of President Roosevelt, and for his reelection. True, the committee has maintained its non-partisan front. In a recent statement quoted by Louis Stark in *The New York Times*, Sidney Hillman observed, "In some places we have supported Republican nominees and in some places we have opposed Democratic candidates." But the real issue is the insistence by PAC spokesmen that the committee's support of President Roosevelt for reelection is also a non-partisan stand since it is based on his policies and record, not on his party affiliation. That, if accepted, would seem to be the Gompers point raised to the nth power—but it is nevertheless anathema to its adversaries and rejected by them accordingly.

At its Chicago meeting in mid-May, when it formally voted to support the President for a fourth term, the PAC made a public statement of its own principles and its position. This read, in part:

"A small but powerful minority in this nation which has fought the President at every turn during the past eleven years, will redouble their attack today.

"They regard the present political campaign and the November elections as their final opportunity to prevent the complete liquidation of fascism, to wipe out the gains we have won during the past eleven years, place reaction in the saddle, and make impossible the realization of our postwar goals. . . .

"It will therefore be the task of the CIO Political Action Committee, between now and November 7, to intensify the educational campaign which it has launched throughout the nation; to bring the historic issues which face our people to the attention of every American; to organize every shop and factory and every community for full participation in political activity; to make certain that the decision recorded on November 7 will be the decision of the overwhelming majority of the people of our nation who are of voting age."

The PAC Program

In support of this policy, the PAC, with the approval of the executive board of the CIO, put forward a detailed program which includes:

First, the successful conclusion of the war with "the assurance of lasting peace; the utter destruction of fascism; the full

realization of the Four Freedoms; the development of an abundant life for the Common Man of this earth";

An international organization of "all peace loving states, large and small";

Protection of racial, religious and political minorities by international agreement;

Adoption by Congress of the "new bill of rights" proposed by President Roosevelt in January, 1943;

Establishment by Congress of a permanent National Planning Board, representing industry, labor and agriculture, "charged with the task of formulating plans and developing programs in cooperation with other agencies of the government to effectuate the new bill of rights."

The program includes a series of measures and major principles "which should guide the work of this board": full production and employment in the postwar period; substantial increases in the income of American workers, in part through a guaranteed annual wage; program of "jobs at useful work with standard wages and working conditions" which can be put into effect if and when private industry falls short of the goal of full employment; effective price and rent control during reconversion; heavier progressive taxes on personal incomes and corporate profits; prompt war contract termination; a comprehensive public works program, including public housing; continuation of price guarantees to farmers; credits to small business; broadening social security through immediate enactment of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill; establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee; elimination of the poll tax and other restrictions on the right to vote; encouragement of "free, strong and responsible labor organization . . . and the extension of the process of collective bargaining throughout American industry."

PAC Methods

As already indicated, the criticism of the PAC rests less on its objectives than on its methods; and perhaps to some extent on the way news of PAC activities is handled by the newspapers. For it must be borne in mind that in this election the American press is again overwhelming anti-Roosevelt.

Many of its harshest critics were quick to recognize—with mixed feelings—the effectiveness of the CIO political wing at the Democratic national convention. There were some 150 representatives present in various capacities, some of them in "smoke filled rooms."

They failed to help push through the renomination of Vice-President Wallace whom they strongly favored; opposed the drive to name James F. Byrnes; and gave their support to Senator Truman, who they considered "acceptable" on his record. Reports by the labor representatives present emphasized their growing awareness of the similarity between "union politics" and "national politics" in tactics. They discovered that methods they had found serviceable in their own organizations were just as useful in the broader field of politics.

Critics in the trench lines of the AFL have trained their guns chiefly on the PAC's participation in the national convention, and its support of Mr. Roosevelt's 1944 candidacy. The non-partisan political committee of the AFL, of which President William Green is the head, has largely limited its national program to assembling the labor records of members of the Senate and the House. These it does not publish, but transmits to its state and local organizations, which seek to make use of them through the regular political parties. The AFL holds that, in departing from the traditional policy and methods of American labor, the CIO has become a mere appendage" of the Democratic Party. The strong, conservative railroad unions are also critical of the PAC. Their journal *Labor* has pointed out editorially that the PAC does not always judge candidates on "trade union tests," and that some candidates with sound labor records are, on many issues, opposed to the Administration and to the New Deal.

As an outstanding labor reporter, Louis Stark, puts it, the more conservative leaders "fear that the effect of the raising of large funds for political work will bring about a strong reaction in which it will be charged that labor is seeking to 'buy the election,'" and that this will "bring demands for union regulation, while the 'pot of gold' will attract all sorts of crackpots, opportunists, and even grafters. . . ."

The PAC Under Investigation

So far, the PAC has been able to take legal hurdles.

Following a Department of Justice investigation in the late spring, two representatives of the Department reported to the Senate Committee on Campaign Practices that the labor group had done nothing up to that time in violation of the Hatch ("clean politics") act, or the Smith-Connally act amending the Corrupt Practices Law. The Attorney General earlier had informed Representative How-



HARRIS & EWING
Sidney Hillman, head of the PAC, testifies before a Senate investigating committee

ard W. Smith of Virginia that the investigation which followed the congressman's complaint revealed that "to date there has been discovered no violation by the Political Action Committee of the criminal provisions of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, as amended, or of the federal statute limiting the amount which may be contributed in connection with an election."

A month before the Democratic convention, Sidney Hillman appeared before the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures to testify as to the activities of the PAC. His statement, which was not widely reported in the press, raised the question whether the political activities of all organizations or only labor organizations were under investigation. He cited the Committee for Constitutional Government, headed by Frank Gannett, newspaper publisher, which had admittedly distributed 26,000,000 pieces of literature and spent more than \$300,000 in 1943; the National Association of Manufacturers; the National Industrial Information Committee; the DuPont and Pew families who, he stated, "gave \$186,000 and \$108,000 respectively to the Republican campaign in 1940." Mr. Hillman concluded:

"If there is to be an investigation, let it be full, fair, and complete. Let it include not only the activities of labor, but the less publicized, the more obscure efforts of some of the representatives of big business and high finance."

The House voted in late June, just before the recess, to establish a special committee of its own on campaign expenditures. The bill, submitted originally by Representative Smith, was mainly directed against the CIO. On the floor, however, the language of the measure was broadened to include campaign contributions and expenditures not only by labor unions, but also by corporations, associations, individuals, organizations, partnerships, trade associations, and trade organizations.

The fact that the PAC was denounced by the Dies Committee, in a 215-page report published in March, has proved an asset rather than a liability to the organi-

zation. Early last month, the Dies Committee set up a three-man subcommittee to investigate the CIO group afresh. Two of its members (Starnes of Alabama and Costello of California) were defeated for renomination after active PAC campaigns against them. Meanwhile, the Dies Committee is urging Attorney General Biddle to prosecute under election statutes the PAC and the former government employees active in its work.

Said Mr. Dies: "These people get on the government payroll and then quit their jobs to go to work with the PAC. After the election they expect to go back to their government work. It is just a trick to perpetuate the New Deal in power." Among those listed by Mr. Dies as federal office holders who left their public jobs to become officers of the PAC are Chairman Sidney Hillman, formerly a member of WPB; the assistant to the chairman, C. B. Baldwin, formerly with the Farm Security Administration; Raymond McKeogh, former congressman and OPA regional director (Illinois), now PAC director for Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin; Charlotte Carr, formerly with the War Manpower Commission, now a PAC regional director.

PAC Finances

The whole question of PAC funds has remained a thorny issue. Of the \$675,000 contributed by the unions to the educational campaign of the PAC, less than half had been spent when, on July 19 (the official beginning of the election campaign), the balance was frozen until November 8 under the provisions of the Smith-Connally act. Between July 19 and November 7, campaign funds can be contributed only by individuals. The CIO strategy was to take the lead in organizing a National Citizens Political Action Committee. This committee, which includes men and women in and outside the labor movement, is legally free to raise funds and spend them for cam-

(Continued on page 398)

WHAT EVERY CANVASSER SHOULD KNOW



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Two Fighters, Two Goals, Two Strategies

HARRY HANSEN

WHATEVER THE SPIRIT IN WHICH WE APPROACH the phenomenon of John L. Lewis, we are reminded of the old debate on the influence of personality on history. To what extent does a man move mountains? And, to carry the figure further, how far does the avalanche of mass opinion force him?

Mr. Lewis, according to the earnest but unsympathetic portrait sketched by James A. Wechsler in "Labor Baron" (Morrow; \$3), is both a domineering personality and the victim of forces too powerful for him. Committed to the leader principle and professing to be able to make organizations carry out his own plans, Mr. Lewis has behind him a record of success and failure. Mr. Wechsler, specialist in labor subjects for a New York newspaper and resident in Washington, sees him as frustrated, but not beaten. He "cannot be counted out."

Analysis of Strategy

Mr. Wechsler thinks three years mark the peak of the Lewis success—the years when he built up the CIO into a powerful labor organization and challenged the AFL. The tide of his influence turned when he demanded that his followers make a choice between Roosevelt and Lewis. They chose Roosevelt, says Mr. Wechsler, but unlike Cardinal Wolsey in "Henry VIII" Mr. Lewis did not plan to vanish. He was misled by the support of the communists, who have "the zeal, tenacity and discipline of a religious sect." He did not realize, continues the author, that this communist support in the CIO was a matter of Soviet policy; they were at the moment against the Roosevelt policy of becoming Britain's arsenal, and against war.

Even though Mr. Lewis's support of Wendell Willkie was questioned, he was praised for his courage: "Such devotion has been bestowed on few men." Mr. Wechsler says the leader failed to estimate the political character of the praise. When, with events, the communist line changed to support of the war, Mr. Lewis was left alone in his isolation. His other mistake was misjudging the capacity for independent action of that "Scottish-born, soccer-playing, church-going" lieutenant, Philip Murray.

The strike issue of 1943, in which the leader defied the United States government in wartime, is important material for a study of the influence of personality on events, and *vice versa*. Mr. Wechsler shows how apprehensive the miners were, yet how loyally they followed the orders of the man in whom they had confidence. Mr. Lewis had given the miners a sense of

security; he was close to them; the government was an impersonal body. He had built his machine on "such prosaic considerations as salary, security and old age insurance," and that meant a chance to live as men. They had relatives in the armed services and were patriotic.

Mr. Lewis also protested his patriotism. But here the action of the leader affected all labor: "It subjected labor to unprecedented hostility among both the men in the armed services and their relatives at home." Mr. Wechsler concludes that where the Lewis disregard of popular opinion in peacetime might have been the attribute of a fearless labor leader, in war it was the mark of the irresponsible.

Anxieties and Regrets

John L. Lewis won only a partial victory, but made it seem a spectacular success, writes Mr. Wechsler. He failed to rejoin the AFL with his miners, but he continued his opposition to President Roosevelt's administration. This attitude leads Mr. Wechsler, a champion of Roosevelt, to look on the future with apprehension. If a reaction occurs, Mr. Lewis may be a dangerous leader, for he is "uninhibited by any punctilious observance of the niceties of democratic behavior."

This is an odd generalization. After observing the work of pressure groups, the bitter fights in conventions and executive bodies, and the guerilla warfare that goes on endlessly in politics, we may well wonder who determines what the "niceties of democratic behavior" really are. But obviously Mr. Wechsler is afraid that Mr. Lewis, with an eye solely to the economic advancement of his followers, will bargain with reaction if it suits his purpose. He is "divorced from the democratic mainstream." He is a rugged individualist with "a ruthless disregard for the rights of individuals." His ability to lead has been used for anti-democratic ends.

The final pages of this book are bitter, for the author is bemoaning the lost leader, the incomplete man, who would not work for mankind. John L. Lewis wants power, says Mr. Wechsler, with insatiable intensity, though it may be assumed from his record that he wants it to get better terms for his mine workers. His methods make him no less a baron in the field of labor than the coal barons who oppose him. "He might have been one of humanity's thunderous voices, pleading for a better commonwealth after the war."

But men who fight for specific gains, for wages and hours, are rarely Jeffersonian in their outlook; they have objectives to reach and cannot scatter their energies. Mr. Lewis must be judged for what he is in

his own field, a general who fights for his own and has no concern for the "anonymous multitude."

Champion of "the Disinherited"

When we turn to Louis Waldman's book about his own career, "Labor Lawyer" (Dutton; \$3.50), we are reminded that he was one of the five legitimately elected socialists who, in 1920, were denied their seats in the New York State Assembly on the ground that they were members of a subversive organization. They landed there after another election and after Charles Evans Hughes, the *New York World*, and many other non-socialists had led a great protest against the Assembly abuse of representative government.

Mr. Waldman, in this and later campaigns, was fighting for the general welfare rather than a particular group. Poverty, sweatshops, improper housing, public utilities were on his mind. In 1928, when he was a candidate for governor against Franklin D. Roosevelt, one of the three major issues was "the power of employers over organized labor through the use of the injunction and a denial to labor of a free self-organization." In 1930, when he was again running against Governor Roosevelt, he was urging "a complete system of social insurance with contribution by the state, the employers and workers." The governor, he recalls, avoided controversial issues with great caution, masking this by an apparent willingness to face all problems.

This may be an autobiography, but the is mighty little mulling over childhood and adolescence in it. Louis Waldman, son of the people who lived close to the woods—his father was an innkeeper in the Ukraine—has been fighting too hard on social and political issues to do much introspective moralizing.

The Triangle shirtwaist factory fire in New York in 1911 stirred his ire against exploiting employers, and Morris Hillquit's eloquence at the memorial meeting won him to the Socialist Party. He fought the ranks of that party until it was disrupted by the militant wing and the communists, and he repeated this experience in the American Labor Party. It stands as a reason that he sees the communists as disruptive wherever they are, leading him to warn against the forces now operating in the CIO. He declares that "the same issue which in 1934 split and killed the Socialist Party have the potential power, if allowed to go unchecked and unchallenged in the postwar world, to undermine our country and our democratic way of life."

Those interested in Mr. Waldman's interpretation of the many battles he has

ought as a lawyer for labor organizations will find much meat in this book. Those interested in the political battle will find the book deeply controversial. The conclusions that Louis Waldman has reached after thirty years on the labor front have merit here.

He has seen the progressive and liberal forces reaching a strong position, only to see "liberal" totalitarian forces make their way into the New Deal. He holds to democratic safeguards, looks on totalitarianism as "a profoundly immoral force," and sees with apprehension that it is gaining ground under different names in the American democratic scheme. He is bitterly opposed to the popular front that he sees growing up in the United States, declaring that it masks an attempt to supersede the American system with a new social order and is "a subtle attack on the democratic culture, on the fundamental values which underlie and shape democratic society."

Specifically, he is opposed to concentration of power in the hands of the executive; he warns against "contempt for parliament" and against dismissing Congress as an agency of democracy—"Contempt for congressional government implies contempt for our whole system of checks and balances." He warns against the growth of the leader principle—*der Fuehrer Prinzip*—especially to be seen in labor unions and political parties. He warns against the extension of "decrees and directives," and declares that the traditional protection of democracy, the rights and duties of the individual as defined by law, "is being whittled away by the discretionary powers which are granted to our administrative agencies." He is against the "emergency legislative device" which is used to overcome the slower, more representative democratic way.

If these objections sound like those of a Republican warming up to attack the Administration, it can be said that the Republicans have not thought of half of them. Waldman's record is plain; his allegiance to progressive legislation unquestioned. Students of political change see some of the tendencies unavoidable; in some instances, centralization is necessary; in some emergencies, quick action imperative. Mr. Waldman urges eternal vigilance; scrutiny of the needs for the acts and their origins; who supports them and why. He has faith in publicity, in bringing everything into the open. He has always fought in the open. He has lost some fights, but he has never quit fighting.

THE RISING CRESCENT, by Ernest Jackh. Farrar & Rinehart. \$3.50.

JACKH'S PRIMARY PURPOSE IN WRITING "The Rising Crescent" seems to have been an ardent desire to make his "lifelong friends" the Turks known to, and respected by the Western peoples. His very readable narrative is, in his own words, "no history book, nor does it pretend to be an exhaustive work of reference."

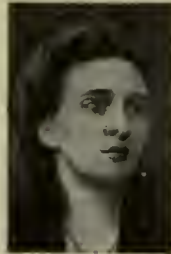
It is a sympathetic analysis, an interpretive study of Turkish character and the notable achievements of the latest, Kemalist phase of Turkish history. As such,

"The Rising Crescent" will be useful alike to the expert and the amateur. All kinds of materials have gone into Dr. Jackh's book: from the publication (for the first time) of original German documents, to photographs; to say nothing of an almost sociological section on Turkish character and "some common catchwords."

The story begins with a brief account of the three Turkeys: the Ottoman Empire, founded in the fifteenth century; the second Turkey of the Young Turks (1908-1914); and the present Turkish Republic. Great emphasis is laid throughout on the constants in Turkish history: geography and geopolitical exigencies, and the place of Turkey in European diplomacy.

It is in the field of Turko-German diplo-

matic relations that Dr. Jackh is most at home, and is therefore most authoritative. An illuminating ten pages on the evolution of Turkey from Germanophile to Germanophobe is followed by an account of the positive achievements of Kemalist Turkey. The economy and natural resources of the country are not neglected; and there are verbatim excerpts from the Turkish constitution to give weight to the points made. A convincing defense of the unique variety of state socialism that obtains in Turkey is given. Finally, there follows an exposition of Turkey's recent good neighbor policy, and her leading role in the Balkan Conference Movement. A spotlight is thrown on Turko-Russian and Turko-German relations, and a closing comment is



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made on the value to the Allies of Turkey's neutrality in this war.

So much good work has gone into this interesting book that it would be ungenerous to call attention to certain understandable omissions, or to comment on the relatively few errors. The only important criticism one might make is with respect to some of Dr. Jackh's interpretations, together with the fact that his enthusiastic praise of modern Turkey almost amounts to a panegyric. No one, for instance, would doubt the validity of the factual data offered in explanation of the Ottoman-German alliance of 1914. Some historians, however, may feel that Dr. Jackh did not take into account all the relevant factors in the situation.

Again, the author's eloquent insistence upon the genuineness of the democracy of modern Turkey may fail to convince some skeptics—even though Sumner Welles is quoted as referring to "one of the greatest democracies of the world today, a democracy created by the genius of Atatürk and his associates."

CHRISTINA PHELPS GRANT

Associate Professor of History
Bryn Mawr College

WATCHING THE WORLD: 1934-1944, by Raymond Clapper. Whittlesey. \$3.

RAYMOND CLAPPER WAS TOO GOOD A NEWSPAPER man to pose consciously as a prophet but, in this compilation of his representative writing over ten critical years, the voice of prophecy is plainly heard. His observations of the political scene during that period were those of an experienced re-

porter. To his appraisal of the significance of events, he brought a pliable, sometimes skeptical mind, and seasoned, independent judgment. Inevitably, he saw the long shadows cast by current events.

Prior to Munich, he was an isolationist; but Munich lifted his sights and deepened his perspective. From then on, he saw "the distant fire rolling toward us." By May 1941, he realized that we were at the end of peace "whether we go into the war or not."

His profound concern during the months preceding Pearl Harbor was not for the soundness of the country but for the self-restraint and responsibility of those who were destined to shape its course, for the responsibility of Congress, of organized labor, of the press. He cherished freedom but he knew that with freedom goes responsibility.

The selections from Clapper's writings which constitute this posthumous book were made and arranged by his wife. They are not arranged chronologically but topically, following the course of his thinking, his "learning and unlearning" on such subjects as Journalism, Roosevelt, New Deal, Republican Party, Congress, Prewar, War. His commentaries, ephemeral as they may have seemed at the time, take on the quality of history in process.

It is easy to believe that another generation will turn to this book when it seeks to discover what we were thinking about as we approached our Armageddon.

To the book Ernie Pyle contributes a brief appreciation of his friend, and Mrs. Clapper a simple and moving biographical sketch, both of which serve to round out the picture of the man who, on February 19, 1944, aboard a carrier "somewhere in the Pacific" wrote "More" on his unfinished dispatch of the day, and went out on a mission from which he did not return. *Osterville, Mass.* GERTRUDE SPRINGER

ABOUT EDUCATION

ON EDUCATION, by Sir Richard Livingstone. Macmillan. \$1.75.

EDUCATION IN TRANSITION, by H. C. Dent. Oxford University Press. \$3.

THESE TWO VOLUMES ARE HERE REVIEWED together only because both deal with British education and with proposals for its reform.

There is little that is original, although much that is interesting and some that is challenging, in Sir Richard Livingstone's "On Education." Most readers probably will agree with him when he writes, "Our education is loaded with inert ideas." That fault is not confined to British education. He argues persuasively for a proper blending of theory and practical experience in education. The solution, in his opinion, is to be found largely in establishing a British equivalent of the Danish Folk High Schools. He certainly is on solid ground when he argues for the values of residential adult education, even though for relatively brief periods, as compared with the usual part-time continuation education.

Much of the volume is devoted to liberal

or general education. Although the author leans heavily (too heavily in the opinion of this reviewer) on Plato and Aristotle, he does not lend much comfort to the Hutchins-Barr-Adler school of thought. It is encouraging to find this thorough convert to the classics reminding us that "walk through the poor quarters of a town and a glance at the faces of its inhabitants will remind us of the folly of treating everybody as though they were intelligentsia."

Perhaps Sir Richard is at his best in his brief chapter on "Adult Education for the Educated." Both Britain and the United States will need to develop much more of this kind of adult education. Fortunately in this country we have several excellent patterns, notable among them the University of Minnesota's Center for Continuation Study.

H. C. Dent's "Education in Transition" is one of the most interesting and challenging books on education that I have read. In four well-written chapters he tells the dramatic story of disintegration, recuperation, adaptation, and ferment in British education from the onset of the war to the present time. Disintegration is the right word for what happened to British education during 1939-40. Leaving out of account the particular chaos created by the evacuation, what happened then is essentially what has happened to American education as a result of the war. The major difference seems to be that the British realized what was going on, whereas it is likely that we shall have to wait for the end of the war to realize what has happened to our educational establishment; at least, to begin doing anything about it.

With a bad start and with faulty plans or no plans at all, the British at the end of one year of war had made real headway toward recuperation in their schools. Following the restoration of educational services and the experiences growing out of evacuation, which disclosed as nothing else could have done the appalling condition of many British children, the ideal of equality of opportunity was almost universally accepted as the guide to the future educational policy of Britain.

Educational reform in England is not waiting for the end of the war, it is coming now. There may not be more things wrong with British education than with American, but they are not quite the same thing. It would appear that the British will more quickly correct most of their wrong things than shall we. Perhaps some notion of the differences in current thinking could be had by comparing the parliamentary debates on the Education Bill with our congressional debates over the proposal to provide federal aid to education.

Mr. Dent is optimistic relative to the future of British education. He gives his reasons for this optimism, and his reasons appear to be good. Some optimism probably is justified relative to the future of education in the United States. At present, however, such optimism must be based largely on faith.

These two books can be read with profit by many persons in the United States, edu-

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tors and laymen. Perhaps through them we can gain a better perspective on our own educational problems and needs.

ALONZO F. MYERS
Chairman, Department of Higher Education, New York University

BUILDING A CURRICULUM FOR GENERAL EDUCATION, by Ivol Spafford and others. University of Minnesota Press. \$3.

WHOSE WE TEACH, by Cornelia T. Williams. University of Minnesota Press. \$2.

OUTCOMES OF GENERAL EDUCATION—An Evaluation of the Work of the General College, by Ruth E. Eckert. University of Minnesota Press. \$2.

THESE THREE BOOKS REPORT A COMPREHENSIVE, painstaking research into the objectives, the performance, and the accomplishments of the General College of the University of Minnesota.

The statement of objectives describes fully the development of the student in every phase of life's activities. It is more astonishing to find that "the average length of time that students remain at the General College is slightly less than three full quarters," or about one academic year, and that "only one fifth of the students can be classed as voluntary matriculants." Four fifths, in other words, are not of an academic standing to be acceptable to other colleges.

Recognizing that "in contacts limited to a year or two, it is probably impossible to even the best educational program to compensate for many of the deficiencies" of the eighteen or twenty years preceding, and that "the world of today demands that education continue throughout life," the General College might well have used these two facts as the cornerstones of a more realistic educational policy: a terminal year as a full time student which should likewise be an introductory year to continuing education as an adult.

Such techniques as have been built up in the core courses, so-called, in four fields of orientation—individual, family or home life, vocational, socio-civic—would be most interesting to follow in adult life and would prove highly productive. What the core course attempts is a survey of the state of affairs in the area in question with emphasis on opportunities offered.

This leads to the more fundamental consideration of how the whole educational problem is conceived. To state the case in extreme terms, the studies deal with symptoms rather than causes. Such objectives are outlined seem nearly impossible of attainment if achieved individually—they flow from the kind of spiritual security that education can give when it is really successful.

The whole problem of evaluation to which an entire volume is devoted, proceeds in much the same manner. Tests have been used endlessly and yet the net outcome, as stated at great length and in many graphs, seems but little to advance educational insight.

In the increasingly important field of counseling, the General College seems to

have accumulated several years of experience. It is to be regretted that this was not reported in detail for the benefit of those of us who are just starting out. We should not, on the other hand, too freely attribute to "excellent counseling" "the fact that most changes were in the direction of greater realism," a euphemistic way of saying that the academic record of many students was the basis on which they altered their original plans for entering other colleges or embracing exacting professions.

"Perhaps the most significant aspect of the General College experiment, however, has not been the conscious attempt to meet the learning problems of these new groups of students but rather the development by this faculty of a new program, a so-called *general education curriculum*, designed to prepare young people for the unspecialized phases of living, outside and beyond the classrooms." Here again the road through the General College would seem to lead almost inevitably into adult education.

CLARA W. MAYER
Dean, School of Philosophy and Liberal Arts, New School for Social Research

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE MODERN WORLD, by Arnold S. Nash. Macmillan. \$2.50.

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sis that "will be dialectical between the two poles of unity and freedom."

Mr. Nash has chopped down many trees but he has not attempted to fashion them into a temple.

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LABOR IN POLITICS

(Continued from page 393)

paign purposes. Sidney Hillman, chairman of the PAC, is also head of the Citizen Committee, with former Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska as honorary chairman. Its officers include James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union; James H. McGill, a manufacturer; Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) who, like Hillman, is a member of PAC.

How much the Citizens Committee will be able to raise is not clear at this writing though it has announced a goal of \$1,500,000. Its campaign program includes ambitious radio plans, a speaker's bureau, a press service not only to labor publications but papers and magazines of general circulation as well. It has a well equipped and well staffed headquarters in New York, and seventeen regional offices over the country.

The goals of the Citizens Committee were thus defined in a recent statement: bring "the issues of this election to the people of America—the great issues of peace, full employment, and full production"; to report to union voters and the families the records of the candidates, "the promises kept and unkept on these vital issues"; to urge all eligible voters to register and vote; "to cooperate with all groups and organizations which share our common objective."

There is likely to be mounting criticism of the PAC from quarters inside and outside the labor movement as the campaign goes forward. The most frequent charge to date is that the movement represents a bid for power, a drive by organized labor "take over the Democratic Party," even "take over the government." Many of those who distrust "pressure politics" and the effect of "pressure groups" on democratic institutions see the PAC as the embodiment of their worst fears. Spokesmen for the PAC view this as a distortion of their intentions.

"That just isn't the way it is," one of them explained to me. "It isn't a question of 'getting' power. We have the power. We are trying to learn to use it. In a democracy, 5,000,000 potential voters (plus their families and friends) represent tremendous power. But we are awfully green."

He pointed out, as a genuine achievement of the PAC, the lessons in practical politics labor is gaining. "We are learning how the game is played," he said. "Politics isn't a matter of slogans and oratory. The thing you have to have is careful, thorough organization. There's nothing dramatic about it. It's dull business—files, ward a

...cinct organization, house-to-house canvassing, and all that. Liberals never have been willing to do the drudgery. And so they have gone down again and again before a 'machine.'

"But is there any reason why sound organization techniques always have to serve crafters and professional politicians? I don't see why organization can't be made to serve the ends of righteousness. Anyway, I believe that is the underpinning of the PAC. We're learning the political game, but we're setting ourselves to play it honestly, instead of dishonestly, for good ends instead of bad ends. Every game can be either wholesome or rotten. Politics is no exception."

As to "the long view"—in his testimony before the Senate Committee, Chairman Millman of the PAC declared: "We have not organized for 1944 alone. On the contrary, the committee has been established on a permanent basis, to serve as a continuing agency of the CIO for the coordination and direction of its activities in the field of political education."

The Smith-Connally act may have served, inadvertently, to underwrite this long range objective. For on November 8, the funds contributed by the unions to the PAC and frozen on July 19 will be liquid once more. With the Presidential campaign over, other political headquarters will be closing their books, advertising their furniture for sale, appealing for contributions to "wind things up." The Political Action Committee will be in a very different case. It will have \$50,000 cash in hand earmarked for the continuing political education of its constituents. It seems unlikely that election day will see the end of the PAC.



program materials to plants, communities, and organizations at cost.

Press and radio have cooperated with the War Advertising Council in bringing the message of "better food for better health and better work" to millions.

About one half of the 4,500 Labor-Management Committees in war plants have subcommittees working to improve in-plant food service and to promote nutrition education among workers. All the major unions are represented on the labor advisory committee on food for workers.

State and local industrial nutrition committees made up of volunteers, are carrying on a wide range of activities—stimulating the cooperation of restaurant managers, conducting information centers, nutrition courses, exhibits, conferences, and organizing "food schools" in cooperation with public utilities and the press.

Can this interest and activity be kept alive after the wartime emergency ends? The morale and health-building advantages will be as necessary then as they are today. Certainly veterans returned from the strain of war, trying to adjust themselves to industry's demands, should be able to secure adequate food on the job.

Selective Service records show that 4,000,000 young men, many of them industrial workers, were unfit physically or mentally for military training. Many of their deficiencies could have been prevented or minimized by better diets. The figures document the need for such practical measures as in-plant feeding.

This program is not a cure-all. But to make adequate food available at reasonable prices to millions of workers at their place of work, and to promote better food habits, is a real factor in our national health.

What has been learned through wartime industrial feeding and nutrition education for workers and their families in this country, in Britain and in Canada, could be applied in various ways to the problems that must be solved in the liberated countries. We hope the millions of half-starved workers there soon will be striving to restore the productive life of their own lands. Adequate food at their places of work will further health, morale, and industrial progress as they shoulder the heavy task of reconstruction.

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

FOOD FOR WORKERS (Continued from page 385)

attitude of management, according to Dr. Victor Heiser, health consultant of the National Association of Manufacturers. Two years ago many leading industrialists held that management had no responsibility as to what or where a worker ate; today, a number of them point proudly to food services they have developed, and their effect on production, health, and morale.

Permanent Programs

Asked whether his company planned to continue its industrial feeding service after the war, one management representative replied, "Of course! It has done so much to boost morale and cut down turnover, I think it is worth every cent it costs. Turnover, even in peace time is expensive. To figure it costs \$365 every time we have to replace a worker, even if he has been with us only two months."

Outstanding among these programs is that of Servel, Inc., Evansville, Ind., which is promoting sound health habits through in-plant food services and nutrition education among workers and their families. Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company has established more than 1,600 "Health for Victory" clubs and provided

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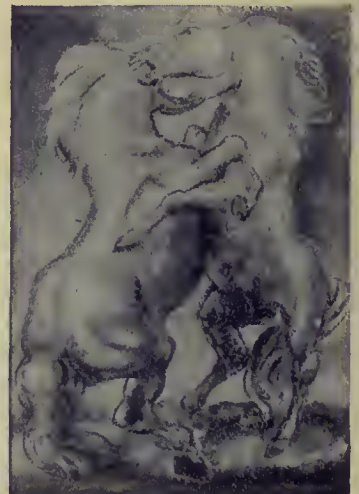
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*** for Liberals

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AS WE WENT TO PRESS LAST MONTH WITH THE first full length magazine article on the proposed Missouri Valley Authority ("Big Magic for the Big Muddy," by Rufus Terral, editorial writer on the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*), plans embodying the plan were introduced in Congress by Senators James E. Murray of Montana and Guy M. Gillette of Iowa. The measures, which differ only in details, are modeled on TVA. They would enact into law "one big plan for one big river," which is being pushed by a group of midwestern state governors and newspaper editors for an all-around development to conserve the water, soil, and power potentials of the vast Missouri valley.

On September 21, President Roosevelt sent a special message to Congress, urging "careful and early" consideration of the MVA proposals. He also urged renewed consideration of plans for similar development of the Arkansas and Columbia River watersheds.

ITS ISSUE FOR SEPTEMBER 25, *The CIO News* calls its readers' attention to the article "Labor Politics," in the September *Survey Graphic*, saying: "It is a factual, simply written account . . . told with a brief preliminary review of earlier political efforts of labor, and a short explanation of the AFL's different outlook. . . . The article stands out because the writer, Hulah Amidon, searched diligently at the sources for her material and tells accurately and fairly what she found out. . . ."

Our Hurricane Reporter

THE CAPE COD HOME TO WHICH GERTRUDE Springer, former associate editor of *Survey Graphic* and *Survey Midmonthly*, repaired some time ago to find "peace and quiet," was right in the path of the great tropical storm that roared across New England on the night of September 14. We share with "Miss Bailey's" many friends excerpts from the letter she wrote a few days later:

"Daylight revealed the extent of the shames. All the big trees around the house are gone. About half our trees are uprooted—the rest are broken off ten or fifteen feet up. Our great trees are across the drive, so that we cannot get the car out. The entire house is covered with gray salt spray mixed with the siftings and dirt. All the shrubs and flowers except on the north side are blackened and blasted by the spray.

"Cars can get through our street up to our drive. All the wires are a tangled mess and nobody's guess when we'll have electricity or telephone service. But we have gas and water and are not badly off in comparison with most people. The neighbors with electric stoves come here to cook. The house across the way has an iced ice box; we all park our perishables here. Mrs. H. was away the night of the storm, so her car is out, and she supplies transportation to the village.

"Lots of the trees are down in the village [Sterville] and the steeple is off the Baptist church. Without communications (wire or phone) and yesterday without mail, we don't know much about the rest of the Cape except rumors: cottages and bath houses gone . . .

the big houses along Long Beach tossed off their pins . . . the bridge at Parker River, West Yarmouth way, gone . . . all the waterfront houses at Hyannis and Hyannisport badly mauled . . . the Oyster Harbor bridge unusable . . . the Crosby shipyards a tangle, with big cruisers tossed up on the docks. . . .

"The unique beauty of this part of the Cape—the tall pines—is gone forever. Well, anyway, the Germans didn't do it with bombs, and we're winning the war."

Off the Press

WRITERS, COMMENTATORS, HISTORIANS, ECONOMISTS, and other professional people now can obtain Gov. Herbert H. Lehman's official report of the first eight months of the international agency of which he is director-general. For this 32-page pamphlet, "UNRRA: Organization, Aims and Progress," address United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, 1344 Connecticut Ave., Washington 25, specifying professional interest, since the supply is limited. A second pamphlet is in preparation for the more general public.

PAMPHLETS ON TEN AMERICAN REPUBLICS—Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia,

Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela—are now available at a nominal charge from the superintendent of documents, Government Printing Office, Washington. Pamphlets on the remaining Latin American republics will be issued in the near future. These publications of the Office of Inter-American Affairs are authoritatively written and are illustrated with maps, charts, and pictographs. They give present developments as well as background information.

THE URGENCY OF POSTWAR PROBLEMS, THE NEED for full scale cooperation between state and federal governments in solving them, possible methods of such cooperation in one important area, is the threefold theme of the 1944 report of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions. The six-year story of this unique organization, set up by a state legislature to improve its policy drafting in a difficult field, was told in the May *Survey Graphic* by Phillips Bradley, head of the department of political science at Queens College and director of research for the committee. Copies of the report (Legislative Document, 1944, No. 50) from the committee, 12 East 41 Street, New York 17, N. Y.



George Norris Lives On—

—in the hearts of all whom he honored by his principles and deeds as man and public leader. He lives on in innovations—the TVA, the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution, Nebraska's unicameral legislature. When ex-Senator Norris died in early September at 83, the President voiced the loss of hosts of Americans:

“ . . . a pillar of state has fallen, a tower of strength has been laid low and a grand old champion of popular rights has made his journey.”

George Norris lives on, too, in a portrait bust completed just before he left Washington after forty years' service in Congress. There he is for all time, this wise-eyed, simple, great man. One of the fine studies of the distinguished sculptor, Jo Davidson, it deserves to be set in a place of honor by a grateful people.

Thanks to Mr. Davidson we are privileged to reproduce the above intimate glimpse of Norris and the sculptor, each of them outstanding in his chosen way of life.

SURVEY GRAPHIC

Magazine of
Interpretation



Published by
Survey Associates

Big Cities & States' Rights

Why—no matter which party wins in the November elections—large cities will tend to take problems to Washington for solution rather than to their state capitals.

DOUGLAS H. MacNEIL

WITH THE REVIVAL OF STATES' RIGHTS AS AN election issue this fall, we cannot ignore the reaction to be looked for in large cities. Any concerted effort to restore state supremacy in the American political system. During recent years, such cities have become increasingly independent of state control. True, they are theoretically subject to limitations of authority fixed by state law, and some measure of this control continues even when their charters have home rule provisions. But the complexity of problems peculiar to urban areas has made it all but inevitable that the typical big city should seek to act largely on its own responsibility. Moreover, in national affairs the concentration of population and influence gives it a prestige far outranking that of many a state. No matter which party is in power at Washington, our cities are bound to claim recognition as powerful political entities. Problems in large communities are similar. The situations local government faces in a city such as Baltimore closely resemble those faced by local government in Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, or even Richmond. Baltimore has much less in common with its small neighbor—Westminster. The mayors of New York and Chicago can understand one another's concerns better than can the mayors of New York and Pecca Falls. Because large cities have problems in common, their officials often tend to feel that they can solve them more effectively by presenting a united front before Congress than by approaching their respective state legislatures singly. Direct collaboration between virtually autonomous cities and the federal government is a political reality which must be recognized regardless of whether one be-

lieves it to be a desirable exercise of democratic rights or a dangerous abuse subversive of the principle of state sovereignty.

In spite of the charges and countercharges of an election year, this trend does not spring solely from a desire to "protect social gains against attacks by special interests, veiled behind a smoke screen of talk about states' rights." Neither is it entirely the result of an "unholy alliance between corrupt political machines and a power-mad bureaucracy." The situation is not even peculiar to the United States. From Australia and Canada come reports of similar controversies over intergovernmental relationships.

Wartime—and After

Thus, since the war began, municipal officials have felt the need for federal aid in solving community problems accentuated by the national crisis.

Take the case of children of working

—A piece of research which represents a busman's holiday on the author's part. In his working time Mr. MacNeil is assistant director of the division of statistics and research of the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies. He is chairman of the Youth Problem Committee of the New Jersey State Office of the Civilian Defense Director. He has written two books: "Seven Years of Relief in New Jersey," brought out by the Social Science Research Council; and "Justice and the Child in New Jersey," published by the state Juvenile Delinquency Commission, of which he had been director.

mothers. Social workers the country over are thoroughly familiar with the heartaches occasioned by the difficulty in obtaining federal grants under the Lanham act, which requires approval by state departments of welfare and education no less than by appropriate federal agencies.

At the time when need for such services became most acute in our new defense areas, nursery schools which had been set up by the WPA were still functioning in many cities. There are city officials who believe that these could have been expanded to meet the wartime needs in their localities. But with the termination of WPA they were closed, and in some cities there are now actually fewer facilities for the day care of children than there were in the depths of the depression.

The city officials do not question the good will of state officials who have worked on this problem. But mayors of all shades of political opinion have expressed the view that there should have been some one place where they could go, lay the facts on the table, and receive a prompt Yes or No answer. They think this should be a federal agency, because the federal government has had the over-all responsibility for waging war. These mayors very often believe in states' rights as a principle. But in this instance they believe that the participation of the states has had the effect of creating a barrier between the two parties which face the problem directly—the federal government charged with wartime production and the municipality which has felt firsthand the impact of industrial mobilization.

Or take the controversy last spring over school lunches. In the depression years, this program was part of the federal farm relief program. As a price stabilization de-

vice, the government bought agricultural surpluses which were distributed in such a manner as not to interfere with normal trade channels. Their utilization in school lunches was one way in which this could be done. When farmers no longer needed this type of help, Congress felt justified in ordering its discontinuance.

But from cities, large and small, came such a protest that the program was reinstated. Most officials of state departments of education are lukewarm toward this way of providing school lunches. They fear the states are being by-passed. They see in it an entering wedge for federal control of education. Cities and towns, however, have welcomed the assistance of the federal government in meeting a need of school children which neither local nor state opinion might be ready to support out of tax funds.

This wartime alertness to city-federal relationships has by no means been limited to fields of humanitarian concern. Only last January, the United States Conference of Mayors resolved to fight any effort to interpose state supervision over federal grants for airport construction and maintenance. "The present direct federal-city relation in the expenditure of federal airport funds has proved highly successful," stated the resolution, which did not stop there but made the claim that "operation of forty-eight new state agencies to handle airport money would be a useless waste of funds."

Nor has the crystallization of opinion been confined to wartime developments. On many fronts officials of large cities have expressed preference for collaboration with the federal government directly as against federal grants-in-aid to states for redistribution within each state. At that same 1944 conference the mayors attacked the long standing program of federal grants-in-aid to states for highway construction, on the practical ground that "cities have not received an equitable share of highway funds."

In this article, I have no desire to pass on whether the cities are right or wrong on particular issues. But no special kind of insight is required to predict that, after the war and no matter which party wins in November, mayors of large cities will take kindred stands when questions arise affecting urban welfare.

School of Hard Times

Instances of federal-local collaboration can be cited over a long period of time, but the beginning of a municipal organization for this purpose may be said to date from 1931, when the subject of federal aid for relief was discussed at the first United States Conference of Mayors. The movement sprang from the "reform" group of cities, with the American Association of City-Managers taking the initiative. It showed its strength in hearings held by Congress in 1932 when mass unemployment had become acute in American industrial centers. Speaking for the mayors, Paul V. Better, executive director of the USCM, urged federal grants to cities on the ground that the typical state governor was "under constant pressure from his rural constituents not to favor the cities." The testimony presented for the mayors by Mr.

Better, was an important factor in establishing the principle of federal responsibility toward unemployment relief.

With some exceptions, the state representatives who appeared at these hearings tended to minimize the urgency of the need for federal aid. The state representative who, on the contrary, most strongly urged it was Harry L. Hopkins, then head of the New York Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, who stressed the importance of channeling such aid through responsible departments of state governments.

History tells us that the cities won the first round. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was authorized to lend money directly to cities to finance "self-liquidating" public works. Later, the Public Works Administration was empowered to make direct grants to the cities for construction programs. In these ways, cities dealt with the federal government without having to obtain prior approval from their respective state governments.

In the developments of federal emergency relief, Washington at first followed the line originally advocated by the administrator, Harry Hopkins. The FERA routed funds through state administrative agencies with broad policy making powers. The allocation of funds within the states remained a state function. States frequently imposed limitations on the use of grants which had the effect of preventing cities from carrying out types of relief projects which they desired. As time went on, officials in large cities tended to view state relief regulations as barriers to the execution of legislative policies which congressional representatives from urban districts supposed they had voted for.

The point was made clear by Mayor Neville Miller of Louisville in addressing the 1936 meeting of the American Public Welfare Association. "The general experience of large cities in the administration of relief under a state setup, functioning under the federal grant-in-aid principle, was," he said, "thoroughly unsatisfactory. On many occasions under the FERA the Conference of Mayors had to appeal to Washington to iron out what we considered to be legitimate problems—problems which the state governments refused to consider. . . . Washington has had a more sympathetic and better informed approach to the problems confronting the metropolitan areas than have the forty-eight state governments."

Hence it was, as Mr. Miller explained, that in 1934 and 1935 the United States Conference of Mayors sought a revision of the FERA which would provide a work program, separate from the relief program and administered by a federal agency clearly empowered to make grants for useful projects to cities as well as to states. Their advocacy lay behind the readiness of President Roosevelt and Congress to create the Works Progress Administration—with Mr. Hopkins again as administrator.

The few attempts made by the states to regulate municipal participation in the WPA were ineffective. Louisiana tried to require state approval of municipal or parish (county) applications. The effort failed.

New Jersey enacted a statute prohibiting municipal relief officials from "certifying" to WPA any individual who had not been on municipal relief rolls for 90 days prior to such certification and limiting the validity of certification to 30 days. The WPA and the municipalities changed the term "certification" to "referral"—and the program went on as before.

It would be rash to say that all mayors of all large cities found their relationship with the WPA wholly satisfying. But when proposals were before Congress in 1936 looking toward eliminating the WPA and providing for federal grants-in-aid to states for general relief including work relief, it was Cleveland's Republican mayor, not United States Senator Harold H. Burton who spoke for the cities in opposition. It took what by then had become familiar ground—that, because of commitments to rural constituents, "many a state government is unable to see the situation in a true or as clear a perspective as is the federal government."

State Discrimination

The attitude of large cities toward state supervision and control has been further tempered by the fact that many cities have been systematically discriminated against in the apportionment of representatives in state legislatures.

This fact, often commented upon by writers on state government, has an important bearing upon the subsequent course of the states. To help clarify this aspect of the situation, an analysis has been made of the legislative representation afforded each of the thirty-six largest cities in the United States—those of 250,000 or more population, Washington, D. C., excluded—and then of ten typical cities of 100,000 to 250,000 population.

Taken as a whole, these cities have less than three quarters of the representation in state legislatures they might expect on the basis of population.

All of our ten largest metropolitan centers are under-represented. New York and Chicago fall short by a quarter of the representation they would be entitled to population were the criterion. Baltimore and St. Louis have only a little more than half the quota of legislators which an apportionment based on population would give them; Detroit and Los Angeles have less than half. Philadelphia, on the other hand, comes close to having its full quota of legislators, while Cleveland, Boston, and Pittsburgh also have nearly but not entirely adequate representation. Examples of other cities of 250,000 or more population where under-representation is pronounced are Minneapolis, Newark, Kansas City, Houston, Denver, Atlanta, Memphis, Birmingham, and Providence.

Six of the ten selected cities of 100,000 to 250,000 population were found also to have less than their pro-rata share of representation in state legislatures—Jacksonville, Hartford, Des Moines, Oklahoma City, Kansas City, Kans., and Wilmington.

It is only fair to note that some large cities do have state legislative representation proportionate to their population. This seems to be generally true of the large up-



Harris & Ewing

Mayors on their way to the White House in September 1939 to urge federal consideration of rising retail food prices. Left to right: John A. Gurkin of North Norfolk, Va.; J. James Davis of South Norfolk, Va.; Fiorello H. LaGuardia of New York City; Howard W. Jackson of Baltimore; Oscar F. Holcombe of Houston; Harold H. Burton (now U. S. Senator) of Cleveland

state New York cities and of cities in Ohio; true also of New Orleans, Louisville, Omaha, and a few others.

As a general rule, the larger a city is in relation to a state's population, the more pronounced is the tendency to discriminate against it in legislative apportionment.

TEN LARGEST CITIES IN THE USA*

The wider the discrepancy between the columns, the less adequate the representation in state legislatures.

Order in Population	Percentage of	
	State Population	Legislative Membership
New York	55	42
Chicago	43	33
Philadelphia	20	19
Detroit	31	15
Los Angeles	22	10
Cleveland	13	11
Baltimore	47	27
St. Louis	22	13
Boston	18	14
Pittsburgh	7	5.5

*Basic data in second column supplied by the Council of State Governments.

Factors other than population, of course, are used in legislative apportionment. Territorial interests are taken into account. Then, too, many state apportionment systems are antiquated. The representation assigned to urban districts may have been adequate years ago, before city growth unbalanced it.

But sometimes the under-representation of cities is deliberate, the intention being to protect rural areas against urban domination. This is the reason given for the under-representation of such cities as Chicago, Baltimore, Wilmington, and Providence. In the discussion of a proposed new constitution for New Jersey, the legislature was similarly motivated, refusing to authorize a referendum unless assurances were given that the existing apportionment system would be untouched. Under this system, in New Jersey, there is a ratio of one representative to every 17,500 inhabitants in the five least populous counties. In the five most populous counties, in which the largest cities are located, the ratio of representatives to inhabitants is approximately one to 60,000. Four of these counties are usually Republican, one solidly Democratic. Similar examples of refusal to alter biased systems can be found in many states, notably Michigan's 1943 reapportionment act which leaves Detroit grossly under-represented.

It is natural, therefore, for the cities to feel that, since they are discriminated against in legislative apportionment, they are likely to meet with discrimination in legislation.

Many instances exist which justify the cities' fear of being "legislated against." In depression days, references were numerous in the pages of *The Survey* to state

barriers which interfered with effective relief and housing operations. Grave difficulties were caused cities by legislative reluctance to grant municipalities power to carry out necessary programs.

Civic Coercion

Sometimes, state antipathy to urban requests is carried to fantastic extremes—as when Chicago was blocked for some time by a legislative technicality from installing a refreshment stand on a municipal recreation pier.

Sometimes, state interference in municipal affairs is, with some verisimilitude, justified on the grounds of reform. Thus the Boston police commissioner was made an appointee of the governor of the state, and removed from the jurisdiction of the mayor of Boston, after a police "scandal" in the city.

Sometimes, state interference is admittedly partisan in intent as when Huey Long's puppet legislature stripped New Orleans of most of its powers in order to force city Democrats to come to terms with his machine.

Sometimes, the interference is sheerly negative—such as the recent refusal of the Michigan legislature to enact a home rule charter for Detroit which would have enabled one third of the state's population to

(Continued on page 427)



Courtesy, Coordinating Council of French Relief Societies, N. Y.

ROADWAY IN FRANCE, 1940

One Peace on Earth

Nothing less than that can bring healing now that war itself knows no bounds of land or sea or air — draining the lifeblood and the wealth of nations, mutilating the human spirit, and despoiling their common cultural heritage.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

BASIC TO ANY TRUE UNDERSTANDING OF THIS war is the recognition that in essence it is a civil war. This is the logic of the "One World" which, thanks to Wendell Willkie, we hear so much about these days. It is also the reality of the situation which actually confronts us in prospect of the peace which is to follow.

To shut out Germany and Japan from the reordered postwar world will be as disastrous as was the attempt to shut out the southern states from the reestablished American Union after the Civil War of 1861-65.

Abraham Lincoln as a man was moved by compassion—"with malice toward none, with charity for all." But, also, Lincoln as a statesman knew that the rebellious states must be received back, else there could be no Union—which was the basic purpose of the struggle as, from the start, he had presented it to the country. Indeed, he had insisted throughout the war that these states had never actually left the Union at all. But the North would not have it so.

With Lincoln's death, the control of the nation passed into the hands of the Republican irreconcilables who possessed no sanity and knew no pity. The defeated Confederacy was placed under protracted military occupation, with results so disastrous not only to the South but also to the North, and to the whole life of the American republic, that to this day we have not erased the consequences.

The Cost of Civil Wars

But that, of course, is what a civil war does—balks the very work of healing which can alone accomplish the purposes held aloft as those for which the war is fought. Run over other great civil conflicts of history—the Peloponnesian War in Greece, the wars of Marius and Sulla and of Pompey and Caesar in Rome, the Wars of the Roses in England, the Thirty Years War in Germany—and how many of them have not only spread havoc and corrupted morals, but exhausted the very sources and resources of life, retarding immeasurably the sure progress of mankind? The Peloponnesian War is described by Will Durant as "the suicide of Greece." Just so, unless we will it otherwise, may the historian of the future describe this World War now raging round the globe as the self-destruction of the most promising civilization and noblest culture that man has ever known.

The fatal character of war, more particularly of a civil war, is seen starkly when that war takes on worldwide proportions. We may conceive that in our triumphant

military campaigns we are destroying the enemy—pounding him to rubble, smashing him to pulp. As a matter of fact, we are all the time destroying ourselves as surely as the body would be destroying itself if the hand cut the arteries or crushed the bones of the feet. For if this world is in truth "one world," then war by one part of the world against another part is of its very nature a war against the whole.

Fratricide and Culture

We can see this happen in the wreckage of precious treasures of art and culture by the bombing of enemy objectives. Take the report, which has since been published, of a survey of the "extensive bomb damage to the medieval monuments and buildings" at Viterbo, Italy. This had been a garrison town and communications center. But before the last disastrous raids of the Allied flyers its airport had been knocked out, the railroad dismantled, the German troops

—By the founder and minister of the Community Church of New York, whose civic courage and ethical insight have been forces for over a third of a century.

Since the Armistice of 1918, our habit has been to carry annually a searching interpretation of peace from one angle or another. Thus, two years ago, Rufus M. Jones, dean of American Quakers, was the writer; four years ago, John Palmer Gavit, against the background of a journalist's experience at Washington and Geneva.

Dr. Holmes's pacifism has been no fair weather faith. He has held to it tenaciously in his spirited challenge to war itself throughout two world conflicts. Now that the tide of battle has turned in this one, more will be ready to give a hearing to a witness whose competence is that not of military strategists but of a civilian who has made the dynamics of peace his life-long concern.

Born in Philadelphia, graduate of Harvard College and Divinity School, he is the author, among other books, of "Patriotism Is Not Enough" (1925) and "The Sensible Man's View of Religion" (1933). In 1935, he wrote (with Reginald Lawrence) "If This Be Treason." This was produced by the Theater Guild at the dead center between Versailles and Munich; its theme an anticipation of a Japanese attack on America, and the overcoming of belligerence by pacifist policy in Washington.

withdrawn save "only a handful." Nevertheless, the havoc went on until the town was in ruins and many of its civilians killed.

We are told that the "chief treasures were spared," but the early thirteenth century Church of Santa Maria della Verita (used as a city museum) was shattered. Its celebrated processional frescoes of Lorenzo da Viterbo, depicting the marriage of the Virgin, with costumes and portraits of the painter's time, were two thirds destroyed. Elsewhere ancient Etruscan statues were scattered about, and paintings gone. It was Captain Deane Keller, professor of painting at the Yale School of Fine Arts, who made the inspection for the Fifth Army. He gave this warning: "If the story of Viterbo is repeated further north, and Siena, Perugia, Sansepolcro, Florence and Pisa are despoiled, the world's reaction will be bitter."

Bitter indeed! And why not? These lovely towns, with their treasures of history and art, do not belong to the Nazis. The ancient peninsula of Italy is not the private property of the Axis powers, nor of the Italian government, nor even of the Italian people. These monuments, paintings, sculptures, buildings, aqueducts, stadia, columns, churches, museums, roads, relics, excavations, belong to the world. They have been the proud possession, as they are the noble achievement, of mankind. And as we are ourselves a part of mankind, members of the common family of which these treasures are the priceless heirlooms, they are all a part of us. Who has not felt this—that Italy is our soul's home? "I loved her from my boyhood," Lord Byron wrote of Venice:

"She to me
Was as a fairy city of the heart,
Rising like water-columns from the sea,
Of joy the sojourn, and of wealth the mart."

And so with all of Italy:

"... Thou who hast
The fatal gift of beauty, which became
A funeral dower of present woes and past."

Lessons in Five Capitals

When Rome was invested last June, what was most famous and beautiful not only in the life of the Italian people but in our own life as well came within range of American and British artillery. The Pope was not alone in his protest against its destruction. The Eternal City was spared. But what if Hitler had attempted its defense instead of quitting it in ignominious retreat?

When Monte Cassino was ruthlessly employed by the Nazis as a strong point to

block Allied advance up the peninsula, our bombers annihilated it—battering into ruin one of the fairest evidences of those very cultural and religious values which we are supposed to be fighting to preserve. A wound was dealt humanity when the walls and towers and altars of town and monastery crumbled into dust. Thus we waged war upon ourselves—destroying the fabric of our civilization in the very endeavor to wrest it from the grasp of the despoiler.

Also, as I write, there has come the news that Florence, loveliest and most precious of Renaissance cities, the proudest gem on Europe's zone, is strewn with the irreparable ruin wrought by its fiendish destroyers from the Reich. More pertinent today than in his own time is Byron's lament for "Italia, O Italia," fated to see

" . . . the stranger's sword
Be thy sad weapon of defense, and so,
Victor or vanquished, thou the slave of
friend or foe."

And Italy is but a single example of what war is doing to Europe, the mother from whose womb we sprang, and in whose ancient days abides the witness of our heritage. Take England, stricken by Nazi bombing of Canterbury, Coventry, Plymouth, and of vast areas of the British capital itself. Take Belgium, Holland, blasted inch by inch to ruin by the Nazi blitz, which left Poland a desert waste; Czechoslovakia, a land of hunger and serfdom, if not despair; Greece, a charnel-house of starvation and disease.

Since the counter-invasion of France, Paris and Chartres have been delivered fairly intact, like Rome—in contrast to Leningrad, Moscow, Stalingrad, after their long resistance to Nazi siege, and the shambles that is Warsaw after its assault in turn by Nazi and Soviet armies.

The Tide of Battle

Germany herself is a rubbish heap of what was once so beautiful! Cologne, Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Konigsberg, Munich, Berlin—are there any to claim, even in these days of madness, that these cities belong to Germany alone? On the contrary, they belong to Europe, to our Western world, to our Christian culture and civilization. They are mine, and yours, as well as Germany's.

When our bombs drop upon Cologne, they devastate a community more central to everything best in our thought and life than hundreds of cities and towns here in America. When the narrow streets and ancient houses and guild halls and libraries and medieval towers and citadels of Nuremberg are blown to bits by our flyers, we Americans are suffering loss at once incalculable and irrecoverable.

Through these dread years, city after city has been engulfed by the devouring flood of arms; country after country laid waste. Today from east and west and south the tide of battle (which once streamed from Berlin and Rome) pours into the heart of Europe. Finally the last blow will be struck, the last bomb drop its "ghastly

dew" from "navies grappling in the central blue"—and the war will be over. Clearly the United Nations will stand as victors, deliverers of the conquered countries, but among the ruins of their world and ours. We will have destroyed the enemy—but how much else beside!

Hitler will have won, after all, if failing himself to destroy our world, he has induced us to do it for him—with famine, pestilence, anarchy, and chaos as his new allies, and a new Dark Ages come like night upon mankind.

Fire with Fire

How can man have been led into such a trap of death? The Nazis have led themselves. Setting new standards of terror and horror in our time, these sadist rulers of Germany have deliberately made a modern system of savagery. They have raided science no less than ancient cruelty for techniques—loosed robots over cities and countrysides alike in southern England; executed hostages as an implement of conquest and repression; raised massacre to the level of methodical mass extermination as revealed in the detailed reports on the Nazi gas chambers at recaptured Maidanek in Poland.

But we who would end this system—rescue its victims, preserve our liberties, and save the world to civilization—what about us?

Answers to this question can only be found in the witches' brew which every people quaff when they go to war. It is as though men drank some poison which straightway makes them mad. How otherwise explain the fateful process by which we put on the coloration of our foe, and thus, in taking up arms against a barbarous enemy to end his barbarism, ourselves in due course resort to a barbarism only less than his?

I am old enough to be able to remember the first World War, and the cry of horror that went up when the cathedral of Rheims was destroyed by German artillery fire. That cry was sincere and heartfelt. This cathedral was one of the supreme historical and artistic monuments not merely of France but of the world. The German defense of the bombardment was that its towers were being used by the French as military observation posts, and that the cathedral itself, therefore, was a legitimate military objective for German gunfire. This the French denied. Their dispute did not seem to touch the issue. The consensus of neutral opinion was that any advantage which might conceivably be gained by the French was too slight to justify such an assault upon the treasures of the race. The conscience of mankind was a unit that to destroy the cathedral, even to damage it, was an unpardonable outrage upon our common humanity.

And this was less than thirty years ago.

When the second World War started, the British announced definitely, and I believe sincerely, that they would bomb only military objectives. As late as January 27, 1940, Winston Churchill condemned the bombing of an enemy as a "new and odious

form of attack." He resisted the claim then arising for indiscriminate bombing. In this war as fought by England, no innocent men and women would be massacred, historical and cultural monuments would be spared from havoc. Discrimination had been made possible, it was held, by the new precision bombing.

And this was less than five years ago.

But today precision bombing has become obliteration bombing. It's an all-out attack from the skies by British, Americans, and Russians, as well as Germans. "Cities, harbors, and centers of war production" (to quote Mr. Churchill's phrase), have been wrecked—including vast civilian areas involved—not only at Hamburg, Bremen, and Essen, but in such unique cathedral towns as Aachen, Münster, and Mainz. This is defended—first, on the general ground that it shortens the war; and second, on the very specific and appealing ground that in the long run it saves the lives of our boys on the fighting front. Propositions I have yet to see proved.

Meanwhile, we produce unwittingly within ourselves the very savagery that we profess to abhor. More and more, as the war has gone on, we have been making ourselves over after the fashion of the enemy. It was his savagery that convinced us in the first place that we must destroy him to save our own world. Then, to destroy him we straightway proceeded to set about the destruction of this world which we would save.

"There are no lengths in violence," said Mr. Churchill to the British House of Commons on September 21, 1943, "which we will not go to destroy Nazi tyranny."

It is argued that this is necessary. We must fight the enemy's fire with our fire, his bombing with our bombing, his terror with our terror, his savagery with our savagery. Not otherwise, so we are told, can we win the war. But if this be so, the very argument constitutes the final condemnation of war.

For war has a blitz within to match the blitz without. It blasts and sears the soil as well as the good earth. It destroys man along with his own handiwork. And in this horror it narrows distinctions between our enemies and ourselves. In the long run the sheer brute struggle for survival dictates the use of any weapon, the sanction of any policy, that will win advantage or will bring any advantage taken by the enemy. Again a good end is offered to justify a dreadful means. So does a common barbarism fasten upon us, as we are inwardly despoiled of that which makes us men.

Triumph and Bankruptcy

All this means—what? One thing! That we must bend every effort to end this war.

*See massing of firsthand testimony in Vera Brittain's "Seeds of Chaos." New Vision Publishing Company, 126 Manor Road, London, N. 16, especially pages 15-31. Such cities are marked on maps like checkerboards, square by square. The testimony tells how in a given square where there are military objectives everything is blotted out—not only factories and railroads but streets, buildings, libraries, museums, historical monuments, churches, tenements, hostels—as well as men, women and children caught there.

against Germany and Japan before we reach the point where destruction, material and spiritual, dips suddenly and irrevocably into the black pit of death. To a non-resistant, like myself, this means *now*, at this very moment—without striking another blow or shedding another drop of blood. As to those who do not share my convictions on this score, I would say that you confront a wide margin for constructive action short of fighting the war through to the bitter end.

The Wars of the Roses in England and the Civil War here in America were fought out thus. Both are acclaimed as having settled decisive issues—in our case, the emancipation of the slaves and the perpetuation of the Union, as though these issues could have been settled in no other way. Both these conflicts left deep wounds, but failed to exhaust the immense springs of vitality in these two countries, which were thus saved from final catastrophe.

Is such escape possible in the present conflict? The answer is dubious, especially in the case of Europe, where this war is ravaging a continent already drained of energy by the first World War. Even here in the New World our national debt has mounted as never before, and we have made fateful inroads on our natural resources in turning the capacities of the machine and power age to purposes of destruction. Friend and foe have been using up the earth's accumulated capital of blood and treasure. If this goes on, what can save us from the fate of other ages and civilizations?

The light of Greece was extinguished in the black darkness of the Peloponnesian War, fought fruitlessly and cruelly for twenty-seven years. Rome declined and fell under the impact of successive wars without end within her borders, which were senselessly kept going until the mightiest empire of antiquity collapsed in ruin. Germany was rendered prostrate for a period of two centuries by the Thirty Years War, which might have been ended at any one of a half-dozen opportune stages, but which was allowed to drag on until half the population had been massacred, vast territories turned into blackened wastes, and the land so exhausted of life as to fall at last into disorder, darkness, and decay.

To the Bitter End

In our own century, consider the fate of France. As Pertinax has just now pointed out in his "Grave Diggers of France," she suffered wounds in the first World War from which she never recovered. France lost the peace because she was stricken mortally in the fight to a finish for victory. Physically, economically, spiritually, she was led white, only to survive pitifully in the interim of the so-called peace, and at last collapse. All that befell France in 1940 goes back to 1914-18.

This is what happens when a war is fought to satisfy the lust of victors for complete triumph over the vanquished. This is what will happen if we keep up the present struggle to the bitter end—not to save civilization, but in order to destroy Germany and Japan. Short of doing that,

the occupied countries can all be liberated, the fascist regimes ended, the pitiful remnant of the Jews in Central and Western Europe preserved, and a new day of labor for the common good begun. We can lack for nothing in the outcome but the gratification of such instincts as pride, cruelty, revenge.

Are we thus to lord it over mankind, to reduce the enemy to the last stages of humiliation and despair, in order to make ourselves the dictators of destiny and prove our right, by our invincible might, to be merciless and therefore ruthless? For this do we stand ready to throw away the lives of hundreds of thousands of our boys—to devastate vast areas of a continent still the center of our civilization; to doom millions of Jews, refugees, and helpless populations to lingering starvation; to prepare for the dreadful hazards of bankruptcy, anarchy, revolution, and black night?

From Civil War to Civil World

What is the alternative? If the postwar world is to be brought together and held together through the years, then the nations must be joined like the cells of a living organism. "For the body is one, and hath many members." And among these members must be the enemy powers that we are now engaged in beating to the dust. Germany and Japan are as necessary to the integrity of this "one world" as England, Russia, China or the United States. "The eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you . . . There should be no schism in the body, but the members should have the same care one for another."

To shut out our enemies after the war—to humiliate and degrade them—will be not to establish peace at all, but only to continue in another form the same civil war which we are now presumably trying to end. That would be the perfect way to prepare for World War III. A world divided against itself is a hostile world, and a hostile world is an explosive world destined eventually to rend itself in a new havoc of destruction, despair, and death.

Temporizing with War

Too many peace plans, apart from those put forward by idealists who are definitely *not* sitting in the seats of power, have been based upon the idea of outlawing the enemy powers from the association of nations—that is, from the working world of men. Upon the idea, also, of visiting such vengeance not merely upon their war criminals but upon the general run of their people as will cripple them for good and all.

Some plans have proposed the dismemberment of enemy states, stripping them of all economic and industrial resources, and reducing them permanently to the status of third or fourth rate nations. Others would establish a predominance of military power in the hands of Britain, America, Soviet Russia, and China, such as would bind our foes in bondage to the armed might of the victors in this war. An expanded imperialism, with our enemies

among the subject peoples of the world!

Such schemes are as ridiculous as they are hysterical. As well think of planting an oak in a narrow box of earth, and expecting the box to contain the growing tree. Japan and Germany have immense stores of social and political vitality. Their folk have a dynamic energy. To think of confining the teeming Japanese multitudes in the little archipelago of the Yellow Sea is as mad as to imagine penning up seventy million Germans in fragmented areas. It cannot be done—and should not be done even if it could.

The organization of our "brave new world" upon any long drawn distinction between victor and vanquished peoples—in a war for which few nations can escape some measure of responsibility—would mean the defeat of all that we are told we are fighting for. By such designs of arrogance and hate would war in the twentieth century end its second chapter, as it ended its first—with nothing better than a breathing spell of recuperation and preparation for another battle to the death.

What ought to come after this war is the "one world" of which we dream. And this "one world" means what it says—a world which includes, on equal terms of association and cooperation, all the nations as definitely as our own country includes all the states.

Making Peace

If the American people are to survive—we ourselves, our homes, our families, our country, our culture, our liberties and laws—then we must get rid of war. There is, in truth, a chance that victory may be won, east as well as west, and this war closed down sooner than hitherto has seemed possible, and thus before final devastation is wrought on our world. But certain it is that if it goes on until the last shot is fired, the last enemy soldier killed, the last stronghold laid waste, the things we are fighting for will be lost. Only if this war is ended speedily by our own volition may they still be won.

By this I do not mean meeting Hitler's terms, but meeting the terms of humanity, to save life and freedom, health and happiness. Nor do I mean rescuing Hitler and his Nazis from dire defeat and punishment. We need not worry about these gangsters. All we have to do is to leave them to the disposal of an outraged people to insure a fate worse than that of Bonaparte.

Saying this, moreover, does not mean abandoning victory after years of sacrifice and bloodshed. On the contrary, it means winning the only victory that can endure in prosperity and peace. Our business, if we are to be truly worthy of our cause, is not with victory in any military sense at all, but with victory in the moral and spiritual sense. A world delivered from disorder and aggression, a civilization saved from collapse and catastrophe, a humanity redeemed from another and more dreadful Dark Ages! This is the only victory—which enduring peace alone can serve.

"Not by power, nor by might, but by my spirit, saith the Lord."

Screening and Remaking of Men

Psychiatry is acquiring new knowledge and skill in this war—from “screening,” from training of the inductee, from breakdowns before and after battle, and from discharged veterans who must be “remade” into useful citizens.

FLANDERS DUNBAR M.D.

EVERY DAY THE RADIO AND PRESS CALL ATTENTION to the differences between World War I and World War II, stressing principally differences in mechanical devices. But perhaps there are none of greater interest and significance than the changes in the human material, and in the medical procedures necessary to keep it fit. In this connection the present war has brought two terms into prominence: “screening” and “remaking” (or rehabilitating) men.

In screening, the attempt is not merely to sift out and discard the unfit, nor is it even to separate the finer from the coarser sand in order to use each constructively. The word screening designates the attempt to obtain an individual picture of each person, whether his place is to be in the armed forces or in the industrial army.

X-ray and fluoroscopic techniques make possible a more accurate evaluation of the lungs, stomach, bones, and circulatory adequacy of the person examined. Similarly, newer techniques in evaluating personality (in obtaining the personality profile) make possible more accurate distinctions in judging the functioning capacity of the personality, including both physiological and emotional components. It may be said that more accurate screening is possible today than in World War I if the two pictures (the X-ray or fluoroscopic and the personality profile) are studied as one, stereoscopically. Of course, there are many lags in the application of the newer knowledge and techniques. It has been said that: “The acquisition of new knowledge is less difficult than learning to apply what is known.”

To the extent to which it is feasible to make use of newer techniques in screening, a basis is established for remaking individuals through increasing their effectiveness and through better placement. There still is too much emphasis on rehabilitation of the injured and too little emphasis on increasing the health and efficiency of those who have not yet developed to their complete capacity.

Psychiatry in Two Wars

Psychiatrists came into prominence in World War I and were stimulated to work out techniques for dealing with human beings outside of mental institutions. Nevertheless, the first contingent of American soldiers sent to France contained a startling percentage of feeble-minded, syphilitic, and epileptics. Much psychiatric time was absorbed in coping with the problems created by these illnesses.

Today, as a result of the selective service screening process, few such persons are sent overseas; but it has been discovered that nearly 80 percent of military-medical prob-

lems require the attention of a psychiatrist. According to Colonel Leonard Rowntree, chief of the medical division of the Bureau of Selective Service, slightly more than 30 percent of all volunteers and inducted men discharged between July 1941 and January 1943 were incapacitated by mental diseases or mental disorders. During that period more than twenty men of this kind were kept out of military service for every one who broke down after entering the service. But the major problem for the military psychiatrist now, in the British, Canadian, and United States armies, is created by psychosomatic disorders, such as peptic ulcers, arthritis, and circulatory disturbances. Psychosomatic medicine, as defined in the latest edition of Osler's textbook, “The Principles and Practice of Medicine,” is: “that part of medicine which is concerned with an appraisal of both the emotional and the physical mechanisms involved in the disease processes of the individual patient with particular emphasis on the influence that these two factors exert on each other and on the individual as a whole.”

Recognition of this fact has had a beneficial effect on civilian medicine and has helped to clear the way for more efficient dealing with the problems which will be presented by returning soldiers. In this connection, an editorial appeared in the August issue of the *Connecticut State Medical Journal*, which reads in part:

One great benefit of the nationwide examination of men and women for the armed services

—Since graduating from Bryn Mawr in 1923, Flanders Dunbar has been equipping herself for her present distinguished position in psychosomatic medicine. She received her M.A., Ph.D., and Med.Sc.D. degrees from Columbia and her M.D. from Yale.

Since 1936, Dr. Dunbar has been associate in psychiatry, assistant physician, and associate attending psychiatrist at Presbyterian Hospital and Vanderbilt Clinic in New York, where she is also in charge of psychosomatic research. In private practice she specializes in psychosomatic medicine, particularly in the emotional aspects of physical disorders. Also, she is managing editor of the journal *Psychosomatic Medicine*.

Dr. Dunbar has written many scientific articles and several books. She is the author of “Emotions and Bodily Changes,” first published in 1935 and now in the third printing of the second (1938) edition; and of “Psychosomatic Diagnosis” (1943), now in its second printing.

has been to bring to light the incidence in a population of all types of disease including psychiatric disorders. In addition to the large group of conditions has come to be known as psychosomatic which are represented by emotional factors which are so often associated with such diseases as mucous colitis, gastric ulcer, and cardiovascular-renal disease. Because of the recent emphasis on this aspect of disease, Dr. Cunningham predicts that the integration of psychiatry and medicine may be expected to be the next great development in the application of psychiatric knowledge, and recommends that psychiatric services should be organized as part of a general hospital and should be integrated with other medical services for both in and out patients.

Even the term *psychosomatic* was essentially unknown during World War I and, though psychosomatic illnesses occurred usually they received only routine medical attention. Now they absorb the majority of the time of the military as well as of the civilian psychiatrist. One leading medical school, after fourteen years of study in the field of medicine, has opened a department of psychosomatic medicine, and other medical schools are giving serious consideration to the possibility of providing such training.

Of great consequence to those interested in medicine and social welfare is the increased attention now being given to the industrial army, on which depends the fighting material of those in military service. The same psychosomatic and psychiatric problems which are a major concern to the armed forces are the principal cause of labor wastage, although in different proportions. Illnesses formerly low on the list, or even unrecognized, are now coming to the fore.

Changes in the Illness Picture: Today the psychiatrist deals less with epilepsy and more with accident-proneness, peptic ulcer, circulatory instability, and the general run of psychic breakdown under stress. This is the result of three factors: (1) The change in the type of illness which produces the major mortality and incapacity today compared with thirty years ago; (2) the change in screening of selective service registrants; and (3) the change in the nature of warfare itself, resulting in the projection of the individual to different types of trauma or shock.

It is interesting that last year there appeared the first two treatises for physicians on psychosomatic medicine: “Psychosomatic Medicine” (Weiss and English, 1943) and “Psychosomatic Diagnosis” (Dunbar, 1943). In the latter will be found the following statement relative to this change:

The illnesses which accounted for our ma-

mortality fifty years ago are no longer among the first ten causes of mortality and morbidity. Among those were such diseases as typhoid and scarlet fever[s] concerning which the physician now has some secure knowledge; replacing them at the head of the list are cardiovascular disease, arthritis, and other illnesses about which little is known . . .

Anyone inclined to give little heed to such statements as these because of a feeling that it is the young rather than the old who deserve medical protection, should consult the recent National Health Survey which has shown that nearly half of our sufferers from chronic disease are under forty-five years of age, and 70 percent of them under fifty-five. As a matter of fact only 15 per cent of all persons with chronic disease are over sixty-five years of age. Furthermore, other surveys have shown that the very illnesses which take their major toll in terms of death, disability, and invalidism in the older age groups are as prominent in proportion to total illness in younger age groups; for example, cardiovascular disease and accidents . . .

Just before World War II, a prominent British medical officer, discussing the question: "Is our nation becoming more or less healthy?" emphasized one more aspect of our problem. He found evidence of a marked increase in chronic and recurring neurotic illnesses, as well as in many examples of organic sickness labeled by such terms as anemia, rheumatism, gastritis, peptic ulcer, bronchitis, etc. (psychosomatic illnesses)" . . .²

The Accident Habit: Among the most interesting and important syndromes requiring attention today, and essentially unrecognized during World War I, is that of accident-proneness. In an article on *Medical Aspects of Accidents and Mistakes in the Industrial Army and in the Armed Forces* (1943). I pointed out that:

Accidents kill more males between the ages of three and thirty-eight than any other single cause. They kill nearly three times as many persons of both sexes between the ages of ten and fourteen as does the next most important cause of death; namely, heart disease. And if one realizes that for every person killed, fifty are permanently disabled (this figure varies in different age groups) and about two hundred are temporarily disabled and hence need medical care, it is obvious that in terms both of prevention and of treatment this problem bulks large in the responsibility of the physician.

A syndrome is a disease process which may manifest itself in behavioral or physiological symptoms. Until recently the accident habit was not recognized as a disease syndrome because accidents were supposed to happen by accident. It is now known that although some accidents are unavoidable, most accidents occur as a result of an accident habit which is really an illness.

According to the report of the National Safety Council, four million workers were killed or seriously injured during 1941, resulting in a loss of 460,000,000 man-days. Analogous figures for 1943 are: workers killed or injured as a result of accidents,

approximately 4,200,000. The council observes: "With the present pressing need for skilled workers, the injury or death of any worker has an effect on the total amount that can be produced." Thus, in terms of industrial warfare, it is estimated that these accidents resulted in a loss of 720,000,000 man-days, enough labor to build 30,000 heavy bombers or 55 battleships.

The accident toll for the total population in 1943 amounted to 10,100,000 killed or incapacitated. William A. Irvin of the National Safety Council, in a recent comment on this problem, called attention to the fact that there were 30 percent more deaths and 20 percent more injuries off the job than on the job.

It is known that the persons who have the highest record for accidents on the job also have the highest record for off-the-job accidents. But perhaps most important of all during a time of national crisis is the fact that persons who have accidents are also the ones who make mistakes, the kind of mistakes that sink a ship, lose a battle, or explode a munitions plant.

Considerable work has been done on a means of identifying sufferers from the accident habit. There seem to be so many of them that, at least in terms of our present knowledge, it is scarcely justifiable to reject them for military service, and even were this done, the fact remains that they are capable of doing nearly as much damage in industry as they might do in the armed forces. One approach to the solution of this dilemma is through placement. At present the medical and psychiatric problems of the war are being dealt with on four fronts: through screening techniques, through training and placement, through study and treatment of the different types of breakdown seen before and after actual combat, and through rehabilitation.

Screening Techniques

All registrants undergo psychiatric examination at an induction board. On account of the shortage of psychiatrists there has been a great deal of variation in the practice and efficiency of this screening. Probably the most effective examiners are those who have had not merely state hospital experience which has trained them especially in classifying the psychoses, but experience in general hospitals or with private patients where they have had more contact with the psychoneuroses, and particularly with psychosomatic diseases. If more physicians were trained in this way the screening might be better adapted to the needs of the army. It should be noted that difficult judgments are frequently involved, not merely in deciding which men to exclude, but also in admitting those subject to certain disorders which may not incapacitate them for military service or which may be even improved by such service.

Under the best circumstances, however, the psychiatrist examining registrants is severely handicapped by the short time allowed because of the large number he must see. In some states it has been possible to add an invaluable supplement to this examination by the use of data from state in-

stitutions and social work agencies, and even from schools. In this way, persons who have come to the attention of public or social agencies as having a record of emotional instability can be identified.

In New Jersey, for instance, during a twelve months' period the names of 108,000 registrants were checked against the central institutional index of the State Department of Institutions and Agencies. Checking by one local social service exchange revealed that 1,500 registrants (12 percent) had received service as individuals and an additional 40 percent had had service contacts as a part of a family unit. As a result of such checking, information significant from the standpoint of neuropsychiatry was made available for from 10 to 15 percent of the registrants considered for induction. Were more records available and better use made of them, even more time might be saved physicians and more help be given to the inductee.

In Connecticut, a particularly complete system of records has been developed. [See "A Stitch in Time" by James M. Cunningham, M.D., *Survey Midmonthly*, October 1943.] Unfortunately, the use of this kind of aid in screening has been handicapped by popular prejudice against disclosure of information contained in social and public records of this sort. The prejudice has been broken down in some cases by extreme care in safeguarding the records from anyone except the examining physician.

Placing the Inductee

In the past, it was the standard practice not to admit anyone into the armed forces of the United States who would not be qualified for duty in the front line, and to distribute those admitted among the many varied occupations and branches of the service by an "eeny-meeny-miny-mo" choice, according to the numbers demanded. This not only involved a waste in manpower because many were excluded who might have been of use in other than combat duty, and a waste of skills and talents of those admitted but assigned to duties for which they were less well equipped; it also increased the number of breakdowns in service by putting square pegs in round holes.

Evidence already has been accumulated that more attention to individual preference greatly decreases the medical and psychiatric problems with which the medical corps must deal. In addition, if a competent attempt can be made to evaluate not only the skill but the personality of the inductee, and to place him in the branch of the service where he will be most efficient, many failures and psychiatric casualties may be avoided.

For instance, it has been discovered in a twelve-year study of serial admissions to a general hospital that both the accident-prone and many of those who are subject to cardiovascular disease have a focal conflict with authority. The accident-prone, however, habitually deal with this conflict by avoiding it—that is, by changing jobs, discontinuing education, and the like; whereas, the potential sufferers from anginal syndrome, hypertension, or coronary disease

¹ Halliday, James L. *Social Pathology*. *British Medical Journal* 2:1012, 1938.

² Dunbar, Flanders. "Psychosomatic Diagnosis." 943.

will strive to become the authority by getting to the top. In time of war, difficulty with authority is likely to be increased both at the front and in industry.

In the United States Army little can be done by the induction authorities or by the medical corps to influence the placement of accepted registrants. Placement is handled by a personnel division and it is determined early. Therefore, there is not as much opportunity to apply psychiatric or psychosomatic criteria in placement as might prove to be valuable. The criteria are more in the nature of intelligence or psychological testing of the usual sort and the classification of skills customary in industrial employment practices.

In the Canadian Army, however, a fundamentally different system has been developed because of the fact that placement and personnel work are under the medical authorities. The original examination for induction uses a system of classification which indicates in what branch of the service the soldier may make his greatest contribution. This is called the "Pulhems" system of classification, the letters of the word standing for the several headings. Thus, P signifies physique and includes everything that would be covered by a general medical examination. U signifies upper extremities; L, lower extremities; H, hearing; E, eyesight; M, mental capacity; and S, emotional stability. An inductee who is rated 1 in each of these classifications is regarded as fit for overseas combat duty, but many who rate 2 or even 3 in one or more of them still are inducted and used in some other branch of the service for which their defect does not incapacitate them. Thus, a man who is low in U and L still might be excellent in secretarial or staff work of one kind or another. An inductee who rates below 1 in emotional stability seldom or never gets overseas in any capacity, and this has markedly reduced the number of discharges for emotional reasons.

Although this system has made a favorable impression in this country, the separation in army organization between the medical corps and the placement service has tended to prevent its adoption. There seems to be a certain amount of resistance to it because of a popular feeling that under it the population would be card-catalogued and that this in some way might interfere with democracy and freedom of opportunity.

Breakdown Before and After Combat

Little can be said at this time concerning the differences between the types of breakdown to be expected before and after actual combat. After this war, more will be known about psychiatric problems than has been known before. With the shortage of trained medical personnel, such material as can be assembled during the stress of war still is in the process of classification and analysis.

Certain clinical observations have been made. It is believed, for instance, that breakdowns prior to overseas service are largely an expression of some form of reaction to authority, competition, and a feeling of personal inadequacy; whereas after com-

bat there is a large psychosomatic factor brought about by exposure to trauma, release of inhibitions, and regression to earlier neurotic conflicts which the individual previously had been able to mask or to handle.

In an address to the American Medical Association at its annual session in Chicago in June of this year, Dr. David N. W. Grant reported that:

Of the combat people returned from the theaters with pronounced operational fatigue, 68 percent have been put in condition to return to combat duty (I don't think you would call that psychoneurotic) and 85 percent of all of them are returned to flying duty.

I don't think we have any right to label these boys psychoneurotic when they are normal individuals, the same as we are, who have been under tremendous stress, and they need rest and, you might say, medical guidance. We in the air forces are greatly disturbed over the trend of loose publicity with relation to the term "psychoneurosis."

It should be noted, too, that not all of those who break under the stress of battle have evinced any neurotic traits in civilian life. A large number of them would have been considered perfectly healthy individuals if it had not been for the almost superhuman qualities demanded in adjusting to the shocks and strains of war. For this reason it is impossible by any screening process to sift out all of the eventual psychiatric casualties.

In order to cope with this problem new and more effective techniques of therapy have been developed during the present war. For example, the Navy Department has released the following:

Report by Sgt. George E. McMillan . . . Marine Corps combat correspondent . . . states: "A navy hospital for mental patients in the South Pacific has already returned 50 percent of the marine patients to combat duty and the navy expects to cure an even larger percentage of war neurotics by its new policy of front-line psychiatry. . . ."

The navy program begins with preventive work in examining recruits, and will not end until the mentally sick marine returns to his home cured and ready to resume his normal civilian pursuits.

Psychiatrists are stationed in all navy base and mobile hospitals, and one hospital in the South Pacific has been set aside for the particular treatment of mental cases.

Other experiments in psychotherapy are being conducted in the army and in industry; research in this field has received a strong impetus from the present crisis.

Rehabilitation

For the long term the problems of rehabilitation probably are more important than any of the others hitherto considered, but because of lack of sufficient experience with veterans of this war it is still impossible to do much more than make a few general observations. The armed services have been unable to do much in the rehabilitation of rejected registrants and they do not regard it as their function to under-

take this task. It is too early yet to say what experience with large numbers of incapacitated veterans may reveal.

The gravity of this problem is indicated only partially by the statement in the U. S. Navy *Bulletin* for January, 1943, by Dr. L. R. Gowan:

. . . Nervous and mental disabilities resulting from the last war have cost the nation approximately \$1,000,000,000. . . . Approximately 20 percent of the total number drawing compensation from the Veterans Administration are disabled mentally. It has been estimated that the average cost of caring for a mentally disabled serviceman for the duration of his life is close to \$35,000. Up to the present war, 55 percent of all beds in military hospitals were occupied by patients with neuropsychiatric disorders.

These figures do not include veterans classified as sufferers from diseases which it has been discovered in recent years have important emotional components. Nor do they measure the great intangible losses to our society occasioned by emotional and physical instability among veterans who are not hospitalized and among those who never were in the army but who have been subject to similar disorders. Were these factors taken into consideration, the figures would be more than doubled.

A leading authority in military psychiatry, commenting on the extent of unfitness for army service as revealed both by rejections and by discharges, has offered the suggestion that our culture favors the development of the sort of personality which is not adapted to military experience. He has pointed out that the tradition of rugged individualism is unsuited to the teamwork and the feeling of responsibility for others which are necessary in a good soldier. He also observes that a large number of those found unfit for military service have been brought up as "mama's boys" and that they have been unconsciously conditioned to the idea that the most important thing in life is to avoid being hurt. Such infantile personalities are of little use to an army, or to a cooperative and well integrated social order.

Emotional Attitudes: It has been observed that army experience, when it has an emotionally incapacitating effect, tends to cause infantile regression in those over twenty-five years of age and to prevent those under twenty-five from growing up. Large numbers of soldiers are unprepared, temporarily at least, for return to civilian life. They have looked back at their homes, their wives and their friends, with a good deal of false idealization, and when they come home they expect to be made much of, to be taken care of, and to be rendered perfectly happy, to compensate them for the sacrifices which they have made. The experience of homecoming frequently is a disillusionment, and to this the soldier whose infantile tendencies are prominent tends to react with bitter resentment and despondency.

The problems thus created are extremely serious and, while they demand psychiatric

(Continued on page 428)

Women War Workers Look Ahead

More than 500 women, working "in the grease" of a Chicago war plant, talk about their jobs, their reasons for working, and what they want to do after the war.

HERBERT E. FLEMING

AFTER THE WAR IS WON AND OUR FIGHTING men come home, what do you intend to do: Return to homemaking —? Continue in factory work —? Return to office, sales or other white collar work —?

"How do you feel about what you intend to do after the war is won: Disappointed —? Reconciled —? Happy —?"

This was a pair of key questions in a questionnaire answered recently by more than 500 women machine operators, inspectors, and factory office helpers in a survey by the writer in a typical war production plant—girls and older women most of whom, in the plant vocabulary, are now working "in the grease."

On the former question, 30 percent checked "return to homemaking," 48 percent "continue in factory work," and 14 percent return to white collar occupations.

And on the latter, less than one percent said "disappointed," only 16 percent said "reconciled," and 82 percent said "happy."

These attitudes on the part of the women war workers were anticipated by twenty foreman and supervisors, separately interviewed. On other questions the opinions and comments of the bosses were different from those of the women workers, but on their postwar future there was marked agreement.

Besides this question on factory women and the future, many other general questions concerning women in the war industries have been calling for convincing answers. Here are some of them:

Why have women accepted war production jobs?

Was it because of patriotism or economic need?

How readily do they adapt themselves to the hours, the whir, and the oil of industry?

For the remainder of the duration, how many more women be led to go into war production jobs?

After the war is won, if manufacturers have a choice between men and women as production workers, which will they choose?

The Women and Their Jobs

Guided by the idea that polls of women war workers and their supervisors in one plant would afford a microcosm of the whole world of women in war production, provided that plant was typical, I obtained answers which seem conclusive. The plant chosen was one of Chicago's 10,000 in war production, the headquarters factory of the Stewart-Warner Corporation, a leader in precision metalworking, a pioneer winner of the Army-Navy "E", still wholly in war work. Among its pre-defense products were lubricating equipment, automobile heaters and accessories, electric ranges, and radios.

—By a Chicago writer, whose chief concern is with current developments in business and industry. Mr. Fleming is a graduate of the University of Chicago, and took his doctorate there in economics. Formerly an editorial writer on the *Chicago Daily News*, he was for three years the executive secretary of the City Club of Chicago, and is now chairman of its committee on postwar planning and progress.

It has made a wide variety of wartime products for both the army and the navy.

During this survey there were 3,707 women and 5,061 men in hourly rate factory work and 1,355 executives, foremen, supervisors, office employes and others, a total payroll of 10,123. The plant force had tripled since 1940, and the proportion of women had risen from one third to 42 percent with over 1,000 of them on night shifts.

Women are being employed for the first time in twelve of the forty-nine production departments. The management takes pride in being among the first to have women operate hand-screw and automatic-screw machines—super-lathes, with turrets or wheels and cross slides for holding the cutting tools and pressing them against "the work," as a steel rod or a part being machined is called.

On both types of screw machines the job tests a girl's ability to endure dirt, grit and noise. Her hands are soaked and her face spattered with black lubricating oil, and these women now echo the traditional boast of the men that they are "in the grease." Moreover, with the whir of motors, overhead shafts, belts, and spindles, the noise of an automatic-screw machine department is literally like Niagara's steady roar.

In putting women in departments hitherto "for men only," Stewart-Warner drew on its experience in employing women in the last war in punch press, drill press, and milling machine departments where some have stayed on since that war and others have returned to do their bit today. The inspection department, which always has employed girls, now has women serving also as "floor inspectors." Paper work in foremen's offices offers many clerical jobs for girls.

All in all, the plant selected for this study is typical of those employing women on war production.

Both the questionnaire method, and interviews with foremen and higher management men were used in obtaining facts and opinions. The project was approved by James S. Knowlson, chairman of the Stewart-Warner Corporation since 1934 and also president since 1939. For sixteen

months prior to January 1943, he was in Washington first in the Office of Production Management, later as a vice-chairman with the War Production Board. But he is an industrialist who is happiest at the factory, within earshot of the automatic screw machines.

My questionnaire contained fifteen questions, with space for checkmarks and comments. It was headed: "Answer secretly but honestly. Do not sign your name." A copy of the questionnaire and a letter from George F. Thomas, plant manager, addressed "To Each Stewart-Warner Woman War Worker," and explaining the purpose of the inquiry was placed in her pay envelope during a recent week.

In view of the time limit and the work involved, it seems clear that the 559 women, 15 percent of the total, who participated in the study afford a representative cross section of what women war workers feel, think, and say. Foremen and higher management men were interviewed prior to the distribution of the questions.

In addition to material on their postwar intentions and attitudes the women furnished data on their reasons for going into grimy war production work, their relatives in the military service, their estimate of their own efficiency and of the moral atmosphere of war plants, and their efforts to draw other women into war industry. This material, plus the comments of the foremen and other management men on these questions, throws real light on the postwar future of our armies of war production women.

Why They Took War Jobs

"Please rate your reasons for going into factory work (1, 2, 3, 4).—To get high pay. —To help win the war. —To be an independent woman. —Other.

Many of the women failed to rate their reasons, but virtually all entered one or more checkmarks here. Of all those returning questionnaires, 81 percent checked "to help win the war" as one of their reasons, 45 percent checked "high pay," and 59 percent "independent woman." In the answers of those who actually rated their reasons, (nearly half the total), first place was given to the various motives by the following percentages:

To help win the war	73
To be independent	12
To get high pay	8
Combined economic	20
Other—part economic, part patriotic	7

These figures did not vary much among the three main classes of women workers turning in questionnaires, of whom (aside



KEEN EARS

Inspectors at Stewart-Warner listen for flaws in shell fuze heads

from less than 2 percent not indicating 38 percent were in machine operation, 4 percent in inspection and assembly, and 1 percent in factory clerical work.

Most women war workers have each several close relatives in the armed service. Among those giving information on this point only 13 percent had none. For the whole group (with many women in more than one listing) the figures were: cousins, 52 percent; brothers, 37 percent; nephews, 11 percent; fiances, 10 percent; husbands, 8 percent; sons, 8 percent; in-laws, 3 percent; fathers, 0.7 percent; nieces, 2 percent; sisters, 2 percent; daughters, 0.8 percent.

A question on ages of the women war production workers showed them to be: under 20, 18 percent; 21 to 30, 35 percent; 31 to 40, 22 percent; 41 to 50, 17 percent; 51 to 60, 6 percent; 61 and over 0.3 percent. Fewer than 4 percent gave no answer. The percentage of those under twenty in machine operation was low, only 14 percent; in inspection it was the same as overall; whereas it was high, 28 percent, in factory clerical work.

On marital status the returns were: single, not engaged 32 percent; single, engaged 12 percent; married, 45 percent; widows, 5 percent; divorced or separated, 3 percent; not telling, 3 percent. The married with no children at home numbered 13 percent. Both unmarried and married checked the line "children at home," the total being 32 percent of the women polled.

Nearly one third supplemented their checkmarks or ratings on reasons for going into factory war work with written statements. Of these, a majority showed the economic motive. For example: "To support sick husband and child"; "to increase family income to meet higher cost of living"; "to help educate my children"; "to buy a little home"; "buying a farm after



SKILLED HANDS

Former fashion artists turn their talent and training to vital wartime use in the drafting room of the Chicago plant



Photos courtesy Stewart-Warner Corporation, Chicago

SHARP EYES and DEFT FINGERS

Women war workers on the baffle inspection line have to use powerful magnifying glasses to check tiny shell fuze parts

the war"; "to connect with radio"; "to have a job after the war."

But patriotic feeling was expressed by many, as in these samples: "I have a brother in service and I wish to see him home again"; "to get at the Japs who wounded my brother"; "to be able to buy more war bonds." And by a mother whose son had been killed in action, in 1942: "To continue where my son left off—and to occupy my mind."

Several made combination statements, for example: "To help our country and to help myself."

These returns bore out predictions by management spokesmen as to what the women would say. These practical men believed, however, that while most of the women would give "desire to help win the war" as their top reason for being at work, nevertheless the pay was their real number one reason.

"They're here to make money," said the foreman of a hand-screw machine department. As did others, he pointed to the large proportion of their wages the women war workers spend on dress: "When they come to work, before they change to slacks, you'd think they were going to the opera." A thread-grinding machine boss said: "Motives vary, but the money motive is the most important thing; the women are keen for the money."

An automatic-screw machine foreman explained it this way: "When a girl under



A close-up of one of the parts and the trained fingers handling it

the policy of 'equal pay for equal work' has an opportunity to get a man's rate, including time and a half for overtime, her pay check each week looks so big to her that she naturally thinks that noisy, oily work on a machine is easier than housework." The plant manager, noting that many women had come into the factory from office positions paying 20 cents an hour less than war production jobs, said: "While patriotism comes second with most women war workers, they all think they're doing their patriotic duty; and they're doing a splendid job."

Chairman-President Knowlson observed that women had gone into war production because of the combination of patriotic urge and economic opportunity, at a time when increasing proportions of women were engaging in activities outside the home, when manufacturers had improved machines so that they were easy and safe to operate, and when pictures of "Rosie the Riveter" had made women "proud to have dirty hands."

A junior plant executive felt that the patriotism that led women to volunteer for war jobs fluctuated inversely with our fortunes in the war, that after Pearl Harbor it was paramount and that it rose after Salerno. His prediction that it would rise again with the invasion of western Europe has been borne out.

How They Do Their Jobs

The women workers in this plant are pretty well satisfied as to their efficiency. That came out in the answers to this question: "Comparing your work with that of men in similar jobs, as to both quantity and quality, how do you rate yours?" While some did not answer and 3 percent admitted theirs was "not so good," 68 percent said "just as good," and 25 percent said "better."

The foremen disagreed. Granting that on simple repetitive operations women often are more patient than men, the foremen held that on machine production as a whole they are less efficient even than white collar men taken on at a time when manufacturers have to employ both men and women "who have no 'mechanical feel.'" The prevailing opinion was expressed by an automatic screw-machine foreman who rated the women's average efficiency at 5 percent below the men's.

The plant manager said that women, starting in at 35 percent, with standard output per hour 100 percent, would nearly reach the men's average, but that the total plant efficiency of 98 percent was achieved through the superior efficiency (often over 100 percent) of the old-timers among the men and also through special efforts made to train women, to allow for their special requirements, and to help them adjust to their jobs.

On the question, "How many weeks or months did it take you to feel at home in this work?" the women divided in their replies as follows: one week, 36 percent; two weeks, 26 percent; three, 11 percent; four, 14 percent; five, 0.5 percent; six, 1 percent; two months, 6 percent; three, 2.5 percent; four to six, 3 percent. The man-

agement men had said longer—"from one to six months, depending on the nature of the work involved."

The new woman worker is put first into one of the school departments established after it was found that without intensive training the novitiates broke too many cutting tools. During their three months in these schools, new operators, paid for learning and producing while they learn, start on simple operations and advance to the more complicated.

In order to simplify machine operations for women, special attachments, tools, fixtures, and automatic feed magazines have been designed by the company engineers. Heavy lifting by production women in this factory is banned.

Differences

The day to day oversight by foremen, assistant foremen, instructors, and set-up men is of prime importance. These realistic supervisors take into account the differences between men and women, including temperamental differences. One spoke as did all when he said: "As a foreman over men for sixteen years I haven't had to do any coddling, but now when the married women are worried about their children, or their husbands and sons in the service, or the engaged girls about their boy friends, we've got to let 'em weep on our shoulders." The plant manager directs the foremen: "Treat the woman war worker as you would treat your mother or daughter or sister."

How well these fatherly and brotherly foremen and supervisors are succeeding is told in the way each woman answered a question about her "immediate boss." Fewer than 8 percent said he was unfair. Some older women felt that favoritism occasionally was shown the younger girls. But the overwhelming opinion was that the bosses were patient, clear in their explanations, and fair.

The management has to allow for over 5 percent of the women being absent as against 3 percent of the men. This is caused in part by women staying away to care for children, to shop, to see their men off to the war, or to be with them during a furlough.

The turnover is higher among female war workers than among male—7 percent for the women as against 4 percent for the men. Because of the cost of recruiting and breaking in a new worker, the management's attitude about attendance has changed. In pre-war days the word to an absent employe was, "Be on the job, or else." Now to each absentee the plant manager sends this telegram: "We would be one day closer to Victory if you were here today. Please report tomorrow."

In answers to a question on safety there were variations with different types of work: 66 percent of the women in machine operation, 83 percent of those in inspection and assembly, and 83 percent of the clerical workers stated that their work was safe in all respects.

This response was due in part to the comprehensive program of the safety department. Not only are there guards on the

moving parts of all machines, but also personal safety equipment for each worker—hair nets; goggles; face veils of cellulose acetate, proof against fumes; slacks and special aprons; shoes with steel toes; and hand creams, forming "invisible gloves" not soluble in oil.

More Women Wanted

At this Stewart-Warner plant, as nationally, the increase in women workers has not been sufficient to replace men called into military service, and to meet the requirements of expanding production. At the time of my survey, this plant alone had places for 800 more women. Management and employes have carried on an active campaign to recruit the needed workers.

One of the questions buried in the questionnaire, and two at the end of it, were designed to lend a hand to these efforts. One read this way: "In your experience, is the moral atmosphere at the plant in which you are working such that you could tell parents that their daughters will find war production plants good places in which to work?" To this, 78 percent of the machine operators, 70 percent in inspection, and 78 percent of the clerical workers said "Yes."

The final questions were:

"Do you have any neighbors or friends among young or middle-aged women who are now available to go into factory war production work for the duration?"

"If so, what do you suggest as a means of getting them to apply for jobs in a war factory and thus to follow your example?"

Unfortunately, to the first of these, only 22 percent could answer affirmatively. But the last question brought out lively suggestions. Some proposed easing the applicant's way in the employment office, such as waiving birth certificates for the middle-aged. Some were on working conditions, for example better ventilation in a certain department. Many were for supplementing newspaper advertising with advertisements and articles in women's magazines, and with tours of the plant by invited housewives. A few were for offering higher pay. But the great majority were for stressing the patriotic appeal.

A foreman and a higher plant executive said they had discouraged their own wives from taking war jobs because they were needed at home to care for their children. Many of the women workers urged public provision to meet that need: "Most of my lady friends would go into war production if clean, well supervised nurseries for pre-school age children were maintained near their homes." "If nurseries were established near the plant they would be able to leave their children or grandchildren. Why not establish them in elementary schools or settlement houses, one in each community?"

But the surprise suggestion, in various burning words, by one tenth of those offering solutions was: "Draft women." Many used just those two words. Others were more detailed: "I wish they would force them to work as there are many lazy women who have nothing to do but go around from house to house to gossip." "Draft women for war work. That is the

only way some women will work. They are too lazy otherwise."

Not a few of the women commended the company highly for the efforts it was making and the methods it was following to attract women into war production jobs.

The Postwar Outlook

After the war is won and our fighting men come home, 30 percent of these typical war production women intend to leave the labor market for homemaking, 48 percent to continue in factory work, 14 percent to return to white collar occupations; 82 percent are happy about their postwar plans.

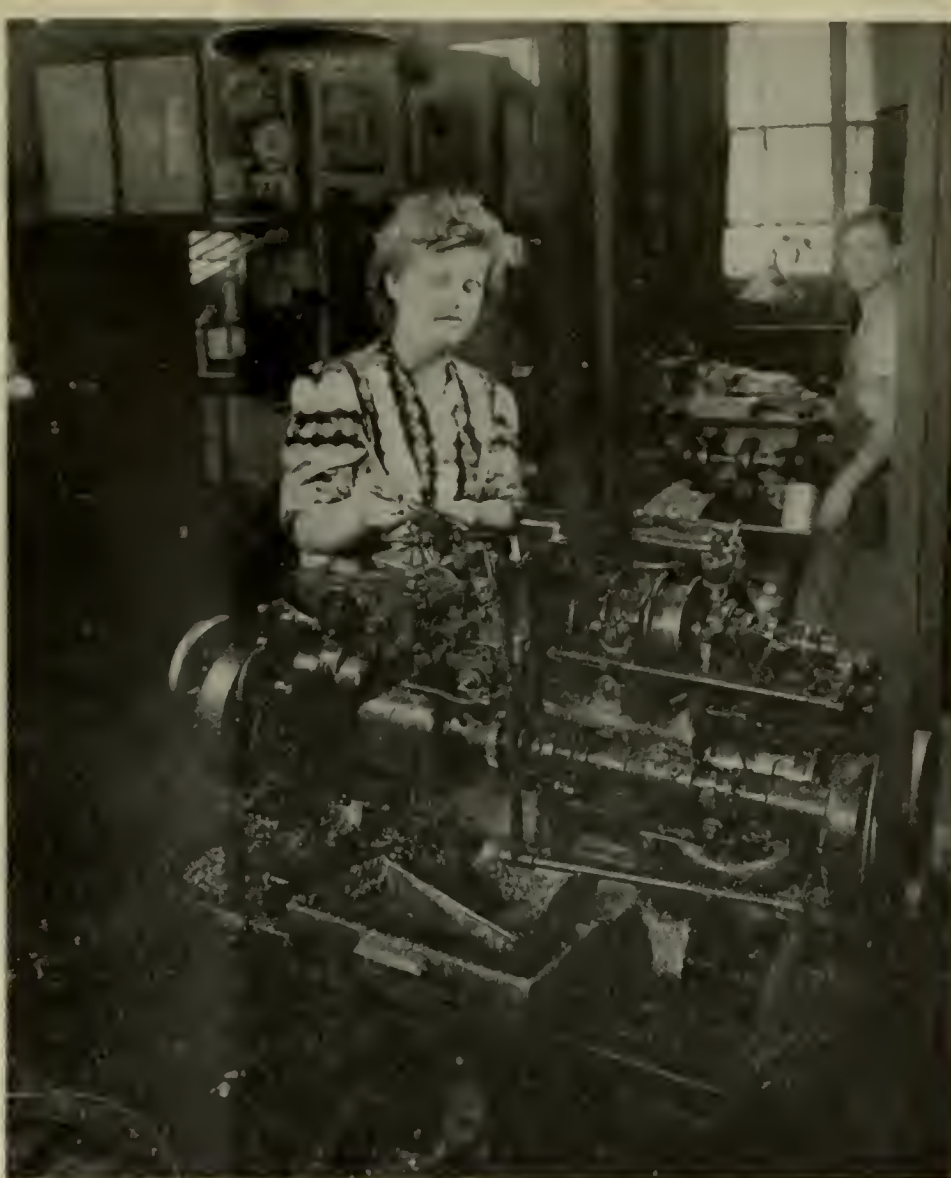
There was not much variation in their attitude about the future among the three types of war workers polled, but there was some variation on continuing in production jobs. Among the machine operators, 60 percent want to continue in factory work and only 11 percent prefer less arduous jobs; among the inspection and assembly girls, 45 percent would like to stay on in the plant while 16 percent desire white collar employment.

Among those who put "to help win the war" as their foremost reason for entering a war plant, a slightly higher percentage than for the total (34 percent as against 30 percent) said that they intended to leave industry for homemaking; while 46 percent instead of 48 percent, expected to continue in factory work. Conversely, among those who rated an economic reason as their most important, only 26 percent are going back into the home, while 55 percent hope to stay in factory work.

The foremen and other spokesmen had expressed strong views about the place of women in home life. "Women still enjoy raising families, and the way to a man's heart is still through cooking," said one. Another commented: "Most of our women war workers will want to go back to housework as soon as we win the war. The married women will want to keep house for their husbands and children. And the unmarried will want to start homes. Those who stay on in production jobs will do so because of an economic need."

Statements like these, made before the questionnaires were distributed, were confirmed by written comments by many of the women. Thus a single woman, age thirty-three, operating a screw machine, gave opportunity for such work as her reason for taking a job, and in her notation for the future said she would be happy if she could "run a machine all day." Another girl, who favored homemaking, added to her checkmark the words, "If I can find a man"; and still another gave as her postwar plan, "Look for a husband." A woman of forty-six, who had two sons in the service, and who was working to help win the war and to aid her husband in paying debts, wrote that she was going to return to homemaking, then added: "But if my sons should come home in such condition that I'd have to help support them, I'd continue in factory work."

The wave of women war workers flowing into plants in World War I receded, but never to pre-war lines. Similarly, after World War II, the employment of women



Operating a screw machine—a job for men only until World War II

will not reach the former level. In this Stewart-Warner plant the management held that as women stayed on in punch press, drill press and milling departments after the last war, so after this one some will remain in automatic-screw, hand-screw, and other departments now employing them for the first time.

The ratio of women to men in the factory is expected to drop toward pre-war figures, but not all the way back. Over 2,000 men went from this plant to the armed forces. They have a legal and moral right to their jobs when they come home. But the women leaving of their own accord, plus the normal turnover, will make plenty of openings for the returning soldiers and sailors.

Foreman after foreman, when bluntly asked whether, given a choice, he would employ men or women after the war, as bluntly replied, "Men." Most of them, however, made one exception. The comment of an automatic-screw machine foreman was typical. "I would choose men and boys," he said, "because of a better chance of making them skillful operators."

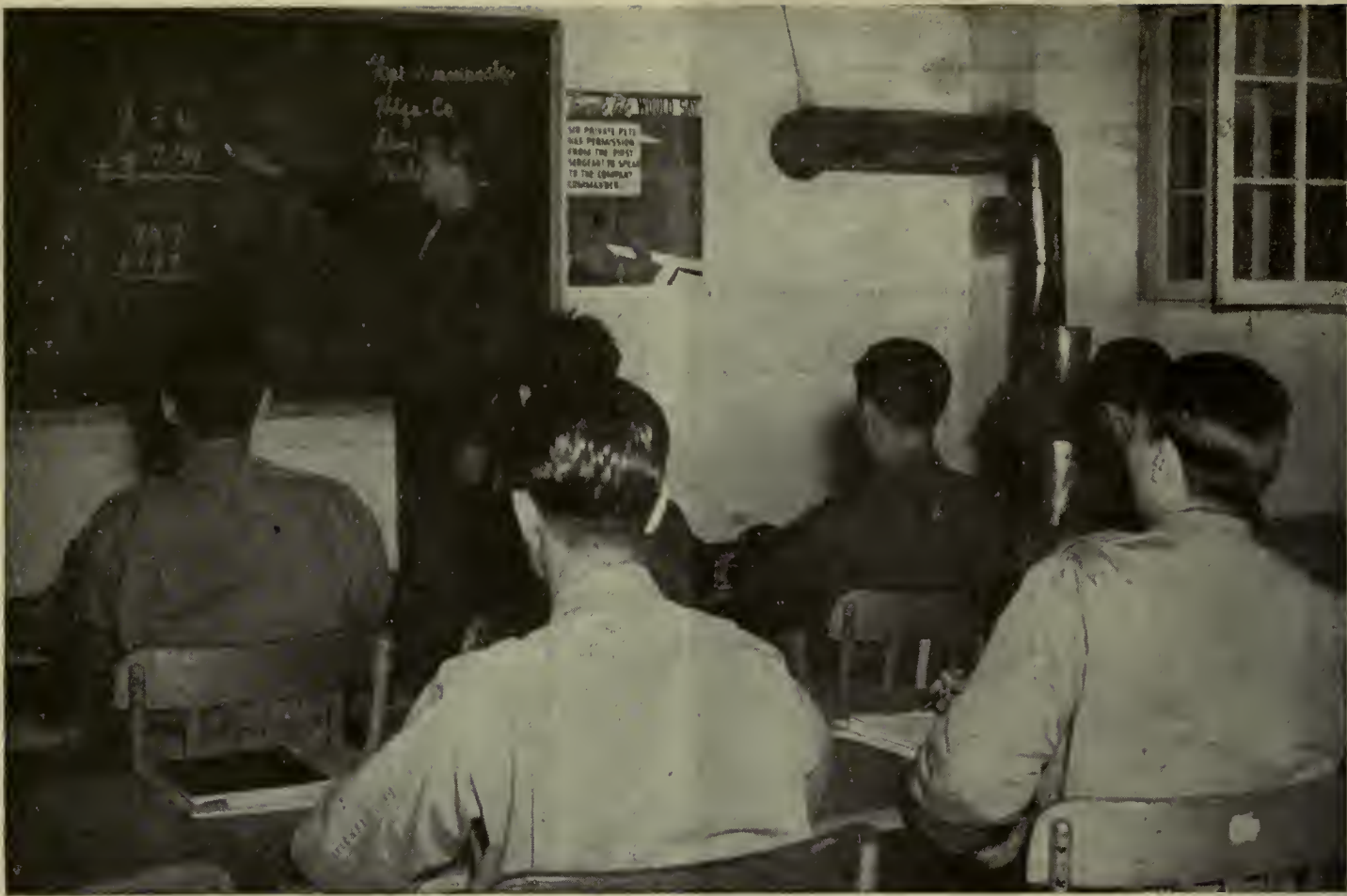
Stewart-Warner foremen look to a post-war situation in which an adequate supply of male help will be available. They cite

the fact that many growing boys, but not many girls, are machine minded. Moreover, this company keeps in close touch with its employes in military service, welcomes them when at home on furlough, and counts on their return to its force.

Finally, they are impressed with the fact that whereas during the war the controlling consideration is to get out quality production in a hurry, in the months and years after the war a controlling consideration will be cost. On holding costs down, one of the foremen pointed out that they would be handicapped if they employed women because of the Illinois law limiting women's work to eight hours a day, six days a week—a provision relaxed where necessary during the war. Another foreman pointed out that women operators have four rest periods a day but that it is not necessary to give men such recesses. Costs of training, supervision, absenteeism, and turnover also are higher for women than for men workers.

Nevertheless, the foremen came back to that one exception: They wanted to keep the women war workers who could set up machines and tools for their jobs and were as skillful as the men.

And that is the way it is likely to be throughout industry.



U. S. Army Signal Corps

To remain in today's army, an American soldier must develop a fourth grade proficiency in arithmetic

Three R's for Private Pete

How the army is reclaiming 87 percent of its physically fit but illiterate G.I. Joes (nicknamed Pete) through special classes under trained teachers.

ETHEL RAYNOR McDONALD

TWELVE ABLE-BODIED, UNIFORMED MEN BETWEEN the ages of nineteen and thirty-seven lined up in a classroom that was once an army mess. The room held a blackboard, a stove aptly described as a space heater, a placard sketch of a soldier seeking permission to talk to his captain. Their instructor, a woman of forty who had once taught crippled and retarded children, glanced at her watch.

"Our spelling bee will last fifteen minutes," she announced, "long enough to give everybody several chances."

Tall and short, fair and swarthy (two were Mexicans), their faces variously alert, earnest, docile and indifferent, a few of her pupils had the apathetic attitude of "We're in the army now," but the majority were eagerly seizing this opportunity to learn the "three R's." For this classroom at Fort Sheridan, Ill., is typical of those at eighteen other posts in the United States where the army is salvaging for combat men physically fit but slow to learn.

These men at Fort Sheridan had just tramped in heavily from a ten minute rest

period after an hour of reading. Their interest quickened at the announced spelling bee.

"Now," the teacher spoke up as they took their places, "count, starting with number one, and remember your number. If you miss, go to the foot of the line. After fifteen minutes, we'll see, from where you

—By an army wife who, as a "Y" girl in Coblenz in 1920 met and married an officer of the American Forces in Germany. Mrs. McDonald knows firsthand the satisfaction of catching up with education, for after her children were half grown she began to pick up college credits wherever her husband was stationed, and took an A.B. degree at the University of Hawaii in 1939.

She has written stories and articles on army themes, and now is at work on a larger canvas: "My husband, a colonel on the general staff, regrets, as do all horsemen, the passing of the cavalry, and I am writing a novel about it."

stand in line, how much better you're getting."

Pvt. Pete Learns to Spell

The "th" sound in t-h-r-e-e was hard to say, harder to spell, and when coupled with "r" it was baffling. But f-i-r-s-t was almost a catastrophe for eleven of the group. When the instructor wrote "ir", "er" and "ur" on the board, for the same sound, it was apparent some thought English spelling a confusing and questionable accomplishment. One man, having memorized e-i-g-h-t and t-w-e-l-f-t-h, unhappily joined the two and, when asked to spell "twelfth" said "t-w-e-i-g-h-t-h!" He was discouraged till he had a chance to demonstrate his conquest over the extremely difficult "Wednesday," which he had also committed to memory. "Sounding out" didn't always help.

The teacher continued. Her voice and manner brisk, light and encouraging, were at the same time serious. She moved often from class to blackboard. There was a feeling of life in the room. She noted the time now and began to check up on the winners

The number three now headed the column, number one stood fifth, and so on. Several men were elated at their progress, a few slower ones momentarily depressed; the man at the foot assumed indifference to cover his chagrin. Tall, well-built, good looking, the soldier who won had seemed to grow inches as he moved toward the top of the class. Now he went to his seat with pride and a confident step, a little smile around his mouth.

"They encourage one another," the teacher had said earlier. "One cold day they were milling around the stove during recess, talking among themselves. 'Aw, I'm just a dumbbell,' one fellow mumbled dejectedly, 'I ain't never a-goin' to learn nuthin'.' 'Don't be a darn fool!' a comrade cheered him, 'hit takes a heap o' patience and a little time, if a feller ain't a-goin' to be a know-nuthin' all his life!'"

Why Pvt. Pete Needs Education

The success of these nineteen units under the direction of specially trained instructors has been phenomenal. Little more than a year ago, the induction centers had tested 750,000 potential soldiers who, though physically fit, could neither read nor write. Today, the War Department's Special Training Units are reclaiming more than 87 percent of such men and reinducting them for military service.

This achievement is especially remarkable because, at the outbreak of the war, the plan was not to draft men who could not read or write. Then later, in May 1942, the White House announced that 250,000 men had been rejected solely because they were illiterate. The American ego suffered a rude shock at this news. Educators, seeking to lay the blame directly at the source, carped at states which lack an adequate system of free and universal education; and supported Senator Thomas' bill (S637) to redress inequalities by providing federal participation.

Editors wrote with more rhetoric than enlightenment about heroes from Charlemagne to Sergeant York who had demonstrated the value of courage over literacy. But Sergeant York perversely and publicly supported the educators, pleading for special schooling along with military training so that "men might be allowed to serve their country along with their more fortunate comrades, according to their abilities."

About this time it was revealed that there were so few illiterates among our barbarian foes (there was in Japan's 1925 census less than one percent, in Germany's last census a percentage so low it was not even listed) that the matter was simply not one of their problems. It was a major one for us and needed prompt solution.

While the War Department began to develop an educational program, approximately 10 percent of the functional illiterates were kept, at the start, for some kind of service. Lieutenant General Brehon B. Somervell, Commanding General, Army Service Forces, had warned: "We can lose this total war on the battlefield as a direct result of losing it on the education front. Education is the backbone of an army."

For this was no longer the army of World War I, when 25 percent of the men drafted could not write a letter or read a newspaper intelligently. In modern, mechanized World War II, a man must not only recognize the number on his identification and laundry tags, be responsible for army orders, daily bulletins, filling out applications, signing the payroll. He must be ready to read maps, blueprints and diagrams for taking down, servicing and assembling tanks, anti-aircraft guns, planes, scores of precision instruments. He must know how to figure. The field soldier of today is not simply a man who carries a gun—he must go to school for his training.

Schools were started at replacement centers, in station complements, in divisions, battalions and companies, with the commanding officer always responsible. Army officers and enlisted men were the instructors, preferably those with teaching experience in elementary work or experience with the dull and mentally retarded. Half the day the men were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. The remaining half they were given military training. But they missed half their basic military training. Thus their skills compared unfavorably with those of men with full time training, and they tended to hold back their units. There was no standard test given throughout the army to determine their actual improvement. Sometimes illiterates slipped through and were shipped out.

Then in June 1943, one or more Special Training Units were established at reception centers in each of the nine service commands. The new program, which operates under the supervision of the director of military training, Army Service Forces, relieves Replacement and Unit Training Centers of the problem of training these men.

New Teachers, New Methods

With the increasing manpower shortage, however, it became necessary to employ some civilian teachers, many of them women. This released soldier instructors for military duties and helped meet the needs of an expanding army educational program. All teachers are given orientation courses in the army way of teaching, which means that young women are learning the meaning of commands, army discipline, and G.I. phraseology, while the army instructors still teaching are acquiring a new patience with the retarded.

The objective of the units is to develop a fourth grade proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic in twelve weeks. A few take sixteen, while some achieve the level in less than six weeks. Hardest of all to establish is a basis of communication for foreigners illiterate in their own as well as in the English language. Here film strips of men dressing, making a bed, eating at a mess, marching, drilling, and so on, transmit the sense of the words quickly.

Flash cards like those used in elementary schools stimulate interest. On one side they show a word and its picture, on the other side merely the word. Forty-eight words bearing a definite relation to army functional training are used—for example,

camp, barracks, soldier, flag, dog tags, bugle, laundry tag, barracks bag, foot locker, bunk, shower, shave. One corporal instructor has done wonders in substituting words for numbers in a bingo game, allowing the man who fills the spaces first to shout, "Bingo!"

Language Pitfalls

Chinese not long in this country lean heavily on the illustrations when using their Army Reader, 'characteristically mispronouncing "r" for "l". A former civilian vocal instructor, versed in English, Italian, Russian, Spanish, French and some Japanese, listens to a Mexican group read the first page in Part I of the Army Reader. The picture on the page shows an army camp with three barracks in view, a flag pole behind them. The Army Reader tells the story of Pvt. Pete Smith, but the Mexican boy has difficulty pronouncing "Smith."

"Watch my lips," the teacher suggests. "See how I place my tongue between my teeth." He illustrates. His knowledge of voice teaching and languages helps him solve the problems of the foreign born. These men, learning from scratch, progress by constant repetition.

The morning is divided into one hour for reading, one for expression, oral or written, and a third for arithmetic.

The pre-reading group spends twenty minutes a day for two or even three weeks on phonics. "If we get two letters which make the sound 'ag' as in 'tag,'" says the teacher, "we must remember that a.g. says 'ag', not ah guh. Look for that sound in other words, and remember what it says."

He works on a group of words with the vowel sound oo. "Now, I want you to say, 'The double o sound says oo.'"

Ten grown men repeat: "The double o sound says oo." Still they stumble over the word platoon. The teacher tries new tactics: "What is a platoon?"

The student soldier looks confused, mumbles: "It's when everybody is in rank, when they form a rank of men after standing with their legs spread apart. . . ."

The teacher corrects him, weaving in the functional military training along with his phonics: "Three squads make one platoon; there are four platoons in a company."

A row of one syllable words with the vowel "a" is listed: has, tag, bag, at, an, cap. Sometimes a word with another vowel sound like "room" pops up, out of place, to catch a dreaming soldier. The word "hardest" is frequently a stumbling block. The teacher takes it apart:

"What does the 'h' say?" he asks, and the class recites:

"The 'h' says 'huh'" —together the class blows the sound. The "est" syllable slows them down perceptibly, and together they practice est.

Soon Pvt. Pete, as the army designates the slow learner, learns to write his name, to form and recognize letters, to identify flash card words based on words he is going to encounter in the first part of the reader, and studies the elementary principles of arithmetic.

An attractive woman instructor of these
(Continued on page 430)

Pay by the Year Is Labor's Goal

The "annual wage" reaches a new stage—with a thousand American companies adopting it in one way or another and the CIO launching a national campaign.

ROGER WILLIAM RIIS

ORGANIZED LABOR HAS SET OUT TO WIN AN annual wage in place of the traditional hourly wage which often means irregular income. The men who work in the shop want the same steadiness of income that is granted their fellow workers in the office. To secure guaranteed annual wages throughout American industry will be a principal objective of labor in the years just ahead, in the same sense that the 8-hour day and the 40-hour week were great objectives in recent years.

The campaign has begun with the steel workers' union of the CIO demanding that the steel industry institute a system of guaranteeing employes minimum annual earnings. A spectacular feature of the opening drive is the CIO's \$100,000 advertising campaign in the newspapers of eighty cities, arguing the advantages of job security and steady pay, not only to the workman but also to the community in which he lives.

Say the advertisements, the annual wage means:

"To the homemaker, relief from worry, assurance of a steady income to feed, clothe and shelter the family.

"To the wage earner, the most basic freedom of all, the right of an individual ready and able to work to have a steady job, pride in himself, and confidence in his ability to provide for his loved ones."

To the community at large, steady pay checks flowing into homes also mean steady, continuous support of local business by regular customers with sound credit; home buying; community building; higher standards of living; solid, contented citizenship.

This sounds like promising a good deal, but there are guaranteed annual wage plans, affecting many thousands of workers, which have been in operation for quite some years; and there is mounting evidence that they do, indeed, tend to bring about benefits which the glowing advertisements predict.

Management Began It

The idea originated, not with labor, but with management. Two or three companies began experimenting with yearly wages about 1920. Now, there are about one thousand companies, including some of the largest in the United States, which have adopted one method or another of stabilizing employment and pay on a long range basis.

Labor and management were both wary of such schemes at first. But the plans have proved extraordinarily practical — good business for management, for labor, and for the community. Labor was suspicious in the beginning that yearly wages were just another disguised pay cut. But once such

—Reporting comes naturally to Roger William Riis, for he is the son of the loved reporter, author, and good citizen, Jacob A. Riis, whose name lives on, thirty years after his death.

Mr. Riis' first work was on *The American Legion*, in the period immediately after World War I. Next he became an assistant editor of *Collier's*, and today he is a roving editor of the *Reader's Digest*, for which he had written earlier an outstanding series of articles on the part of the churches in American life. In the years between, he was a member of the firm of Riis and Bonner. A book, "Publicity," crystallized the experience of the partners. Here Mr. Riis writes a telling prospectus, not for any client but for a social invention.

plans were adopted and tested, labor cooperated wholeheartedly.

Management discovered that the workman does not lightly leave a job which he knows will bring him a pay envelope every week, year in, year out. One firm found its labor turnover reduced to one-eighteenth of what it had been. Another concern which had suffered a labor turnover of 65 percent a year saw the rate drop to 7 percent. Employers report efficiency increased by as much as 10 percent.

At McCormick and Company, Baltimore spice house, where employes are assured 48 weeks of work each year, absenteeism has been 2 percent, contrasted with 12 percent in Baltimore war plants.

And — an unforeseen dividend — guaranteed annual wages have proved a most effective spur to management. Inevitably, if the boss has to pay the workers whether or not there is anything for them to do, he will bestir himself to find something for them to do. He will hump himself to get more business. He will really get down to work on the problem of smoothing out seasonal peaks and valleys. He will develop new products to make work in off seasons and avert layoffs.

One of the first companies to put its employes on annual salary, so to speak, was Procter & Gamble.* When the corporation first contemplated doing so, there were immense difficulties in the way. Soap-making was one of the most seasonal of industries—for no good reason except the firmly fixed buying habits of the big wholesalers. Unable to cure the wholesalers,

* The Procter & Gamble demonstration illustrated the importance of manufacturing to inventory as a factor in underpinning the average wage. See "Ivory-dale: A Payroll That Floats," by Beulah Amidon, *Survey Graphic*, April 1930. See also, "Work and Worklessness," and "Some Discoveries in the Backward Field of Consumption," by Samuel S. Fels, president of Fels & Co.; *Survey Graphic*, February and March 1933.

Procter & Gamble undertook to sell direct to the retailers, which meant building an enormous sales organization.

The company feels it was worth all the work and all the money it cost. In the early years of the guaranteed yearly employment plan, the company estimates it cost \$70 a year, per employe, above what the payroll would have been on the hourly basis. But the late Colonel Procter believed constant labor turnover, and the alternate rush and shutdown of the earlier era, had cost the company even more. Labor turnover at Procter & Gamble now is negligible. "We have never had any serious labor troubles," says an officer of the company.

"The most important thing," says Richard R. Deupree, president of the company, "is to assure the employes steady work. Nothing takes the place of a steady job. If a man can be certain of that, he can work out his life's problems with some degree of assurance. It is simply common sense to remove fear from a man's life."

In a Seasonal Industry

"Guaranteed annual wage," is too forthright a term for a good many industrialists, so you find annual wage systems under such names as "income security," "1,500 hour work year" or, as at the plant of George A. Hormel and Co., of Austin, Minn., "straight time."

The packing industry is highly seasonal not because of buyers' whims or bad habits, but for the inescapable reason that animals are fat and ready for market at certain seasons. Hormel, like most packers, alternated between rush seasons with everyone working overtime, and long layoffs. The layoffs were bad for several reasons. It's human nature to spend the wages when they are rolling in, and that means going broke when the pay stops. That wasn't good for the town. Nor was it good for the company, because too many good men would find another job when the packing house was shut down, and never come back.

After four years of analysis of production and sales, the Hormel Company in 1931 put one department of twenty-four men on annual wage as an experiment. The company slowly extended their "straight time" plan to cover a few hundred more workers in each of the next eight years. Today it applies to 3,000 employes.† The company used to keep 49 percent of its employes on the payroll for twelve months in the year—which is typical of the industry. The other 51 percent had layoffs, without pay, for weeks or months. Now 98

(Continued on page 429)

† The percentage of workers covered by annual wage plans varies from firm to firm.

Reporting on the Home Front

HARRY HANSEN

NEWSPAPERS ARE OFTEN ACCUSED OF GIVING a false picture of a society because, by necessity, they must report deviations from normal life. A file of newspapers, it is contended, can give the historian a completely wrong impression of the basic health of a nation or a culture if he relies solely on this source of information. Yet the events so recorded do occur; the historian must establish whether they are erratic or frequent, and to what extent they may be considered symptoms of a coming disorder.

These general remarks are prompted by two inquiries into American life in wartime that have just reached book form. Dealing primarily with conditions in industrial centers, one is the work of a newspaper writer, the other of a novelist known for his social criticism. "Journey Through Chaos," a report on the home front by Agnes E. Meyer (Harcourt, Brace; \$3), suggests by its title that the author's discoveries have not been reassuring. "State of the Nation," by John Dos Passos (Houghton, Mifflin; \$3) is noncommittal in its title and less definite in its conclusions; it is a survey of changing ways and opinions in widely separate parts of the country. Surprisingly, it is Mrs. Meyer, wife of the publisher of the *Washington Post*, who is shocked and aroused by what she finds, and it is Mr. Dos Passos who seems to say that America is taking changes in its stride.

America in High Gear

Unfortunately, both books deal chiefly with conditions in 1943, although Mrs. Meyer's final comment on Washington housing for Negroes was written early in 1944. The contents of both were published in newspapers and magazines immediately after being written, and they have had the benefit of some discussion. There have been attempts to ameliorate the worst conditions, especially in Detroit; yet it is quite unlikely that even the best efforts of authorities in such demoralized industrial centers as Leesville, La., and Mobile can have done much to change conditions within a year and a half. The inclusion of an interview with the late Edsel Ford, without revision, makes Mrs. Meyer's book seem out of date, though his views probably represent the present attitude of the Ford organization. In spite of these disabilities both books show what happens to a nation when its plants go into full production and when huge factories arise on pasture land without provision for housing and feeding thousands of transplanted workers.

Mrs. Meyer's indignation at conditions that nurture greed, delinquency, filth, and crime rises sometimes to a high pitch. She wonders why a nation with such mechanical genius should have such definite "social

limitations," or be practically without social responsibility. The chaos that now exists in overcrowded houses near Ypsilanti (no sewer system, wells near outhouses, fourteen sleeping in a small one-family house, nine in a garage); the child labor in Bremerton ("everyone out of didies goes to work"); the sex delinquency and "baby traffic" of Mobile (the police chief had nineteen men to help keep order in a city of 200,000 in 1943); the waste of manpower in Buffalo despite frozen jobs (employers had to hire 25,000 in two months to add 11,000 workers); these and many other matters that we like to call "un-American" are set forth by Mrs. Meyer in a quick, nervous journey across the country, a survey that makes the reader deeply apprehensive of greater disorders to come with the inevitable contraction when war orders cease.

Mrs. Meyer's reports on labor-management relations are sketchy, based chiefly on interviews. We have the word of Bill Jack, of Jack & Heintz, Cleveland, that everybody is happy and highly paid because the owners know how to cut costs and increase production far beyond the dreams of the "kids" in Washington. Labor and management are supposed to get along well in General Motors as long as Washington doesn't "complicate things." But at Brewster Mrs. Meyer found the management deplorably weak, absenteeism acute, and discipline non-existent.

Her conclusion blames management. "The leaders of labor, especially of the UAW-CIO" she says, "are among the ablest men in the country and not infrequently the superiors of their managements." These men had to fight their way to leadership, whereas many industrial executives "are easy-going descendants of their rugged forebears." Such generalization is inexact. Some of the ablest managers in motor and shipbuilding plants came up from the shops.

A Bell for the Sleeping

A three-month survey of conditions in the United States cannot be judicious, but an alarm clock has its uses. If Mrs. Meyer starts more readers thinking, she will have done a worthwhile job. I am sure she is right in saying that we lack a sense of social responsibility, that we ignore those who need our help and sympathy. She is also right in placing the blame for juvenile delinquency on the parents, but that opens another great subject. Her comment on the plight of the Negro touches most of the points at issue at this time, and her indignation at the slums of Washington grows out of personal knowledge of the inability of the nation's capital to clean house.

Here and there Mrs. Meyer indicates that conditions are being improved. But the effect of the book on the average reader will be to startle and dishearten him; he won't know where to turn. It is for the general reader, not the specialist, that this book is intended; it is part of our education. Perhaps its usefulness would be greater if Mrs. Meyer had indicated how the average citizen could do his bit for his immediate community, just as he does when he becomes an air warden or helps a war bond drive. For indignation is not enough; we must be goaded to action.

Minding Their Own Chickens

The reason why we do so little about Wichita, Bremerton, Mobile, Wilmington, Leesville, and all the other places that represent social distress can be found in John Dos Passos' book which seems impressionistic when compared with Mrs. Meyer's reporting. In the "Black Belt" Mr. Dos Passos, wondering whether resettlement would solve the troubles of the poor farmers, went to "a real successful farmer, a college graduate," to find out. The latter was cleaning out his hen house. "People don't look far ahead in this country, they just see what they've got in front of their noses," he said. "The farmer is too busy running his farm to keep up with trends. Want to see the chickens?"

Mr. Dos Passos gained his ideas on the state of the nation by talking with its citizens. Without resorting to dialect he gets their accents and their philosophy. Mrs. Meyer says absenteeism is deplorable. Mr. Dos Passos puts it this way: "A young man with glasses meets two girls in slacks. 'We missed you yesterday,' they say. 'I was sick. I didn't go in. Anyway, I've got me a new job . . . more money.'" Thus labor sees in and out of plants.

Mrs. Meyer had mentioned the dangers to family life in trailer towns, with their cramped quarters and inadequate sanitation. Mr. Dos Passos sees them in passing, but gives another side. "Housekeeping in a trailer with electric light and running water is a dazzling luxury to a woman who's lived all her life in a cabin with half-inch chinks between the splintered boards of the floor. There are streetcars and busses to take you anywhere you want to go. Girls can go to beauty parlors . . . In the backwoods a girl who's reached puberty feels she's a woman. She's never worried much about restraining her feelings when she had any. Is it any wonder that they can't stay home at dusk when the streets fill up with hungry boys in uniform?"

I came to the Dos Passos book after I had read Mrs. Meyer's, and the effect was like taking a sedative. Mr. Dos Passos,

(All books ordered through Survey Associates, Inc., will be postpaid)

whom I had looked upon as a keen, uncompromising social critic in the realm of fiction, seemed mildly approving as he recorded the views of America. However, by no means is he the apologist. His was the willing ear, and as he talked with farmers, mechanics, union organizers, soldiers, politicians, and workers in "the fox-holes of Washington" he learned about grievances here and there.

He was interested in finding out about the relative standing of individualism, private initiative, collectivism and communism, and he led those he met to these subjects; their replies seemed to indicate that Americans are still for private ownership, that they don't like government interference unless it happens to favor them, and that Washington employes are pretty well bogged down in routine, with little left of the old world-shattering enthusiasm.

From the fragmentary testimony of Americans far and wide, there is discontent over methods everywhere. The years of planning were best; they were full of new, untried schemes. Now experience with men and material is on record; the wants of human beings seem complex, their minds by no means in agreement.

Union leaders have discovered that wages and hours are not enough. "We've got to service these workers in education, housing, welfare, recreation," said the editor of a union paper in Detroit. "I came out here

to educate these workers in unionism and, hell, I'm a social worker."

Mr. Dos Passos contributes an odd bit of information about the men from the USSR who are doing jobs on the Pacific coast in connection with lend-lease shipments. "What I'd like to know," an inquirer asked an American officer, "is how the Soviet citizens react to American life when they really live in the middle of it."

"Well," said the officer, "it takes them a long time to thaw out. The crew particularly seem scared to death when they first come. You see them walking up the street with blank faces not looking to the right or the left. They won't even answer when they're spoken to. After four or five trips the officers tend to thaw out a little . . . and talk about themselves. It's always the same thing. They wish to God they could pull themselves out of the whole bloody mess and get themselves a little farm in Alaska or out in the woods somewhere, any place where no damn government can bother them—most of them want to raise chickens and to hell with the brotherhood of man."

Obviously the remedy for too much government, and for too little, lies with the responsible individual, who sees his own welfare in the welfare of the community and works to achieve both. Both these books seem to show that the responsible individual must be developed in greater numbers in the United States.

Next Time Is Now

THE GREAT DECISION, by James T. Shotwell, Macmillan, \$3.

WHEN THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRY IN the world—our own—declined to accept any responsibility in world affairs and refused to join other nations in the first great international cooperative effort, the League of Nations was given a death blow at its birth. Mr. Shotwell, among only a few in this country, realized that the armistice of 1918 would be only an armistice between wars unless some system of collective security were made effective.

During the past twenty years he has been tireless in his efforts to aid and amplify methods of international collaboration that might prevent war. He worked with statesmen in this country and in Europe. Though the Kellogg Pact and the Disarmament Conference were supported, the will to live up to their objectives seemed generally lacking.

With clear vision he understood the implication of events in Europe and Asia in the inter-war period. Disaster was approaching. In 1937 he wrote "The Rim of the Abyss." He lectured, he continued to write, he warned, but too few listened. No one is better fitted than he to analyze the pact and make recommendations for the future.

His is no facile pen, nor is it pedantic. Clear, cold logic, enriched by experience and a profound understanding of history, flows from it. Mr. Shotwell discusses a few of the earlier efforts that nations have made to work together for the ultimate purpose of settling disputes and preventing war. The Hague Court of Arbitration

as a forerunner of the World Court is one. He believes that "the World Court is the keystone of the arch of international law and order."

Our own League to Enforce Peace, formed in 1915 by William Howard Taft and other prominent Americans of both political parties, is given its just due in the molding of public opinion toward the need of an international organization to maintain peace.

An analysis is made of the reasons why the League of Nations failed in its major objective, to prevent war. The difficulties encountered by the League point out new methods to be tried next time—and next time is now. For Mr. Shotwell, failure serves as experience on which to build anew. He sees clearly the mistakes of the past and always has a practical suggestion for avoiding them in the new effort that must be made. He is no pessimist. He believes that better ways can and must be found. He recognizes that the League of Nations laid solid foundations, that its non-political commissions have been eminently successful, that this work already accomplished will be useful in the future and must not be thrown away.

Recurrently he refers to the International Labor Organization; its tripartite method of representation; its spectacular but substantial achievements. He suggests that other functional international agencies might emulate this same type of organization. He discusses the Food and Agriculture Conference and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration as examples of international func-

tional bodies. He pays tribute to the work achieved at the Moscow and Teheran conferences.

This is a comprehensive book. It deals with the nature of total war, its consequences, the problems of reduction of armaments, security, justice, the pacific settlement of disputes, international organization, and human rights.

The author answers the glib, superficial statements and catchwords of the "isolationists" and "nationalists." But, it is no an easy answer. For the problems involved in organizing a world of law and order are not simple.

Yet everyone who ventures to have an opinion (and who doesn't?) on the inevitability or non-inevitability of war, on isolation, on international cooperation, on the fundamental principles on which the future world must be built, should read this book.

CHARLOTTE BURNETT MAHO
Executive Director, The Woodrow Wilson Foundation, New York

TECHNOLOGY AND LIVELIHOOD: A Inquiry into the Changing Technological Basis for Production as Affecting Employment and Living Standards, by Mary I. Fledderus and Mary van Kleeck, Russell Sage Foundation, \$1.25.

HUMAN BEINGS GROW DESTRUCTIVE OF THEMSELVES and one another when their environment changes at an irregular rate. It is not the raw fact of change that does the damage; it is the erratic, unforeseeable character of the situation that brings trouble. Uncertainty breeds anxiety, and anxiety generates the compulsiveness of mind and deed that transforms provisional differences into precipitous conflict. Novel adjustments call for rational give-and-take at the very time when it is least possible for men to act reasonably.

The disturbing effect of science and technology on the life of modern man arises principally from the mode of application. Too much has changed erratically—no leaping ahead, now lagging back. Europe swells like a giant porcupine and pricks the ends of the earth. Yet in Europe the conquest of the modern man is far from complete, and older cultural attitudes and practices prevail. These paleo-cultures are living reminders of the "law of uneven development."

Where private capitalism is the dominant economic form, the clash of forward-looking and backward-looking tendencies is peculiarly obvious. Great interests often accelerate the tempo of innovation, but frightened interests come running with the halters of restrictionism. There is no mystery any longer about the crisis that confronts private capitalism. No one doubts that its future depends upon the degree of success in releasing the production potentials of science and technology in the interest of providing high levels of socially respected employment, and ever-rising opportunities for a good life.

The Fledderus-van Kleeck volume does not deal, except in language of high abstraction, with the problems arising from the startling, explosive upswing of man's skill in manipulating physical energy. The

... of the book is quite modest. It is chiefly a lucid abstract of the high points of such solid sources as the report by the National Resources Committee on "Technological Trends and National Policy." The summation does not undertake to correlate the data with trends in social structure or world power. The authors are content with remarking about the need of a "social design which would guide production for the general welfare," and they look to social research as a necessary instrument. There is no analysis of the conditions under which science can be so correlated with policy.

The book is an example of somewhat old-fashioned methods of popularization. All the graphical devices of the modern arts of communication are left to one side, and the attentive reader is expected to dig for what he gets. The digging is not difficult, since the chapters are well-organized and the examples are carefully chosen. Five chapters describe "The Nature of Technological Change in Basic Industries"; and three, "Labor Requirements and Employment Opportunities under the Impact of Technological Change." One valuable feature is the re-publication of the memorandum on "Optimum Productivity in the Workshop," prepared by Mary L. Fledérus for the 1938 study conference of the International Industrial Relations Institute at The Hague. HAROLD D. LASSWELL, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

TAILOR'S PROGRESS. the Story of a Famous Union and the Men Who Made It, by Benjamin Stolberg. Doubleday, Doran, \$2.75.

THIS STORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL Ladies Garment Workers Union, told through brief sketches of the past and present leaders of the union, Mr. Stolberg exhibits the virtues and defects of his previous contributions to the literature of labor affairs. The virtues are primarily journalistic—a vigorous literary style, apt turns of phrase, and in certain sections an interesting slant in categorizing his materials.

An illustration of the latter characteristic is his classification of the basic types of persons found in the chief divisions of the union. The Cloakmakers represent the old-time philosophers, tinged with the rich addition of socialist idealism and marked by a bent towards disputation. The Cutters are skilled craftsmen—shrewd, businesslike, and realistic. The Dressmakers, with a membership mostly composed of "the girls," are the militant romanticists to whom the educational and cultural activities of the union are primarily directed. The Pressers, the proletariat in the union, the *Balagula*, a term applied in the old Jewish communities to connote a type of common labor which was physically husky, articulate, and good natured. A blending of these diverse temperaments into a cohesive organization has taxed the powers of leadership on many occasions, as the author's story indicates.

There are also many interesting side-ights and brief comments on personalities of the union, a number of them outside the New York City area, who have not been

in the spotlight of publicity as have the topflight leaders.

As trade union history, the book has two outstanding defects. The first is the large number of errors of fact. Some of the errors are incidental and of little importance, but their number leaves the reader with an impression of loose writing. The other defect is one of interpretation. It arises out of Mr. Stolberg's intense preoccupation with a universe which appears to be inhabited either by devils or by angels. The devils in this instance are the members of opposition groups, mostly communists, who have from time to time challenged the leadership of the union. The archangel is David Dubinsky. In fact, the treatment

of Mr. Dubinsky is so much the story of a Horatio Alger hero that it suggests the conventional "official biography," although this allegation has been denied emphatically.

This is not to suggest that the left-wingers, had they gained control, might not have wrecked the union, as Mr. Stolberg believes; nor would it take one cubit from the stature of Mr. Dubinsky as a successful and highly competent trade union leader, nor quarrel with the conclusion that the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is a progressive and intelligently administered labor organization. It does suggest that Mr. Stolberg's bias and intense bitterness make it impossible for him to

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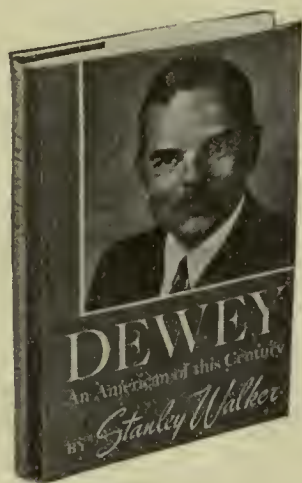
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offer a reliable analysis of the internal union conflict, or to present the full details of the external relations of the union since 1933.

Therefore, some readers of the book will be entertained by Mr. Stolberg's barbed thrusts and panegyrics. Others may take offense at many of his statements and points of view. All readers must look elsewhere for the complete and realistic history of the union during the last decade.

LOIS MACDONALD

New York University

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT—A Biography, by Mary Gray Peck. Wilson. \$3.

TO THOSE OF US WHO HAD THE PRIVILEGE of being lieutenants in Carrie Chapman Catt's woman suffrage army, it would have seemed impossible that mere printed pages could recreate the vigor and magnetism of her leadership. Miss Peck's biography has done this—and more. In its pages are focused more color, drama, and excitement than veterans of that long, hard pull for women's enfranchisement were aware of at the time.

I wish that everyone, but especially every woman, might read Miss Peck's book just at election time, and realize how hard won is her privilege of voting. I wish, too, that certain of our elder statesmen and officials in public life would read it, and blush for the part they played in opposing the granting of this right. It is hard now to realize that even twenty-five years ago there could be such bitter antagonism toward women's full citizenship.

But if ever a leader was gifted to fight for a cause she believed in, it was Mrs. Catt, who was early "consecrated to the aim of making women free, secure, and respected in the world." Who still, today, at the age of eighty-five, stands as the inspiration of more than five million women organized as the Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace, of which she is honorary chairman.

Miss Peck has captured the "beauty, nobility, and power" which held Mrs. Catt's audiences spellbound. But she has portrayed, too, her "charm, humor and gaiety." Hardship was her challenge. She never faltered, never seemed discouraged.

In her first campaign, in South Dakota, amid drought and desolation, she rallied three score farm families in a grain elevator to hear her tell why women should vote. In Colorado, delayed by a railroad wreck, she rode a hand-car down a steep incline at breakneck pace to keep a speaking appointment. She led her cohorts as state after state took up the fight. One night in November 1917, in the gloom and confusion of World War I, she stepped before an "ecstatic multitude" in Cooper Union, New York City, and began, "Fellow Citizens." New York women had won the vote!

When the Congress of the United States surrendered at long last to "the most brilliant constitutional campaign ever conducted in this country" and the Nineteenth Amendment was made law, Carrie Chapman Catt might have retired from the

lists. But there were other crusades ahead. Once she had said in a speech: "Women must unite in something greater than national or race loyalty, and that is the motherhood of the wide world."

Those words might have foreshadowed her organization of the National Committee for the Cause and Cure of War, which in turn became, in 1943, the Women's Action Committee, rallying women to work for world security through national organization. In January 1944, frail now and living in quiet retirement in her home in New Rochelle, N. Y., Mrs. Catt emerged once more briefly into public life to address us, and the old fire and valiance of spirit dominated us.

Miss Peck here ends her biography, marking of her subject: "In the darkest days this world has ever seen . . . it comforted her to reflect upon the new and benignant power free women were carrying forward into the future."

VERA WHITEHOUSE

Chairman of the Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace

THE ARMY READER, edited by Lt. Col. Karl Detzer. Bobbs-Merrill. \$4.

FEW AMERICANS, INCLUDING MOST SOLDIER know much about our army's many specialized branches, myriad functions, and very real accomplishments since it was born with the passage of the Selective Service Act. The purpose of this book is to present a kaleidoscopic picture of our army showing both the new arms and services and the new techniques employed by older branches in accomplishing their mission. All the articles are written in non-technical language and each is a self-contained whole.

The editor, Lt. Col. Karl Detzer, formerly of *Reader's Digest*, has done an excellent job of selection and editing so that the cumulative picture is most impressive. Not only can the civilian learn much about aspects of our army of which he never dreamed, but a member of the engineering force, for instance, can learn many surprising things about the cavalry, signal corps, or the armored force; and many a veteran of the infantry in World War I will be amazed to read about the infantry of today.

Starting with a brief sketch of American military tradition, the first section on "Men of War and Why They Fight" presents a over-all picture affecting the subsequent sections, such as the size of the army, a comparison with European armies, the Negro in the army (reprinted from *Survey Graphic* and *Reader's Digest*, 1942), and so on. The second section, "Prelude to Battle," discusses the missions and training functions of the various subdivisions of the ground forces, the air forces, the service forces and "Women's Place." "Combat Report," with sections on the Pacific, "England and Other Outposts" and the Mediterranean, show what happens when our army goes abroad or meets the enemy.

The hundred articles in this book present a fascinating picture in which civilians and servicemen alike can find much information.

LT. RICHARD PATRICK KELLOGG, A.G.D. U. S. Army

CITIES & STATES' RIGHTS

(Continued from page 407)

govern themselves in local matters. As a result of this controversy, the mayor of Detroit, Edward J. Jeffries, in an address which won warm applause from his fellow mayors, attacked legislative interference in municipal affairs, complaining especially of the tendency to pass laws requiring a city to spend more and more while at the same time refusing to give the city the power to raise money except through the already overworked real property tax.

The story is a long one. Some municipal grievances are real; some are imaginary. The states may often claim with substantial justification that they have acted in the best interest of the entire state and therefore of the city too. But the mayors still shout "discrimination."

Contrast at Washington

When it comes to representation at the national capital, the story is different. Large cities have almost exactly their proportionate representation in the Lower House of Congress. Most large cities have approximately the number of representatives one would expect to find by dividing the population of the city by 300,000—the average population of a congressional district. In the following table, the theoretic number of congressmen to which each of the ten largest cities would be entitled on the basis of population is compared with the actual number of congressmen who claim residence in each city.*

Ten Largest Cities	Members of Congress	
	Theoretic Quota	Actual Number
New York	24+	25
Chicago	11	9
Philadelphia	6+	7
Detroit	5+	3
Los Angeles	5	5
Cleveland	3—	2
Baltimore	3—	2
St. Louis	3—	3
Boston	3—	3
Pittsburgh	2+	2

Congressional representation relatively as adequate is to be found among other cities of more than 250,000 population; there being 31 as against a theoretic quota of 32. There is even a slight over-representation among cities of 100,000 to 250,000 as it is more or less characteristic for a congressman to have his home in the largest city in his district. Few cities of 100,000 or more population (Newark, Rochester, and Providence being the largest of these) do not number at least one congressman among their citizens.

The extent to which urban communities

* Some technicalities have to be resolved in arriving at these figures. Congressional districts do not follow municipal lines. Often city wards are grouped with suburban areas. In this table, Representatives are credited to a given city only when their home addresses as given in the Directory of the 78th Congress lie within the post office area served by the city post office. A resident of a suburb elected from a partially urban district would not be counted. If suburban population is added to the urban population, and all Representatives elected from districts including parts of large cities are credited to the cities, the light under-representation indicated in the table would be corrected.

have more equitable representation in Congress than in state legislatures can be tabulated for all cities of 250,000 or more.†

Representation of larger cities	Theoretic quota	Actual number	Percent actual number of quota
In state legislatures	975	711	74
In Congress	98	92	94

This disparity may have a bearing on the preference which large cities have sometimes expressed for direct negotiations with federal officials on many types of urban problems.

And once again it should be remembered that what is true of the larger cities is sub-

† As in previous tabulations, only Representatives actually living within the boundaries of the cities included have been considered as representing urban communities in state legislatures and in Congress.

stantially true, as a class, of all cities of 100,000 or more population.

What of the Southern Cities?

Since states' rights, now revived by the Republicans as a campaign issue, in the past tended to have its doctrinal habitat in the Democratic South, it may be significant to see how cities in that region fare with respect to state legislative and congressional representation.

Large cities have always played a smaller part in southern economy than they do in the North. Only New Orleans comprises more than 20 percent of the population of the state in which it is situated. Today, seven other southern cities (Houston, Atlanta, Louisville, Dallas, Memphis, Birm-



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ingham, and San Antonio) have more than 250,000 population.

Examination of the legislative directories of southern states indicates that, with the exception of New Orleans and Louisville, all these cities suffer under-representation in state legislatures to a degree fairly exceeding that reported for the 36 largest cities in the United States. But they all have congressional representation appropriate to their population.

Representation of seven largest southern cities	Theoretic quota	Actual number	Percent actual number of quota
In state legislatures	120	81	67.5
In Congress	9	9	100

Thus state discrimination against cities in legislative representatives is found to exist even where the states' rights issue, up to now, has had its greatest strength. Moreover, as regional differences diminish, the nationwide fraternity of interest among cities is bound to induce coordinate action on the part of the chief southern cities alongside cities of comparable influence in other sections. Witness the mayor of Louisville whom I have quoted as a proponent of direct federal aid to cities in the mid-Thirties.

Cities and Parties

One important element has intentionally been omitted from this discussion. That is party politics. The manipulation of legislative apportionment is part of the tactics of political maneuvering when it assures a party, dominant in one section of a state, greater legislative influence than is warranted by its proportional strength in the voting population as a whole.

Nevertheless, dig into the situation deeper and it becomes clear that discrimination against urban communities in legislative apportionment cannot be explained wholly on the ground that the party in power in rural areas has tried to obtain an unfair advantage over urban voters.

Even where one party controls both the urban and rural areas the same conditions exist and they are seldom changed when that control shifts. Chicago was just as decidedly under-represented in the days of Big Bill Thompson and the Republican state regime, in which he played a prominent part, as it is now when the city is predominantly Democratic while the rest of the state tends to vote Republican. Under-represented Atlanta is just as much a Democratic stronghold as rural Georgia.

Neither can the fact that the New Deal has received major support from urban areas account wholly for present team play between the federal government and the municipalities. Some of the most insistent bids for federal-municipal collaboration have come from communities in conservative Republican hands.

Forecast

My analysis has not been made in any spirit of opposition to the point of view which holds that to strengthen the authority of the states is desirable in order to prevent excessive centralization of power in the federal government. Rather, no position has been taken on the issue of states' rights, as such, although the personal views of the

writer favor, in principle, the fullest possible use of the state as a responsible focus of governmental activities.

What I have written is in the nature of a prediction that large cities are likely to exert an influence which will prevent effective efforts to reestablish state supremacy.

This prediction is founded on the belief that the accretion of power in the federal government is at least in part a by-product of the growth of urbanism—with its special problems not shared by less populous areas. With industry, transportation, and communication transcending state lines, the modern city has both grown as a focus of self-government in its own right and has developed interests which make it inevitable that there should be direct relationships between the city and the federal government. This trend has been accentuated—but not primarily caused—by discriminations against large cities in state legislative apportionment in contrast to the more equitable distribution of congressional representation.

Many considerations have led such cities to seek help from the federal government in solving problems attributed to nationwide conditions. And the federal government has responded with increasing frequency. Many of the situations in which municipalities have sought federal aid have occurred because city officials professed to believe that the states would not have been willing, or financially able, to legislate on the problems concerned except under the stimulus of federal leadership and grants-in-aid. In such cases, cities tend to prefer dealing directly with a federal agency than to be forced to accept the intermediacy of a state agency.

This process is likely to spread unless the states and cities realize that there is no real conflict of interest between country and city, and are prepared to deal equitably, courageously, and adequately with one another.

And why not? Large cities and their inhabitants are, after all, integral parts of their respective states. Both are vital to the nation—and the American way of life.

REMAKING MEN

(Continued from page 414)

attention, they cannot be handled by the doctor alone. Recent legislation providing for increased activities by the U. S. Public Health Service, especially in preventive medicine, should be of considerable value.

Many other social and economic influences must be called into play if a favorable environment is to be created for the recovery of the psychiatrically and psychosomatically wounded. For instance, it is important to prepare the family for any change that may have occurred in the soldier, and to make his transition to the life of a busy and responsible civilian as easy as possible. Obviously the presence or absence of a sufficient number and variety of opportunities for employment will make a tremendous difference.

The emotional attitudes of returned servicemen and women may play a determining

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role in the country's political and economic policies for many years to come. If we are to be confronted with the resentments and aggressions of millions of infantile personalities who are frustrated in any attempt to return to a useful and wholesome part in civilian life, the consequences may be extremely serious.

Human material of this sort would be ready-made for the demagogue, and group hostility probably would be increased, both on the domestic scene and internationally. Racial and religious minorities undoubtedly would suffer. It would be far more difficult to strengthen the democratic process or to attain rational solutions of public problems.

Breaking the Habit of Being Sick: On the other side of the medical picture, the first point of importance is treatment of the psychiatrically disabled as quickly as possible after their breakdown and at a time when the pathological trends can be more easily reversed. Once this requirement has been met, the next desideratum is to get them out of bed and out of the hospital in the shortest possible time. This applies to those who have physical injuries and illnesses as well as to those who suffer from emotional troubles.

Few laymen realize the extreme importance, especially in the case of soldiers, of breaking as early as possible the habit of being sick and of accepting the compensations that go with illness. This is true even in civilian life. A recent experiment in Baltimore at a maternity hospital with an acute shortage of hospital beds is reported to have revealed that no untoward effects followed when mothers were allowed to get up on the third or fourth day after delivery instead of being kept in bed the usual time, ten or twelve days.

Perhaps the most important change in medical procedure developed during this crisis has been a reevaluation of the therapeutic use of rest. In the *Journal of the American Medical Association* for August 19, 1944, the "abuse of rest" as a therapeutic measure is discussed in relation to cardiovascular diseases, orthopedics, surgery, obstetrics, and even to psychiatry.

Psychiatrists know that the recovery of many patients is retarded by what is called a secondary illness gain; that is, by the desire to be taken care of and the disinclination to resume the responsibilities and conflicts which arise from contact with the work-a-day world. This obstacle to recovery is to be particularly guarded against in the case of persons receiving compensation as long as they are ill—compensation which will cease if they recover.

Failure to help patients who are ill in this way has been recognized in the years between the two wars, but too little has been done about it. One reason for this is that the major responsibility has been left to the physicians who have too little time and who, in addition, have not learned that their job does not end with the setting of the bone. In the *New York State Journal of Medicine* for August 15, 1944, Dr. Lewis R. Wolberg remarks:

... Goals and objectives of adequate psycho-

therapy involve not merely a dissipation of symptoms, but a reintegration of the patient as a working unit in society to a point where he can function successfully in his relationships with the others. . . .

The criterion of a real mental cure lies in a replacement of neurotic character strivings with those which will enable him to relate himself productively and creatively to his environment. . . . The individual must evolve into a free moral agent who has the ability and willingness to make his own decisions and to take the consequences of his own acts.

If this goal is to be achieved, more responsibility must be assumed by the community and there must be better cooperation between social agencies.

This fact was recognized during the last war also, but it was inconsistently handled. The returning soldier incapacitated as a result of emotional shock was too frequently blamed for his condition and he was turned loose in the community to fend for himself. On the other hand, the soldier returned with a diagnosable illness often was immobilized and made an invalid when his quickest way to recovery and happiness would have been a return to activity and responsibility in the community.

Today, the tendency is to regard the physical and emotional handicaps with equal objectivity (not moral attitudes) and through a combination of diagnosis and treatment, and improved social regulations, to offer each person disabled or confused by illness the greatest possible help in resuming a creative life in the community.

PAY BY THE YEAR
(Continued from page 422)

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The plan is simple enough in outline. The company studied its records and ascertained how many hours of labor it took to get out a given tonnage of production in a year, and proceeded to pay this budgeted labor cost in fifty-two equal instalments. If the employes produced more tonnage than budgeted, there would be a bonus, the company announced.

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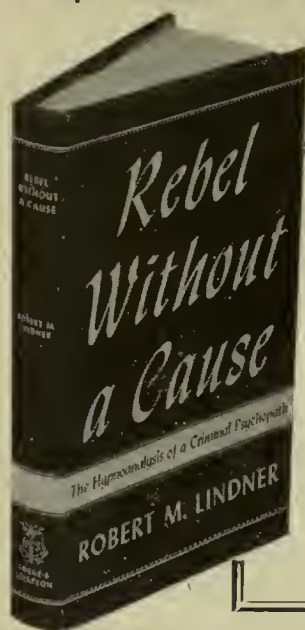
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"Undertaken only as stop gaps, these products have become a substantial part of our business," says Jay Hormel, head of the company.

Austin, a town of 20,000, has benefited visibly by the annual wage plan. Home building increased, local retail business steadied. Austin grew 49 percent during the depression decade, an astonishing record. The Hormel Company is the town's only industry.

An Impressive Roster

Study of ten years production of the Nunn-Bush Shoe Co., of Milwaukee showed that the employes received 19.46 cents out of each dollar of sales. Henry L. Nunn decided to call it 20 cents and guarantee it on a 52-week basis.

Nunn-Bush handles each worker's pay as it does a salesman's drawing account, striking a periodical balance between the drawing account and the actual earnings. The independent employes' union retains a certified public accountant to verify the figures and also to explain to the workers the exact financial status at any given moment.

The list of notably successful companies which have taken steps in this direction is impressive. Sears Roebuck since 1939 has extended its constant wage plan to 10,000 employes. If an employe works less than 40 hours in any week, the company advances to him the difference between his income for the hours actually worked and 40 hours. Such advances are called "debt hours."

If next week he works over 40 hours, he is paid in cash for all the hours over 40 which are not used to cancel out the debt hours. Time and one-half is paid for each hour worked above 40; or, in other words, 2 overtime hours cancel out 3 debt hours.

International Harvester, Eastman Kodak, Standard Oil of California, Westinghouse, Lincoln Electric, Merck, Oneilla, Ltd., Atlantic Refining, Armstrong Cork, the Namm department store in Brooklyn, Wrigley, Quaker Oats, Spiegel, Inc., are among the concerns which have taken some sort of step in one or more departments in the direction of stabilizing pay or employment. They do not have the annual wage, but they have been experimenting with longer range ideas than merely an hourly wage.

General Motors shrinks from the name "annual wage"; but in 1939 it adopted an "income security" plan which at one time reached 81,500 workers. Under it, the company assured the employe with five years service that his minimum weekly income would be at least 60 percent of his standard earnings. "Standard" was 40 hours at his latest base rate. If it fell below the minimum, the company advanced enough to bring it up to 60 percent of standard. The advance carried no interest, and was repaid only in work.

This plan, in essence a banking operation by the company for the employe, was not abandoned, but was overrun by vastly

increased work. Of recent years, there just hasn't been any substandard earning.

Essential Steps

Yale University made a study of workers' preferences—would they prefer lower but regular wages, or higher but irregular pay? Ninety percent of all workers questioned said they would prefer the lower but regular pay.

The American Management Association, after long study, lays down a dozen requirements for a successful wage guarantee among them:

It must be possible to forecast the company's annual volume with accuracy; seasonal fluctuations must be leveled off; there must be a continuous search for new products; the plan must be adequately explained to employes; it must be introduced gradually and only after thorough study. (Reason for careful advance study, of course, is to preclude the serious effect of adopting such a plan and being unable to continue it.)

Despite obstacles in some businesses, the annual wage is hound to spread, because experience in many cases proves it good business for the company, for the workers, for the community.

THREE R's FOR PVT. PETE

(Continued from page 421)

beginning readers has written the following sentences on the blackboard:

Soldiers get paid by the army.
We also get food and uniforms.
To get paid we sign the payroll.
We buy many things with our money.
She calls on a man about thirty-five years old. He hesitates and she suggests: "Perhaps you would like to start at the bottom and work up, for a change?"

"Oh, no." He proceeds to read the sentences without stumbling, though halting between words like a very young child. Then he gives his own explanation:

"What I know, I know by heart. I have read through the book so many times, I can go on all the way through."

"But that's not the way we want you to learn," the teacher explains. "You must learn to know the word wherever you find it. You did well, spotting words yesterday. We'll practice spot reading again."

The instructor explains disparity in the students' showing: "While these men are placed according to their abilities, after they have been tested to find their level, some are more responsive than others. If a soldier shoots ahead of his group, he is promoted to a more advanced one."

New Textbooks

The Army Reader tells the story of Pvt. Pete as he gets an identification tag, is assigned a bed, a barrack laundry bag, a complete uniform, a locker. There is a sketch for each item, each action. Starting with the bugler sounding reveille, Pvt. Pete in the Reader goes through a typical day in his own life, which includes a shower, shav-

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

ing, eating at the mess, making his bed, landing inspection, drilling, doing his turn at kitchen police, surveying the post, making a trip to the post exchange, going to the movies, writing a letter, and tumbling into his bunk to the sound of taps.

Even the Army Arithmetic has lively illustrations showing bullets, beds, barracks, guns and soldiers added, subtracted, divided, and multiplied. Though he begins by learning to count, in time the soldier student learns to solve such pertinent problems as: "Pete went to the camp movies 5 times last month. He spent 15 cents each time. How much money did he spend for movies last month?"

Psychologists are continually grading all material used so that they may be sure of the accuracy of their measuring sticks. They want to know that they are not going too fast—or too slowly—for the level of the group.

Pvt. Pete's education has broader trends. He has another reader which tells the story of the United Nations, an American history from 1492 to the present day. Pete has his own periodicals published by the War Department: *Newsmag* (special edition) and *Our War*, with pictures and stories on the progress of the war, the traditions, courtesies, customs, and significance of the various regular army units, and a display of their weapons. There are tales of prominent men in army and civil life, of work done on the home front, a column on our good neighbor policies. There are two pages of funnies showing the ambitions, achievements, dreams and hopes of Pvt. Pete as he becomes Marksman Pete.

There are many reasons for adult literacy, despite the educational facilities of this rich, enlightened nation. The illiterate draftee may have lived always isolated from town and school, under circumstances which do not require reading, writing and arithmetic. With sufficient native intelligence he can grasp the news and get his entertainment from the radio and at the movies when he goes to town. But he can see no reward for the disciplined labor of education. Poverty, his need to work at an early age, lack of home pressure or example are part of the picture. In some communities the educational system is at fault, because it allows the slow learners to be carried along through the fourth, fifth and even sixth grades although they have never learned to read and write.

There is a small group literate in their own tongues, but illiterate in English—functional illiterates, the army calls them—largely Chinese and Mexicans, with a scattering of Polish and Italians recently migrated to this country.

In the army, these men are confronted for the first time with a train schedule. They must pay for things and count their change. They are responsible for written army orders, daily bulletin board notices. They want to write letters home, and to hear from home. Lack of communication becomes a sudden threat. This, then, is the spur to their quick learning.

And how does the army determine who is illiterate? Automatically it gives each in-



ductee with less than a high school education a literacy test. If he passes a non-language test to determine whether or not he has the capacity to learn, he is given a reading placement test at entrance to the Special Training Unit. If he fails to answer correctly seven out of seventeen questions, he is designated an illiterate.

At the Special Training Unit he must recognize pictures and be able to print or write the appropriate word symbol and understand the functional use of the object pictured. A passing score places him in the regular reading group where he stays for two weeks. Again he is tested. If his score is 21 or better, he goes on to Part II of the Reader, and so on. If his score is 21 or better on his final reading achievement test, and 45 or better in arithmetic, he is graduated. His vocabulary now includes 750 basic words plus the most common military terms. After sixteen weeks of instruction, should the unit feel a man will not be useful to the army, it recommends his honorable discharge.

Pvt. Pete Reclaimed

The soldier who graduates is now given another army classification test, and sent back to the reception center. Here he starts with an obvious edge on the newly inducted soldier, though he is "processed" as if he had never been in the service. His advantage and new confidence give him a lift he has probably never known before. Seventy percent of these reclaimed men jump a full grade or better. One man was known to jump from grade 5 to grade 2.

The unit at Fort Sheridan has 39 classrooms, 105 instructors, and several hundred trainees. Known as 1672nd STU, it is commanded by Col. W. L. Krighbaum of Decatur, Ill., and supervised by officer instructors and psychologists with advanced university training and appropriate teaching and testing experience.

As Col. John T. Rhett, post commander at Fort Sheridan points out: "The effect of reeducating and reclaiming this good soldier material is, in the long run, far-reaching and unpredictable." For Pvt. Pete, illiterate, has become Pvt. Peter, combat soldier, Army of the United States, allowed to serve his country, in war and in peace, "according to his abilities."

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To Every SURVEY Reader:

October 1, 1944.

LET ME INVITE YOU, at the threshold of our fall quarter, to become a \$10 Cooperating Member of Survey Associates.

This, also, is the outset of a new publishing season. Around our staff table we have been confronting some of the claims on our work of inquiry and interpretation—claims which take on fresh urgency and significance with the war swinging into its decisive phases in both hemispheres.

Thus, last month we brought out AMERICAN PLOUGH-SHARES—fourth of our annual *Midmonthly* specials—to reinforce the current fund-raising campaigns on which hang much of the work of American voluntary agencies, at home and overseas, in this crucial period of transition. As I write, reprints and issues to the tune of 60,000 copies are being used as educational yeast in communities the country over.

Thus, in the field of government action, we have followed the work of UNRRA since its inception. This past month, its Montreal conference was a call on our coverage with its canvass of immediate moves for relief and rescue, health and welfare, in the wake of the armies of deliverance. This new stage in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will be interpreted in *Survey Graphic* for November by Herbert H. Lehman, director general.

* * *

IN THE larger framework of our "franchise"—as publishers say—our CALLING AMERICA series of *Graphic* specials (1939-1944) have illuminated situations, here and abroad, not only charged with urgent social and economic concern, but prophetic of things to be faced when peace comes.

Today, these last have insistence in our own calendar of work, as the United States heads in toward the demobilization of service men and war workers, and must reckon with the human impacts of war casualties and industrial reconversion. It is for us to draw

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on resilient leadership in engineering and law, business and labor, education, medicine and psychiatry, private social work and public welfare. For us to ventilate issues taking shape with respect to full employment and social security, wages and living costs, health and rehousing, to say nothing of clashes over federal, state, local control.

Our penchant, as you know, is not only to come to grips with such controversial issues in process, but to search out invention and constructive demonstrations. Take our *Graphic* series on "Healing Waters for a Wounded Earth," which explore the great watersheds as vantage ground for postwar reconstruction. Or take what the staff is turning over in its mind—a sheaf of articles at New Year's on the social implications of new tools struck off during the war. They range from synthetic rubber, plasma, penicillin—to revolutions in household equipment and air transport.

* * *

THE RANK and file of Cooperating Members have been our prime source of strength in projecting plans to serve these critical years—seeing us through the first tough stretch after Pearl Harbor and helping us carry conviction since as to the wartime worth of such work.

New readers have expanded what we call our "educational reach." The first six months this year brought us new "highs" in average subscriptions—15,515 on *Survey Midmonthly* against 14,000 in 1943; 33,347 on *Survey Graphic* against 28,025.

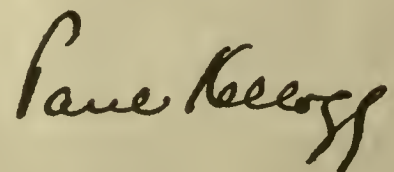
In the winter quarter, our *Midmonthly* special on JUVENILE DELINQUENCY ran into 35,000 copies. Our *Graphic* special on AMERICAN RUSSIAN FRONTIERS ran into two editions totalling 65,000, and brought the combined circulation of our CALLING AMERICA series of which this was the ninth to well toward half a million copies.

* * *

IN OUR record for 1944, then, we can enter such creative thrusts for understanding along with our consecutive service, month by month; enter growth in subscribers and members—and this in spite of the fact that we have been sorely pressed throughout and are especially so in bringing our close-drawn budget together by December 31.

That is why your enlistment would be so opportune now. And more besides: it would mean that you would be back of us the next twelve months—with their claims on the best we have to give.

Sincerely,



Editor

NOVEMBER 1944

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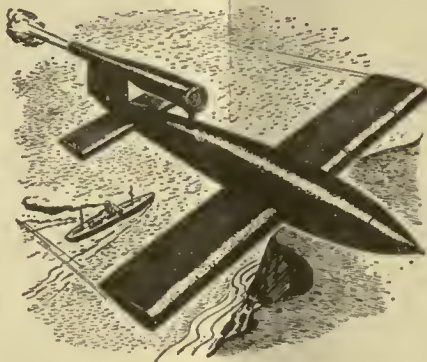
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Q: Is it like a rocket?

A: No. A rocket carries not only its fuel, but also the oxygen needed to burn it. A jet-propelled plane carries fuel for its G-E engine, but takes oxygen from the air as it travels through it. Thus, a rocket might travel to the moon. But a jet-propelled plane could never go beyond the earth's atmosphere.



Q: Is it like the German robot bomb?

A: A little. The robot bomb uses a crude form of jet propulsion. But it hardly compares with a power plant that can drive a combat plane. The G-E jet propulsion engine is the power plant for very fast, very high flying jet-propelled fighter planes. Pilots find these new planes easy to handle.



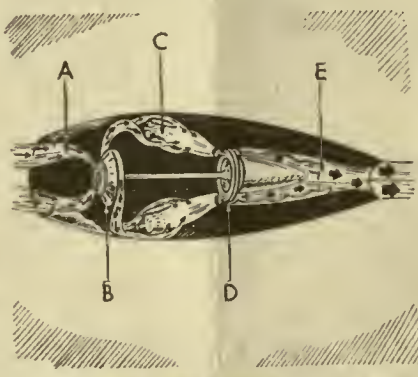
Q: What was G.E.'s part?

A: General Electric engineers developed the jet propulsion engine from an original design by Group Captain Frank Whittle of the R. A. F. General Electric was chosen to design and build this new engine by the Army Air Forces because of G.E.'s long experience with steam turbines and turbosuperchargers.



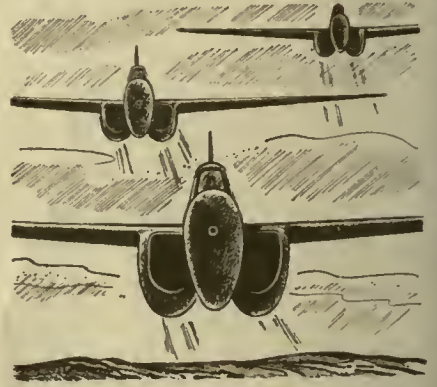
Q: What makes the jet plane go?

A: The same kind of force that makes a toy balloon scurry when it slips from your fingers. The same kind of force that makes a gun kick against your shoulder. The same kind of force that makes a rotary lawn sprinkler turn. In fact, you probably see forms of jet propulsion around you every day.



Q: How does the engine work?

A: Air flows from "A" through the compressor "B" into combustion chamber "C," where it is heated and expanded by burning fuel. Part of this hot gas turns turbine "D," which operates the compressor "B." From here the gas rushes through nozzle "E." The jet from this nozzle drives the plane forward.



Q: What does the jet plane look like?

A: At first glance it looks much like any other plane. But a closer look will show you that the propellers are missing and that there is no sign of conventional engines. The sketch shows the P-59A, built for the Army Air Forces by Bell Aircraft. This plane is powered by two General Electric jet propulsion engines.

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Survey Graphic for November 1944

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RUFUS TERRAL, EDITORIAL WRITER, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and author of "Big Magic for the Big Muddy" (September *Survey Graphic*), reports spreading demand for over-all development of the Missouri Valley. Mr. Terral writes us:

"No fewer than two bills have been proposed in each of the Houses of Congress—the first, by Senator James E. Murray of Montana, the others, by Representative John J. Cochran of Missouri, Senator Guy M. Gillette of Iowa, and Representative John E. Rankin of Mississippi.

"President Roosevelt has called on Congress to create a Missouri Valley Authority; to create, as well, regional authorities for the Arkansas and Columbia River basins.

"*Collier's Weekly* has urged editorially: 'Let's try an MVA,' pointing out that: 'For all the just complaints that have been leveled at some phases of its operation and management, we think it is fair to say that the Tennessee Valley Authority has proved its worth to the nation. . . . The area in which its functions is happier and more prosperous than before TVA; and the change couldn't have been wrought by private enterprise or by a single state government.'

"*The New York Times*, citing the record and present status of the Tennessee Valley Authority as 'the best argument, in principle, for TVA developments on the Missouri, Arkansas and Columbia' adds: 'Unified development, with the federal government doing what only the federal government can do, and with abundant opportunities left for states, local communities, and private individuals, has proved its worth.'

"*The Christian Science Monitor* comments: 'There is . . . a repugnance in some quarters to the establishment of federal "super-states," such as TVA. The only answer to this is the appointment of such men to administer the job as will inspire and retain public confidence. To assert that this cannot be done, and that Americans must eschew progress because they fear their own government, is simply to deny democracy.'

Interestingly enough, there has been double-barreled espousal in St. Louis itself. The *Star-Times* backed an MVA last spring, following the floods. The *Post-Dispatch* initiated and passed the dramatic nine-state challenge to voters.

In Time of Crisis

THE EDITOR: In the July *Survey Graphic* you described the efforts of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission to promote racial and religious cooperation. I want you to know how the commission functioned during the present crisis.

At dawn Tuesday, August 1, Philadelphia's transportation system came to a standstill. Leaders of the so-called strike gave as their reason that the upgrading of Negroes under a directive of the FEPC endangered the seniority of other workers and might prevent returning soldiers from obtaining their former positions.

The seven member agencies of the Fellowship Commission, functioning both as the commission and independently, immediately attempted to mobilize public opinion in protest against the use of prejudice in any employment.

employment, political, or civic issue. The wide community basis of the member organizations accounts for the commission's strength; they are the Federation of Churches, Committee on Race Relations of the Society of Friends, International Institute, Jewish Community Relations Council, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Fellowship House, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

By 9 o'clock Tuesday morning, five of these agencies were serving as information centers, giving all inquirers suggestions of useful things to do. By 10 o'clock, a chain of telephone calls set going hundreds of telegrams and letters to—the President, urging the use of his power to restore service and reduce tension; the mayor, urging a forthright stand; all daily papers, asking strong editorials and fair reporting; officials of the Philadelphia Transportation Company, informing them that white citizens as well as Negro favored democratic employment practices; the Transportation Workers Union and other labor leaders, asking them to make clearer that the union had not called the strike; the Attorney General, requesting a federal grand jury investigation into the causes of the strike.

By 4 o'clock of that first day, a committee representing more than a dozen organizations met with the industrial relations director of

the PTC to protest the company's proposal to back down on the upgrading of Negroes. By 9:30 in the evening, the NAACP and the Metropolitan Council for Equal Job Opportunity began to circulate 100,000 fliers cautioning citizens to keep calm. Later in the week, the Fellowship Commission distributed 50,000 circulars which gave the background of the strike. Cards of instruction were given to 5,000 shopkeepers and neighborhood leaders. Many citizens made street appeals for order and understanding.

Over a year ago, the Fellowship Commission and the police had conferred on methods to be used in the event of racial tension. During the strike, the police were effective yet restrained. Arrests were made quickly and quietly.

Experiences of the commission and the many cooperating groups of citizens reveal a need in such emergencies for: (1) a central city headquarters; (2) a daily bulletin; (3) more adequate use of the radio; (4) more citizens willing to say publicly what they will say privately.

The commissioners humbly admit that they had nothing to do with the greatest aid to law and order on August 2, the long heavy rain. They caution other communities not to depend on similar assistance.

Radnor, Pa. NELLIE LEE BOK



IN AN UNRRA REFUGEE CAMP

Here, two benefit by the skill of a third. For the Yugoslav woman, who is bathing an undernourished little camp newcomer, is learning nursing under the supervision of an experienced American nurse

SURVEY GRAPHIC

Magazine of
Interpretation



Published by
Survey Associates

UNRRA on the March

Camp-follower extraordinary of the liberating forces of the Allies, UNRRA finds itself ready for the word Go. Unity and urgency were keynotes of its recent Montreal session.

HERBERT H. LEHMAN

THE TIME OF PLANNING AND ORGANIZING FOR the relief of liberated peoples is in its final days and weeks. The day of action is at hand. Overshadowing everything else is the need of the people released from tyranny.

These three ideas expressed the sense of delegates from forty-four nations who met at the second session of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council in Montreal in September. Their urgency expressed itself in more than words. There was quick action on the issues before the council, and early adjournment so that the work might proceed at once.

At the first session of the council in Atlantic City last November, the delegations of the United and Associated Nations cherished the hope that liberation of the enemy-occupied countries would come in the near future. In that expectation, they laid the groundwork for cooperation in grappling with the first civilian problems of victory, as these nations have cooperated in solving the military problems of victory.

The ultimate success of our arms is now in sight. True, there is still grim fighting ahead, a heavy price yet to be paid. But the progress of our arms brings us face to face with the duties of merciful, fair, and sensible assistance to peoples who have borne the brunt of the enemy's occupation. This is the first postwar opportunity of those United Nations which have escaped invasion to start the building of a better and a more secure world.

The information brought to Montreal by the national delegations indicates that the need for relief and rehabilitation is tremendous; its urgency grows apace with the rising tide of liberation. In this group of people who know the conditions in their

own lands, there was no illusion about the size and difficulty of the task. They were not misled as to the total picture by reports from some parts of areas already liberated indicating that the suffering and the needs in a particular community or group of communities was less than had been feared. They knew of other situations in which the enemy has been even more ruthless in its treatment of occupied countries than had been known or anticipated.

Need—and Courage

Under international law and as a matter of military necessity, the theater commanders of the United Nations are carrying the first relief supplies to the liberated peoples. This emergency action is of the first importance. These early civilian supplies that come in the train of the liberating forces bridge the way to the broader relief and rehabilitation programs that the civilian authorities will wish to inaugurate when control passes to them.

—By the director general of UNRRA. With the prophetic insight that comes from knowledge, Luther Gulick wrote of the unanimous election of New York's former governor as head of UNRRA *Survey Graphic*, December 1943]: "No one . . . who has known him as an international financier, a life-long director and sponsor of domestic and foreign social agencies, or as a great, though modest governor and administrator, will doubt that he is the ideal man for this important and difficult undertaking. We in New York know . . . his management will be sound, able, patient, and courageous."

It has been soundly believed from the beginning that the national authorities—and the people themselves—in the liberated countries will apply to these transitional problems the same indomitable courage and self-discipline that they have shown in their contribution to the expulsion of the enemy from their soil. What has happened since has been evidence that they will do everything they possibly can. They have been husbanding resources during the long years of occupation. These will be used. They will save some resources from enemy confiscation or destruction. These will be used. They will import the goods which can be obtained with their own foreign exchange resources.

It is a proud thing to be a free nation. This pride is showing itself in preparations for and actual handling of relief and rehabilitation programs by the liberated peoples. Every citizen of the United Nations may well be heartened by steps already taken. Well may we all be proud of this muster of independence and determination.

Yet some of the nations lack foreign exchange resources, or skilled manpower, or local supplies. It does not discount their spirit when they find it necessary to call for aid. The UNRRA Agreement and the program under it give assurance that such aid will be forthcoming from their fellow nations of the free world.

I reported to the council meeting at Montreal that all of the nations to be liberated had requested some degree of assistance from UNRRA. It is apparent that to provide the aid already asked for will severely tax UNRRA resources. So great is the need, so keen the desire for this new type of international service, that it will take very careful management to make the re-

sources match up to the most pressing tasks. It has become plain that recent speculation in some quarters concerning the lack of necessity for the UNRRA program was entirely baseless.

Supplies and Shortages

At the opening session at Montreal, I reported the progress that we had made in the months since the Atlantic City session. That conference had laid down general policies. Guided by those policies, an international staff was recruited and arrangements made for its special training. At the same time our task included the making of literally scores of arrangements with member nations, with the combined military authorities, with the Combined Boards (the Combined Food Board, the Combined Production and Resources Board, the Combined Raw Materials Board). The council received reports from these two over-all agencies*, together with my own summary of the arrangements with the uninvaded countries which are the sources of supply for UNRRA.

The council was satisfied by these progress reports that when the need arises a substantial portion, though unfortunately less than enough, of the supplies required will be forthcoming. The arrangements concluded assure that supplies will be drawn at the appropriate time from the current stream of production and from the stocks which have been accumulated for general war purposes. For some items that might not otherwise be available from later current production or from the general stocks, we have already concluded purchase arrangements. We are encouraging the governments of the liberated and occu-

* Reports from the representatives of the Combined Chiefs of Staff, Lt. Gen. G. N. Macready, United Kingdom member, and Maj. Gen. Glen E. Edgerton, United States member, of the Combined Civil Affairs Committee; and from the Combined Boards, W. L. Batt, United States member of the CPRB, Sir Charles Hambro, the United Kingdom member of the CRMB, and George Paterson, the Canadian member of the CFB.



United Nations Information Office
Starvation in Greece—

ped countries which have their own foreign exchange resources to do likewise.

While, in general, the reports of the Combined Boards indicated that considerable supplies will be available for relief and rehabilitation purposes when the need arises, it was apparent that there will be some serious shortages. The supplies of meats, fats, sugar, and of textiles and clothing are very meager in relation to the world need. Relentless efforts must be undertaken now and continued for the next eighteen months to tap every conceivable source of supply if we are to meet the critical situations of the liberated peoples.

Where You Can Help

It is in this area of supply that the people of the United States and Canada can make helpful individual contributions to the international relief program. In the closets and attics of 30,000,000 homes of the two nations is the greatest immediately available stock of clothing in the world. The wardrobe of the average middle class American family would seem stupendous to the present-day average European family, whose members for five years have been virtually without new clothing. In the last week of September the churches, parishes, and synagogues of the United States cooperated with UNRRA in the collection of wearable, used clothing. The goal was 15,000,000 pounds. This was an emergency stop-gap collection. In midwinter, a coordinated collection bringing together all the resources in the communities of the country will take place. The goal then will be 100,000,000 pounds of clothing. Even if the amount collected should double or triple the goal, all of it could be used to great effect in ameliorating the suffering of liberated people. I know every reader of *Survey Graphic* will throw his energies into this important part of the supply program for postwar relief.

Measuring the supply side of the program in monetary terms, I was able to report to the council that the contributions authorized or well on the way to authorization from the member nations will total just short of \$1,800,000,000. Not all of this is in hand. We are confident that it will be forthcoming as the need appears.

At the start of the meeting, most of the contributions reported were from the United States and the countries of the British Commonwealth. At the conclusion of the session, the first large contribution from one of the Latin American republics was announced. The council member for Brazil, Cyro de Freitas-Valle, Ambassador to Canada, reported that Brazil will make her full contribution of \$30,000,000.

Right after the Montreal session, a mission to the American republics set out from Washington to visit all the 18 member nations in South and Central America and the Caribbean, aside from Brazil. The mission is headed by Dr. Eduardo Santos, former president of Colombia and UNRRA deputy director general for Latin American Liaison, and Laurence Duggan, formerly in charge of the office of American Republic Affairs, the Department of State, who is now assistant diplomatic adviser of UNRRA. This mission will assist the mem-

ber governments to the South of us in setting up their arrangements for providing supplies. But its purpose will include far more. It will spread understanding of the program of UNRRA and the role of each member nation.

In Western Europe and the Balkans

In my report I summed up the position taken by the member nations who have been invaded and who, on liberation, are entitled to UNRRA's assistance if they need it. With respect to the countries of western Europe, most of them have indicated that in their present view the principal assistance they will require in the supply field is aid in facilitating allocations to those governments and their purchases of the supplies they need.

They will, however, require help in the care and repatriation of displaced persons, some aid in health and welfare services, technical aid in health and factory restoration. We took advantage of the organizing and planning period between the two council meetings to start the appointment of UNRRA representatives to serve with the appropriate authorities of these western European governments and with the military forces. During the period of military responsibilities in the wake of liberation, they will help make arrangements for providing such assistance as these countries will require at the end of the military period. In my report I stressed the necessity of the western European governments' early anticipation of their requirements should the situation eventually prove to be less favorable than they now forecast.

With respect to areas in eastern Europe I was able to express the expectation that arrangements can soon be made to provide urgently needed relief. Negotiations are in progress with supplying and shipping authorities for quick dispatch to those areas when the military situation permits.

The position of UNRRA in relation to



United Nations Information Office
—and desolation in Poland

relief in the lower Balkans—Greece, Yugoslavia, and Albania—is well established. Arrangements are set up with the military authorities for assistance from UNRRA during the period of their responsibility for civilian relief. The agreements with the national authorities for UNRRA cooperation in the post-military period are in the final stages of completion. We have recruited a staff of more than 600, some already in the Middle East, the others awaiting transportation, who have received training in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Besides this staff of UNRRA employees, the voluntary relief organizations of various nations have provided a substantial number of workers. The Councils of Voluntary Agencies established in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States, coordinating the various relief organizations for their respective countries, have furnished over 250 of their most experienced and highly trained people. The majority of these are in Cairo, from where they will move into the Balkans, along with the administration, and assist in furnishing the basic relief services needed in that area. This extremely effective cooperation, the broad principles of which are set forth in a special agreement between the voluntary agencies and UNRRA, has been of immeasurable assistance. The personnel thus made available to UNRRA has facilitated its difficult job of selection and made it possible for the administration to rely on devoted field workers already tried and proven at their task.

For five months UNRRA has managed camps in the Middle East for 50,000 displaced persons, mainly Greeks and Yugoslavs. At Montreal we announced the establishment of a new camp, which in time may have a capacity of 40,000.

Beginnings in the Far East

While we have been dealing with these pressing matters of arrangements for relief in liberated Europe, the planning for the Far Eastern program has proceeded, though at a slower tempo. Now it must be accelerated. I was able to announce at Montreal, with the approval of the member governments concerned, the establishment of an UNRRA office in Chungking and one in Sydney.

The Chungking office will carry on and develop the work that was begun by UNRRA's special mission to China earlier this year. The staff of the office will assist the appropriate authorities of the Chinese government in preparing for the tremendous problems it faces. That government's commission on relief and rehabilitation early in October issued its tentative report on probable requirements. This indicated a need for upwards of \$3,500,000,000 worth of goods and services in the first eighteen months after the end of hostilities. It was apparent that UNRRA's resources could be for only part of this need. However, we intend to bring to bear every assistance available. Some forty experts from China have just arrived in the United States for special training. Some will go to Canada; and our hope is that most of them will observe and take part in relief and rehabili-



A tent camp, under UNRRA management, on the eastern side of the Suez Canal houses some 20,000 refugees. Below, skilled Yugoslav workers make shoes for fellow refugees



tation work in Europe before returning to their native land to help cope with the relief tasks of postwar China.

The office in Australia will assist in planning for relief in the areas in the Far East which can best be served from that coign of vantage.

The discussion of the reports at Montreal was illuminating to anyone interested in the cause of collaboration among the United Nations. The representatives of sixteen countries spoke. Every one of them ex-

pressed the determination of his nation to make the UNRRA program work. The member of the council from the United Kingdom, Richard K. Law, Minister of State, epitomized the views of all nations, I think, when he said:

"If this, the first venture in practical peacetime cooperation among the United Nations, fails, nothing is going to succeed. Problems of even wider import than those we are discussing here will remain unsolved. Problems of military security and



Language class for UNRRA field staff at the University of Maryland training center

political security, problems of social betterment and economic stability—all these problems will be unsolved unless the United Nations show themselves capable of solving this more limited problem which faces us now.

"Believe me, Mr. Chairman, cooperation among the United Nations cannot be selective. You cannot pick and choose the subjects on which you are going to cooperate. We have got to cooperate over the whole field. If we do not do that, I greatly fear we shall not in the event be able to cooperate over any part of it.

"So, it seems to me we must insure the success of UNRRA, not for the sake of UNRRA; we must insure the success of UNRRA for the sake of cooperation among the United Nations as a whole. We must, in short, insure the success of UNRRA and of this conference for the sake of the whole future structure of world peace and well-being in the world of men."

There were some healthy criticisms expressed in the discussion—criticisms of failure by nations to respond promptly; criticisms of UNRRA's administrative and personnel shortcomings—but these were advanced as a means of suggesting actions that had to be taken in order to make the program succeed. The success of the program was the paramount objective throughout.

Having marked out this vigorous line, the council proceeded to act on it. In five days the committees completed their work on all items of the agenda. In two more days the council acted on the committee reports, set the new lines of policy to follow, and adjourned.

The council dealt with a large volume of business in this short time. It framed and accepted nineteen resolutions. Some of these related to business and procedural

matters. The budget for administrative expense was fixed at \$11,500,000 for 1945. Because of an unexpended balance of \$4,000,000 which will remain from the 1944 payments, the new funds to be contributed (by all the member nations) will total \$7,500,000. The Russian share, at the request of the USSR delegation, was reduced from 15 to 10 percent of the administrative budget. The United States share continues at 40 percent of the administrative budget, the British at 15 percent.

Seven resolutions dealt with important

but routine procedural matters, such as the acceptance of reservations attached by the United States Congress to the legislation authorizing U. S. participation in UNRRA, adoption of a seal, waiving of the requirement for a second session of the council in 1944, and so on.

The council reserved to itself decision on admission of new member nations, authorizing the central committee to admit only Denmark—in case she should apply for admission before the next session. The council authorized important extensions and clarifications in the scope of the administration's operations—with respect to displaced persons and with respect to the territory in which operations of specified nature may be carried on.

Aid to a Former Enemy

The greatest public attention was drawn to approval of a limited program of aid for Italian people. The council directed that aid be given to displaced persons and in medical and public health activities, and that supplemental care be afforded children and nursing and expectant mothers. The care of children and mothers will probably account for two thirds of the expenditure by UNRRA, the development of medical activities and aid to displaced persons for one third. The total expenditure is not to exceed \$50,000,000.

The council undertook no responsibility for food, clothing, or other needs of the Italian population aside from the groups listed—the sick, displaced persons, children, mothers. UNRRA funds will not be used to substitute for, or diminish the supplies necessary for the subsistence of the civilian population, which are maintained through other channels.

The discussion of this resolution was one of the most moving things in my experience.
(Continued on page 470)



Special instruction in nutrition at the American training center

The Nazis' Last Front

Their days at home are numbered. Interviews, confidential reports, broadcasts, cables, letters, point to how they are losing their grip on the German people.

PAUL HAGEN

SINCE THE ALLIED INVASION HAD GAINED ground from the North Sea to the Vosges, the blackout over Germany began to lift. Here and there you could see streaks of early light."

Groggy, but with fight in them yet, the Nazi leadership had boasted in early fall that they had thrown a miracle. They pretended, at home and abroad, that they had stopped the war short of the inner fortress of the Reich; had stabilized the western front for a long stalemate comparable to that in World War I.

This article deals not with the military situation but with the last front the Nazis face—at home. For they claimed the German people were united with them in a holy war to save the sacred soil of the Fatherland; that "traitors" were being wiped out; that, this time, there would be no "stab in the back"—as in 1918—on the home front.

In sections from which Hitler's armies might have to withdraw as the war progressed, Goebbels proclaimed that "the enemy must be prepared to find a fanatical population . . . which will harass him without pause."

Himmler's *Schwarzes Korps* threatened that death would be "lurking behind every street corner, wherever the Allies penetrate German territory." Death also would await any German who dared to cooperate with any Allied civil administration. The *S.* organ continued: "No functionary will be able to follow the enemy's orders without certainty that soon thereafter he will be huddled cold and stiff behind his desk. No one will execute the enemy's will without a grave opening behind him."

Aachen, for Example

These "idle boasts and frightful words" have since been gainsaid by events. Take that one correspondent, Russell Hill of the *New York Herald Tribune*, cabled on September 19 as "The Amazing Story of Aachen." This German city has a thousand years of history, for once it was the capital of Charlemagne who set the medieval pattern for western Europe. In modern times, it became a center of textile and metal production, with a prewar population of 165,000, predominantly industrial workers. More especially, this urban community, hard to the Belgian border, was in the path of the Allied armies. As such, it was to feel the sacrifice of German cities which the Nazis were prepared to make to stall invasion.

Aachen fell in mid-October before the crushing power of American men and armor. But there was a time a month earlier when Aachen was a passive No-Man's Land. That was for two days—September 14 to 15—when Nazi forces had withdrawn. "The people," wrote Mr. Hill, "thought the end

of Nazi rule had come and went around congratulating each other on being free. Pictures of Hitler were torn down and thrown in the streets."

He cabled that, on September 9, the German general commanding the Aachen district had asked the local Nazi party to evacuate its civilians. Himmler, chief by then of both army and police, came to Aachen in person to forbid it, but a day or two later women, children under sixteen, and men over sixty were told to leave. As in other places thereabouts, it was resident Nazis who first scuttled for safety—officials, police, and all those who had to fear the coming of Allied troops. Others did not go—ordinary people, including women and children and old men. As this American correspondent sized it up, they clearly were more afraid of the Nazis than of the enemy.

Over half of those requested to leave ignored the order and stayed. Expecting Allied occupation any moment, they made preparations accordingly. They chose a new mayor, Herr Kuetkens, curator of the museum, well known as an anti-Nazi.

But, the Americans did not come and, on September 16, Nazi reinforcements arrived "to the consternation," according to Mr. Hill, "of the people who had openly declared themselves against the Nazis." Party officials returned with the troops and many civilians went into hiding in "pillboxes, cellars, and natural caves." The Nazis tried to force them to leave by turning off electric, gas, and water supplies, but still people stayed. The *Herald Tribune* correspondent explained this popular reluctance in part by a natural unwillingness of citizens to leave

their homes with only the thirty pounds of luggage they were permitted to take. More, they preferred the risk of battle to the lot of evacuees under the Nazis. Finally on September 18, units of brown shirts and other troops arrived and began forcibly to clear them out of pillboxes and other hide-outs. At the time of General Hodges' ultimatum on October 10, we are told that only one out of ten of the civilians remained.

Summing up the meaning of the Aachen events, these indicated, to Mr. Hill's mind, "the growing extent to which the Nazi party is losing its grip over the German people." He called theirs "the first instance from inside Germany of large scale passive resistance to the Nazi command."

Such happenings had duplicates in small towns and villages around Aachen. Henry P. Gorell, United Press correspondent, reported from Kornelimuenster on September 15 that he "found working class men and women happy that the Nazis have left. I asked a railroad man if he thought the German people would respond to the Fuehrer's appeal to fight on as guerrillas. . . . He said, 'Ninety-five percent will ignore it.'" That was one German's estimate of civil disobedience in the face of Himmler's promise of death.

In a dispatch to the *New York Post* that same day, Robert J. Casey encountered a parish priest in a town near Aachen. Standing before his church in the village square, he welcomed the occupying troops: "While I am glad you have come," he said, "I am ashamed for Germany. . . . They (the Nazis) arrested me as early as 1934 because I dared to speak out. . . . For eleven years I have never been free from fear."

Here is what NBC correspondent James Cassidy said, broadcasting after the Americans had broken through the frontier from Luxembourg early in mid-September. "This afternoon the troops of the First American Army passed through an unnamed town in the vicinity of Trier and, instead of resistance, they were greeted with an uproarious welcome by German civilians who threw flowers to them from baskets. . . ."

Fraternization: Plus and Minus

Such demonstrations were not repeated everywhere. Thus, there was wide publicity of an incident at Eupen where women cheered captured German soldiers when these were marched past to the Allied rear. But Eupen has a special history of intense nationalism. It had come under Belgian rule in 1918 and Hitler had taken it back to incorporate "forever" in the Third Reich. Time will show, I believe, that Aachen, with ten times the inhabitants of Eupen, is more characteristic of the Catholic and labor-minded Rhineland and of the people of western Germany as a whole.

—By the author of "Underground Germany," *Survey Graphic* for March, 1939. This was based on daring trips in and out of Hitler's Reich as liaison between the cadres of the underground movement and its outpost headquarters in the democracies.—By the author, also, of "Between Despair and Hope," *Survey Graphic* for April, 1940, which carried the story forward and told how common people reacted to Hitler's war.

Both articles were signed simply "Y"—to protect fellow workers in Germany as he shuttled back and forth.

In 1942, Harper's brought out Mr. Hagen's "Will Germany Crack?"—a book reprinted and widely circulated in England. In 1944 came its sequel, "Germany After Hitler" (Farrar & Rinehart).

It is against this background of personal experience and extraordinary sources (see page 443) that he makes his distinctive assessment here of forces at work this fall in Germany.

Farther afield, on September 11, a few days before the Aachen events, a New York *Times* correspondent, George Axelsson, cabled that newspaper from Stockholm that American fliers, transported through Hamburg for repatriation on the Gripsholm, were cheered in what is left of the streets there, by citizens of that most bombed city of the Reich.

But three weeks after Russell Hill's Aachen dispatch, Drew Middleton of the New York *Times* told of the stolid if not sullen attitude met with among resident Germans by American troops in the region around this same Aachen district. In the meantime, significantly enough, the London radio of September 24 had reported an order of the commander of the American First Army, Lt. Gen. Courtney Hodges, forbidding his men to fraternize with the German civilian population on the ground that measures to insure the safety of the troops must be rigidly enforced. To quote:

"American troops are forbidden to visit the homes of German civilians, to dine with them, or to buy from them. The German people individually and collectively are your enemies."

Nevertheless, the townsfolk neighboring Aachen definitely did not show any itching to leave. When, on October 7, the nearby village of Buebach was taken in a heavy battle, Mr. Middleton cabled: "The Americans are encountering hundreds of German civilians. . . . They have remained at home despite German orders to evacuate beyond the Rhine."

Some observers grant a measure of truth and sincerity in the Aachen demonstrations, but see them for the most part as efforts on the part of people caught in a trap to ingratiate themselves with Allied authorities and correspondents. Others put it in American vernacular: that more and more Germans everywhere realize that they bet on the wrong horse and are willing to "tear up the ticket" and try to borrow carfare home from the winners.

Three Kinds of Evidence

Yet, from the "rubble heap near Potsdam," have come recent reports on Berlin by Swiss and Swedish travelers. Those I have read seem in general agreement on two points: that the destruction wrought by Allied bombing on the German capital has been indescribable; that, notwithstanding, there is no general hatred of the Americans and British among the common people who live in the ruins. We are told how Nazi zealots during the raids failed in their efforts to incite the people in the shelters against the Allies.

To the minds of such travelers, the hatred that glows under the ashes of discomfiture and despair, is hatred for the Nazi gang—for its intransigents and their closest followers. Here, again, more often than not, they reckon these hated elements as accounting today for no more than 5 percent of the population.

When it comes to the remaining 95 percent, we are dealing with numbers too vast, in a situation too clouded, for easy generalizations. But the testimony by American correspondents and neutral observers

makes altogether clear the hollowness of the Nazi claim that a fanatical people are ready to die in their holy war; much less ready, also, to keep on in a guerrilla conflict after defeat of their armies. This is negative evidence.

More positive evidence is the terror unchained against Germans whenever and wherever the Nazis are in control. They have publicized their vengeance against "traitors" whom they identify with the leadership of the opposition. But they have treated the outside world with silence as to campaigns of mass persecution since launched against anti-Nazis among all sorts and conditions of men.

The evidence that will carry even more reassurance to Americans would be unmistakable clues to a real resistance movement in the face of terrorism. Let me take up these things in turn.

Purge of the Generals

By July the German system of conquest was crumbling. On the eastern front whole armies had been overrun by the vast counter-offensives of the Russians. Numerous German generals and other high officers had been captured there only to turn up later at Moscow as members of a Free Germany Committee which had been organized there around General von Seydlitz. To the south, Allied armies were slogging their way up the Italian peninsula. No single defeat, not even that at Stalingrad, had impressed people in Germany so deeply as the break-through of the Atlantic Wall by the massive invasion at the west under General Eisenhower.

Overhead, the bombing of German industrial centers was in full blast. Underneath, reserves in men, materials or morale were dwindling and rumors of a German Badoglio putsch were rife. Even the British Prime Minister hinted at a palace revolution, a possible generals' revolt in Germany.

Then, on July 20, the Fuehrer himself screamed into the radio that an attempt had been made against his life, that a "small clique of traitors" were bent on setting up a counter-government and capitulating to the plutocratic enemy.

Even now we do not know the real facts behind the bomb explosion at Hitler's army headquarters. The strands of alleged plots and counterplots are badly snarled and it is dubious whether the truth will be known until the Nazis are dislodged. But three months later, nothing is clearer than the way the Nazis have exploited the event to get things into their own hands for a last ditch fight for survival.

Repeatedly, they have used the cry of treason to whip up morale for their own purposes. In February 1933, this was the technique the Nazis employed to clinch their fight for power in the German Republic—in the Reichstag fire. In June 1934, this was the technique they used to stabilize their tyranny—in killing their radical wing. In preparing for war a few years later, this was their technique in instigating their anti-Jewish murder campaigns. Last July, this was again their technique on the eve of an Allied invasion and their own downfall.

This time the "traitors" were men hith-

erto allied with them—field marshals and generals, surviving remnants of the Hindenburg clique, and other reactionaries who still held posts in the commanding heights of the administration. The Nazi loudspeakers cried out against the "swing of the blueblooded aristocracy" and tried to make it look like a civil war threatened from above, with the Hitlerites in the role of guardians of the common people.

Was There a Generals' Revolt?

The unprecedented hanging of a Prussian field marshal was not only a grim gesture of debasement directed at the high command. Among the seven other officers hanged with Witzleben were several who bore the names of the oldest Junker families. Himmler had hardly taken over full command of the German army before S.S. Elite Troop generals were sent to replace "unreliable" commanders on all fronts. In France alone, twenty-five of these died or disappeared. Blueblooded "conspirators" suffered accidents—a familiar device accompanying totalitarian purgings. Newsreels throughout Germany depicted the wiping out of the families of the executed "traitors" down to the last child.

Nonetheless, not a few of the heralded leaders of the "revolt" who were first reported killed or missing, reappeared soon afterwards in full health. Some got new commands. Others like Field Marshals von Rundstedt and von Brauchitsch turned up in the court of honor, whose job it was to deliver their colleagues to the so-called People's Court which hanged them.

Moreover, two hundred years of history go to show that discontented Prussian generals do not lead palace revolutions or throw bombs. Rather they issue strong pronouncements or resign in unison. These methods brought results under kings and kaisers and even in the Republic. They were due under Hitler. There have been recurring rumors, since, of generals' revolts in the making—but these never materialized.

Field Marshal von Witzleben, ace among the accused in the Nazis' mock trial in July, probably told the truth. He testified coolly that, like the murdered former Chief of the General Staff, von Beck, he had simply wanted a change from the amateurishness which had led from defeat to defeat. "We wanted to get rid of Hitler as a military leader; we did not want to kill him."

It is known that on July 18—two days before the bomb explosion—some of the generals had met quietly with Goering to straighten out differences. Only a few days earlier Hitler's *Volksischer-Beobachter* had written a fervid birthday message to Colonel General Halder, another dismissed chief of the General Staff. Even according to the official version, the leading generals were together at Army Headquarters in Berlin obviously unprepared and unprotected when the fury broke. Some of them were shot on the spot by Himmler's S.S. Guard along with the alleged bomb thrower while according to Goebbels, had found time to fly back to Berlin from the Fuehrer's headquarters.

This was Colonel Count von Stauff-

erg, scion of a southern German aristocratic family, his wife an Englishwoman. If he really threw the bomb, his hand may have been directed by a provocateur—as was the case of Von der Lubbe, who set fire to the Reichstag. In the arsenal of Nazi techniques the “attempt against the life of the Leader” has been an oft-used weapon to quell insurgency. In 1938, General von Fritsch, then commander-in-chief, was accused in a similar frameup, which prepared the way for the first purge of the army command. And in 1939, another bomb exploded, narrowly missing the Fuehrer, in the Munich *Burgerbraue Keller*—followed by a hue and cry that the anti-war opposition had conspired with the British Secret Service to rob the German people of their Messiah.

The S.S. in the Saddle

On the heels of the July explosion, a triumvirate was set up to see invaded Germany through its crisis. The construction put on this move, at least outside Germany, was that it was improvised in the emergency. Nothing could be further from the truth. In the summer of 1943, the Nazis faced an earlier crisis when Mussolini fell. Reports, then published in New York papers, told that a Reich directorate was imminent, with the top air, navy, and army commanders in charge—namely, Field Marshal Goering, Admiral Doenitz, and Field Marshal Keitel.

The triumvirate did not materialize at that time. But when, a year later, Hitler went on the air to announce his miraculous escape on July 20, he was accompanied by two of the three—Goering and Doenitz. A few days later it was Himmler who entered the new directorate. During the intervening twelve months, he had become supreme under Hitler in both civil and military authority, except for the armies in the field. It was this July purge which now founded out his power as representative of the Party, reducing the remnants of the German army to a Nazi army. Simultaneously, Goebbels became Himmler's first assistant on the home front and Goering was pushed into the background.

The official versions of these happenings conveyed the impression that Himmler's final elevation sprang from the attempt on Hitler's life of July 20. As a matter of fact, George Axelsson, Stockholm correspondent of the *New York Times*, had reported a couple of days before that the transfer of these powers was imminent.

“We have barely skirted an abyss,” Goebbels had said in 1943 in the domestic crisis that followed Mussolini's fall. In 1944, national hysteria was invoked in order to save the Nazi command itself from toppling into a greater abyss. And on July 26, in his report to the German people as freshly appointed High Defense Commissioner, Goebbels gave less time to his fantastic version of the bombing, the conspiracy, the purge, than to the use they were being put to in a final attempt to shake the tired masses of Germany out of their lethargy and to initiate a last mobilization of manpower reserves.

“Total war,” he shrieked, “is the order

of the hour.” The bottom of the barrel was to be scraped. Farms, offices, factories, Nazi party bureaus and school classrooms have since been scoured for oldsters and youngsters to make up new divisions and trench digging battalions.

Routing Out Conservatives

Himmler's first purpose was reached when he got full army control into his hands. Next began the hunt for civilian victims. Even earlier, while striking at the generals, he had not overlooked one of the real nerve centers of conservative opposition. A million and a half marks was offered for the head of Karl Goerdeler, former mayor of Leipzig, who was identified as civilian chief of an alleged counter-government, which the Nazis charged had already issued orders for their own arrests.

Goerdeler was caught, the reward paid, and with six alleged members of his prospective “cabinet” he was hanged on September 13. Here is an excerpt from the

Paul Hagen

The author is a native of Vienna. A graduate of its university—which later gave him a doctorate in philosophy—he threw himself as a young man into labor and political movements.

He was well in his thirties when he found his life work—as one of the organizers of the New Beginning Group. This became an active nucleus against the Nazis once Hitler rose to power.

When he first came to this country ten years ago, he was sponsored by the late B. Charney Vladeck, publisher of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, and leader of the progressives in New York's City Council. It was this redoubtable organizer of overseas help for victims of Nazi persecution who had rechristened him for purposes of international circulation in times that tried men's souls.

In 1940, Mr. Hagen became research director of the American Friends of German Freedom, Reinhold Niebuhr, chairman—predecessor of the American Association for a Democratic Germany, Dean Christian Gauss of Princeton College, chairman. He helped to found its complementary body drawn from anti-Nazis in exile—the Council for a Democratic Germany, Prof. Paul Tillich, Union Theological Seminary, chairman.

verdict of the People's Court which passed the death sentence:

“All threads were joined in the hands of Goerdeler as head of the conspiracy, the prospective candidate for the position of Reich Chancellor. From 1943 onward he had established contact between the military traitors on the one hand and the political conspirators.” (To say nothing of “contacts with the enemy,” which according to the verdict had provided “means for carrying out the attempt on the Fuehrer's life.”)

Specifically, the Goerdeler group was accused of planning to set up a dictatorship, execute Hitler, and then surrender to the

Allies. Among those alleged to have been slated for the presumptive cabinet were:

Foreign Minister—Ulrich von Hassell, formerly Ambassador to Italy, a conservative career diplomat.

Minister for Economic Affairs—Lejeune-Jung, a big industrialist and leader of the Catholic committee of the ultra-conservative German Nationalist Party. (The party which had been Hitler's first partner in the coalition that brought him to power.)

Minister of Justice—Josef Wirmer, a lawyer and contact man with the erstwhile powerful Bavarian Catholic People's Party.

Foreign Political Adviser—Adam von Trott zu Solz, a young aristocrat, friend of Colonel von Stauffenburg and holder of an important post in the Foreign Office.

Minister of the Interior—Wilhelm Leuschner, a trade union leader who had formerly been Hessian Minister of the Interior.

Of quite different caliber was the sixth man, Count von Helldorf, a notorious anti-Semite, Hitler's former Police President in Berlin, and one of those chiefly responsible for the Reichstag fire. The verdict said of him that he had admitted that he became estranged “because his personal ambitions had been slighted.” It described him as the go-between between plotting generals and the Goerdeler group. That may be so. But it is also possible that the Count, out of favor, was hanged with a group of decent men to discredit them, just as a hundred and fifty years before two speculators were mixed up in the Robespierre trial in France.

The Goerdeler “conspiracy” was more serious business than the so-called “generals' revolt.” The time has not yet come to reveal data known to people outside Germany, for collaborators and friends of the executed men are still within Himmler's orbit.

Three of the Rebels

What can be said now is that the group represented a broad network of underground contacts among conservatives and right-wing labor circles. Three of those executed, Goerdeler, von Trott and Leuschner, had long been held in high esteem among anti-Nazis.

Karl Goerdeler was price commissioner in the Hitler-Hindenburg cabinet, but he had turned against Hitler as early as 1934. The future estimate may well be that Leipzig's former mayor conscientiously risked his life for years to lay the ground for a conservative revolt.

Adam von Trott zu Solz, the romantic young conservative and a former Rhodes scholar, had many friends in England and the United States who believed in him. For eleven years—and until a few weeks before his arrest—he managed to keep his post in the German Foreign Office and at the same time serve as liaison between Goerdeler's anti-Hitler group and the democratic world.

Von Trott was related to an old New York family and his last visit here was early in the war. That was before the United States had entered the conflict, but

(Continued on page 446)



International News photo

German housewives now comb over the ruins of their homes, as have the women of many other nations after Nazi blitz



A white flag is the greeting in this village

East of the Westwall

First American radiophotos to come from inside Germany in September and October bore out the testimony of American correspondents and neutral observers. Our forces were not encountering the fanatical population "harassing them without pause," that Goebbels predicted they would find.



Civilians gather around an American jeep, part of the first column of Allied troops to enter Germany



Germans who ignored Nazi evacuation orders, take shelter in a mine while their home town is being fought over

American officials were nevertheless suspicious and kept him under surveillance. For purposes of camouflage, he may have welcomed that; but his daring was misunderstood; his technique, unimaginable.

His death on Hitler's gallows may contribute to a better understanding of how German patriots, sometimes in key positions, have managed to put it over on the Nazis.

Wilhelm Leuschner was an outstanding leader of the pre-Hitler labor movement. He had served under the German Republic as labor representative at the International Labor Office. It is known that after the Nazis seized power, Hitler's "Labor Front" chieftain, Robert Ley, made Leuschner tempting offers if he would continue at Geneva. In a dramatic speech in Switzerland in 1933, Leuschner denounced the Nazis before the world and announced that, as there was no longer free labor in Germany, he had given up his post. Urged by friends abroad not to return to Berlin and certain arrest but to accept an international trade union office, he insisted that his lot lay with his fellows. Once back in Germany, he was thrown into a concentration camp and held there for several years. Finally released, his spirit still unbroken, he risked certain death in his subsequent anti-Nazi activities.

Leuschner is a symbol for the numberless men and women who, since the Republic fell, have carried on the German underground labor movement.

It was this center of conservative and middle class recoil which the Nazis squelched in the purge which followed July 20. The crisis could be compared to that in Italy just twelve months before (July 25, 1943) but with a difference. There, the conservatives won and the Badoglio intermezzo followed. In Germany, the conservatives lost. The ruthless and still virile Nazi "elite" won out in this life and death struggle against a group which included some of their one-time partners.

Many observers jumped to the conclusion that Hitler had wiped out his opposition. True, an overthrow through a palace revolution or a generals' revolt has become more improbable. The executions of generals, officeholders, industrialists—honest patriots among them—must have had many repercussions among the upper classes but less (except for that of Leuschner) among common folk, who have too many memories of services rendered by their kind to the Nazis in the past.

Mass Persecution

An interesting footnote to this impression comes from a Swiss visitor last August who remarked on the popular feeling in Berlin, as he gauged it, toward the Free German Committee set up around General von Seydlitz in Moscow. He quoted workers as expressing the pious hope that, anyway, the Russians would drop their captured German generals later on—especially those who in turning against Hitler had not changed their own spots. It was to the German workers and soldiers that common people looked for a revolt that would stick.

It would seem that nobody knows this better than the Nazis. Theirs is the opposition that Hitler really fears. That was why the furor last July, of purging men at the top under a smokescreen of anti-aristocratic slogans, was followed promptly by silent mass persecution.

An important category among the persecuted are the people on Himmler's old lists. First of all, the former inhabitants of concentration camps. Once arrested, then "improved" and released, it would seem that they have been rounded up again. Some of them still may be hostages; some may be used in labor gangs since even the Nazis prefer hands to corpses.

We can discount sensational rumors from Sweden, Spain, and Switzerland to the effect that half a million German anti-Nazis have been executed in the last few weeks. There is sufficient evidence, however, to cause genuine concern as to the fate of some tens of thousands of them, once more in the hands of the S.S.

Along a hundred miles of Swiss-German border, from Basel to the Lake of Constance, the outside world can gauge what is afoot.

Here, close contacts are kept up between people in villages on opposite sides of the border, between families interrelated and well informed about each other. In Loerrach, a German town of 16,000 inhabitants, a kind of suburb of Swiss Basel, some dozens of former members of the Catholic Center, the Social Democratic, the Communist and the Conservative parties have been arrested. Their fate is unknown.

So, too, in Singen on the Rhine, a town of 11,000 just across from Swiss Schaffhausen. Among former Social Democrats who have "disappeared" are such names as Schaeffer, Jaeckle, Kahn. Also the former communist, Alois Weller; the local leader of International Bible Students (Jehovah's Witnesses); the local Catholic leader, Dr. Dietrich, known for "his benevolent attitude towards foreign workers." These items are from the *St. Gallen Tagblatt* of September 18. This Swiss paper tells of rumors that those arrested have been "transported to Karlsruhe for trench digging"; of other rumors that they were killed.

At Stockach, near the Zeppelin town of Friedrichshafen, a "sensation was caused by the arrest of the station master, his assistant, and other railroad officials"—local evidence of that "simplification" promised by Goebbels.

Thus the group of "unreliables" grows. Men and women disappear who have never been arrested by the Nazis before. On Himmler's lists in these border towns were the names of people who played their parts in the "former time," such as the Weimar dignitaries of Loerrach, Singen, Stockach, and dozens of other towns and villages along Lake Constance.

Nationally, Himmler's lists include all the former mayors of the Reich—30,000 of them; the surviving members of the several Reichstags, the state Diets, the county councils, the town assemblies—tens of thousands in all.

In addition, those lists include many well-

known functionaries of the old democratic parties in the Reich and in the *Länder*. For example, leaders of the Bavarian Catholic and Social Democratic parties—former mayor of Munich, Scharna, among them—are known to have been among recent arrests. Accused of being a "separatist" party, they have probably already been liquidated.

On September 15, the Nazis broadcast that the former leader of the Social Democratic group in the Reichstag, Rudolf Breitscheid, and the national leader of the former Communist party, Ernst Thälmann, were killed "by Allied bombs" in a concentration camp near Weimar. Since there were no Allied bombings anywhere near Weimar that day, the Nazis themselves had to shove the date of the "assassination" back to August.

Mid-September

The day before a Nazi broadcast announced these deaths, all the Allied news agencies carried reports from Stockholm that there had been peace riots in Berlin. An A.P. report from London, dated September 14, told that a few hours later Capt. Tapo Chief and Home Army Leader Heinrich Himmler had announced a strengthening of the Berlin police command. Himmler had "retired" Lt. Gen. Otto Klincksieck as Berlin security police commandant, naming Major General of Police Erik von Helldorf in his place, the Berlin radio said.

To quote the A.P.: "One Nazi newspaper complained that a belief that 'the end of the war cannot be far off' was sweeping the country 'like a psycho-panic.' Army desertions were reported increasing and there was 'open absenteeism' in German war plants. . . . Thousands of foremen and workers in Germany were reported to have gone into hiding, as urged by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower . . ."

It seems that this week in mid-September was even more critical for the Nazis than the July days. It was the week in which that "amazing" interlude at Aachen happened; the week when an immediate breakthrough of the American armies seemed probable; the week when the German anti-Nazi forces were rounded up, as we know, at Singen and Loerrach, and from other places in the Reich.

Even a veteran like the retired, seven-six-year-old Gustav Noske (first war minister after the German revolution of 1918) did not survive the week. This functionary had been hated by all liberals and radicals because he backed the first counter-revolutionary murderers of the *Frei Korps* in 1918. He was called "the bloodhound" before Hitler overshadowed him. He was executed, too—just because he was associated with the Republic.

The Resistance Movement

Small wonder that you hear it said in the United States: "The Gestapo is bringing them off so fast, there won't be any democrats left to deal with in Germany. They may kill tens of thousands, but they can never wipe out millions once they are in recoil."

Take the picture drawn by Oscar Jac-

the Swedish journalist, whose firsthand report on getting out of Berlin was carried in the *New York Times* magazine section on September 24.

"The Nazi leaders, foreseeing trouble, ordered all Nazis to report any defeatist utterances immediately to the Gestapo. The Gestapo acts quickly, asking no questions. . . . In this way, well above a hundred among my worker friends, and friends and acquaintances of theirs, have recently disappeared. Their relatives have not received the slightest indication regarding their fate. The Gestapo has declared an open season on the opposition, and often enough they get their man."

Jacobi went on to say, "People who talk, risk their necks; there is only one penalty for loose talk—death. Thousands have been liquidated by the Gestapo this month. That parody on justice, the so-called 'People's Court,' works overtime." But, "Still they talk . . ." and the consequences, Jacobi wrote, are that "hatred against the Gestapo and the S.S. is being intensified. I have the impression that the average German is longing for the day he can take a hand in settling the score with the Himmler group."

"New Europe," a review sponsored by the Polish Information Service, and brought out in New York, reprinted in its October edition two eyewitness reports from bombed German cities. One from Hanover told how bomb-shocked passersby "cursed party men in tattered uniforms." A German soldier on furlough, who had lost his family in this bombing, was questioned by the reporter as to who was responsible for the mass graves and for the leveling of the city. The soldier replied: "The brown dogs." Thus Nazi hate recoils upon itself.

"The Nation" of Berne, Switzerland, carried an eyewitness account of a typical session of the "People's Court" in Berlin. A shopkeeper was given the death penalty for sharing his bread with a French worker without ration points; two women, for circulating former speeches of the Fuehrer in stark contrast to present conditions.

One of the accused was the wife of a German soldier serving on the Russian front. She was in middle life and it was brought out that she had one son working as an engineer in an Austrian factory; a second son was in the army. There had been a third child, a girl of seventeen. A driver for the ARP, she had been killed during an air raid in Berlin. When the mother received word of the death of her youngest, she had cried out in anguish: "All this is the work of that devil, that mass murderer. Poor Germany!" Denounced by her own housemaid, she was sentenced to die by the axe.

While, as Jacobi put it, there is thus "open season" for Gestapo hunting, the dread dwindles. There are many indications that this is so. Let me put some together from sources in which I have confidence.

The prisons are said to be overcrowded, new concentration camps spring up, but there are unquestionable signs of active mass disobedience. This has taken new forms never reported before. Witness the complaints published in Nazi newspapers against the "idiotic nuisance" of chain letter

campaigns. The contents of these letters have become more political. For the first time they are signed with the names of groups, such as "Committee for Peace and Reconstruction." Meanwhile, local underground committees are known to be enlarging their membership.

There is less fear now (we are told) of being denounced by one's neighbors, long one of the most serious hazards in underground activity. More insurgent leaflets are being distributed than at any time since the Nazi rule began.

Clashes on a larger scale have been reported since the critical days of mid-September—with police troops and brown shirts called out to quell popular riots. . . . From Magdeburg in central Germany comes word that German workers joined actively in defending foreign workers against the Gestapo. . . . An ever-growing army of deserters has sought hiding places in the forests as well as in the homes of sympathetic citizens in villages and towns. . . . S.S. troops conduct raids in cities, in railroad trains, in the Black Forest, and in the Alps.

The German People

Even now the majority of the German people may be passive and lethargic. They are beset with war weariness. They know the war is lost. But consider ordinary people who hate the Nazis for the privileges they have enjoyed while others have had to meet the full brunt of wartime suffering—and who hate them, also, because the Nazis are themselves the last barrier to peace. Consider people who had no say about plundering the rest of Europe and shared in none of its loot. People who bore no part in Nazi persecutions. It is because of these quickening promptings among ordinary people that the German resistance movement today enjoys more protection than the earlier anti-Nazi opposition.

Thus we can begin to note parallels with what happened in France and other occupied countries, when the manhunt was on against mounting forces of insurgency. There are many conscripted foreigners and volunteer Nazis from other countries in the Nazis' final police reserves. What I look for as the answer to this Gestapo foreign legion is the emergence of a German Maquis.

No, I cannot forecast that this long suppressed resistance movement will gain sufficient headway to stage successful local uprisings before the Allies smash through to Berlin. But this much is sure: with every day, the Nazis themselves are failing to arouse the German people for their holy war.

You ask, why haven't the Germans yet revolted? Tomorrow they may. The greatest deterrent is still the Gestapo and the S.S. machine, powerful enough to block joint action on the part of more than a handful of people. There are more than twelve million conscripted foreigners and war prisoners at work in Germany. They have not revolted as yet for the same reason. Tomorrow they will. When the Allied armies break into the Nazi fortress, German workers and foreign workers will revolt together.

In their ranks will fight for the first time since 1848, a large section of the German youth, young soldiers and students from the universities who have joined the resistance movements. Many of them offsprings of the purest Nazis, in recoil against Nazi education, turned into the most active anti-Nazis. They see with young eyes.

Old eyes and young see that Germany has gone through the Nazi infection. That Nazi Germany has threatened the freedom of the entire world. That German people under Hitler's leadership have committed unpardonable crimes against humanity—above all against their own Jewish people.

The German survivors of the disaster after Hitler's defeat will live on. There will be a purge, not only defeat. Weak as her new leadership may be afterward, she cannot seek reintegration into the family of nations without it. The indications that reach me buttress my faith that this leadership is now taking shape. It includes a radical new opposition, which will join hands with the old opposition in a more vigorous thrust for what they hold in common.

Looking Ahead

I have tried to summarize some of the hundreds of interviews, confidential reports, broadcasts, cables, correspondence which above all point to one thing. Whatever the imminent military decisions may be, the days of the Nazis at home are numbered. They are losing their grip on the German people.

These are not solely a people who, knowing that the war is lost, try to leave the sinking ship. That is true in part—for one section. But the common people feel differently about it. They have lost possibly three or four millions sons and brothers and fathers; lost millions of homes through the bombing; seen millions of men, women and children set wandering on the roads. They face semi-starving in the coming winter unless deliverance comes soon; they smart under the ruthlessness of Nazi leaders who push them around. No last ditch pitchfork army of Himmler's is going to change that. These things have driven home to them what other peoples have experienced at the same hands.

More, there is a reawakening of the memory of the other Germany, which has always existed. Once this awareness was kept behind tight lips of lonely folk, or confined to the courageous inner circles of the underground movement. Now it is again expanding. It leads to a coming democratic revolution; to a popular government within the limits which Allied decisions and their own wrecked economy will permit.

As I write, comes a report of an as yet unauthenticated number of underground newspapers that are being printed in Germany today. One of these fugitive sheets discovered earlier by the Nazis had been brought out in Nuremberg which was the hometown of fabled Hans Sachs, the meistersinger cobbler, some generations before Adolf Hitler adopted that ancient city as a Nazi shrine. Significantly enough this paper, we are told, was called "*Durch Bruch*"—"Break Through."

War Helps the Chiselers

Americans are openhanded givers, especially in wartime. But when we fail to look before we give, we often help unprincipled promoters instead of people in need.

FRANK BROCK

WAR FRAUD GYPS ARE MULCTING RELATIVES of servicemen and thousands of other Americans at the rate of \$100,000,000 a year—more than the nation's total loss from burglaries, petty larceny, credit failures, and forgeries combined.

Take Buffalo, N. Y., as an example. Buffalo failed to meet its Red Cross quota this year by more than \$100,000—but not for lack of money or generosity. For the people of Buffalo gave at least \$500,000 to war rackets and fake or questionable charities. After investigating 163 different solicitations, the Better Business Bureau in Buffalo estimates that, of this half million, \$250,000 was garnered by phony patriotic appeals.

The Desire to Help

One of the meanest fake appeals solicited funds to buy dogs for blind war veterans. It circulated pictures of three men—"veterans from the Solomons, blinded by Japanese snipers"—led by dogs stated to be Seeing Eye guides. The men were not veterans; they had been blind before the war started. The dogs were not from the Seeing Eye. The money helped no one except the gyps. The admirable Seeing Eye organization has not authorized anyone to raise funds for dogs for blinded members of our armed forces. At present, it supplies servicemen, who receive a priority over other applicants, with guide dogs at the nominal cost of \$1. Congress recently appropriated \$1,000,000 to buy guide dogs for blinded veterans—which is probably many times as much as will be needed for the purpose.

About the time the Anzio beachhead in Italy was established, thousands of American homes received a letter from a veterans' organization. This appeal asked for \$1 to help buy special chairs designed to assist crippled soldiers in learning how to walk again. The army spiked this project by stating that "the U. S. Government is assuming full responsibility for the physical rehabilitation of wounded men." But thousands of patriotic persons had already sent in their dollars.

Private charity, even from veterans' organizations, is generally superfluous for the physical care of the war wounded. The Surgeon General's office provides medical and surgical treatment until a soldier is cured, or until it becomes evident that he will improve no further. In the latter case he is discharged to the Veterans Administration, which provides artificial appliances, vocational training or hospitalization—for life if necessary.

One persistent racket is ticket selling for "patriotic causes." In Buffalo a "Grand Military Ball," sponsored by the Army and Navy Union Auxiliaries but actually managed by a professional promoter, competed

—Since 1915, Mr. Brock has been following his hobby, which he describes as "exposing sharpshooting practices," first in the advertising department of the *New York Tribune*; next, on the vigilance committee of the Associated Advertising Clubs; then with the *New York Better Business Bureau*; today, as a widely read free lance writer.

with the Red Cross drive. Tickets read: "Proceeds to be used for the purchase of a Station Wagon (Transportation of Clergy) for the Halloran General Hospital, Staten Island, N. Y." When queried, this hospital's commandant telegraphed: "Chaplains do not need or desire another automobile. This or any other solicitation on our behalf totally unauthorized."

Nevertheless the ball was held. It netted the ladies' auxiliaries, who undoubtedly would be shocked if they knew the truth of the procedure, exactly what the promoter decided to give them—\$1,000. What the promoter got, nobody but he knows. These operators usually pay their telephone solicitors a 30 percent commission and their collectors \$5 a day. Add to this the telephone bills, the promoter's own take, and other inflated expenses, and you can see why the "costs" of such a campaign so often exceed the amount the charity gets. How low money-raising costs can be kept is indicated by the fact that the Buffalo United War and Community Fund expenses average only 1.5 percent of all collections.

Servicemen's Families

Even the casualty lists are explored for dividend producing material by the promoters. Relatives of servicemen get a letter offering "an interesting newspaper clipping" for 25 cents. If they bite, they get a casualty list with a name underlined in pencil. The charge is a dollar for the same sort of clipping mounted on an "Honor Roll."

"Heroes of World War 11" is one of the first of the many memorial books that inevitably will be promoted. First, the promoters ask the family for biographical data about the dead soldier. That leads up to taking an order for a copy of the proposed book at \$10—payable in advance of publication. The War Department recently issued a strong warning against operations of this type.

The Bible and Prayer Book racket has appeared all over the country in various guises. The most successful appeal combines promises of both spiritual and physical safety: "If your boy in service will carry this book in his left breast pocket, it will protect his heart both ways. He will read

it in spare moments for Divine inspiration, and the book has a metal cover, to guard his heart from bullets."

Regular editions of these heart-protecting Bibles were priced at four times the normal cost of that size Bible; a de luxe edition was \$3 higher because of its gold-plated cover. The Federal Trade Commission revealed that the gold was less than two millionths of an inch thick, and that amount of it on each book was worth about two cents. Police of Columbus, Ohio, with army officers cooperating, shot .38 caliber bullets into one of these Bibles. The bullets tore through the light metal cover, through the Bible, and into wooden planks behind it.

In New York, racketeers operating a phony Soldiers' Relative Unit spot service flags in windows, call on the soldiers' kin, and ask for money to get the servicemen home on furlough, saying that the man lacks money for railroad fare. Many gullible persons have paid, but of course no furloughs have resulted.

In Chicago, a band of ghouls called on war widows, saying: "Your husband took out an insurance policy with us just before he entered the service. The \$1,000 is payable now, but we require \$10 in advance for legal recording of the birth certificate." Many widows paid, but heard no more of the insurance—or of their \$10.

Fake servicemen are canvassing many communities, obtaining washing machines, sewing machines, vacuum cleaners, and other valuable appliances on the pretext of repairing them "in cooperation with the government's war on waste"—but they never return the appliances. Other chiselers take fingerprint records and signatures "for the files in Washington," for which they collect a fee. Often such signatures come in handy for forgery, especially to crooks who endorse and cash stolen service pay checks. Fly-by-night agencies have made fortunes through a spurious birth certificate service. Homes and war plants are invaded by slickers who urge people to cash their war bonds and put the money into fake stocks and bonds, oil lands and leases.

Patriotism Isn't Enough

In New York City, gyps persuaded businessmen to buy cigarettes in 1,000-pack lots for free distribution to servicemen overseas. The promoters' price was \$75 a lot, whereas several large cigarette companies were offering the same quantity for \$50. This racket was stopped by the arrest of its promoters after they had realized a profit of \$11,000.

Practically every city in the country is responding in some degree to the wiles of
(Continued on page 479)

Should Wages Go Up?

Here are the arguments for and against thawing wartime wages, frozen under the Little Steel formula, as they emerged from the proceedings before two War Labor Board panels.

BEULAH AMIDON

THE PAST FEW MONTHS, THE WHOLE question of wages and prices has been coming to focus in two reports under consideration by the National War Labor Board. Both reports deal with labor's challenge to the Little Steel formula—the stabilization policy which “freezes” wages by limiting increases to 15 percent above the level of January 1, 1941.

One report deals with a petition by the American Federation of Labor representatives on the board itself, asking the WLB “request President Roosevelt to modify realistically the limitation on wage adjustments set by the Little Steel formula.”

The other report is based on a dispute case (it appears on the WLB docket as *J. S. Steel Corporation, et al., and United Steel Workers of America, CIO Case No. 1-6230D*), instigated by the United Steel workers seeking to break the same formula with a demand for a general wage increase in the industry of 17 cents an hour above present rates.

The two proceedings began early last February. Both have gone through long, careful procedures of fact-finding and public hearings. On October 9, the National War Labor Board finally sat down behind closed doors to deal with them. Two days later, the board decided by an eight-to-four vote to offer no recommendation to President Roosevelt as to whether the Little Steel formula should or should not be changed at this time. Instead of making the long awaited determination, the board is simply passing on to the President a summary of the elaborate data assembled in the past eight months, and a finding as to whether the wage standard has deteriorated, and if so, how much.” But it will make no recommendation on the basic question: Should the present wage policy be changed, or should it stand?

Before this article is in type, the issues, the record, and the board's carefully neutral report almost certainly will have reached the White House. At this writing (October 2) it seems unlikely that President Roosevelt will attempt to move on the cases until after November 7. It is less certain whether the unions, already irritated by the months glossed by the WLB procedure, will forego some “protest strikes” over the majority decision of the WLB. That decision labor spokesmen immediately condemned as “assounding,” “inconsistent,” “an indefensible demonstration of timidity.”

The question as to whether the Little Steel formula should or should not be modified is by no means a simple one. It leads to statistical explorations of the cost of living, the financial status of the 87 steel producing companies directly participating in the case, the national wage structure in the

—By the industry editor of *Survey Graphic*, who bases her summary of a complex current issue on a study of voluminous panel reports, and the public hearings on them held by the War Labor Board last month.

steel industry, with its hourly rates, piece rates, incentives, bonuses, overtime, differentials, job classifications, learners rates, and so on. No less immediately concerned are the larger issues of price levels, postwar conversion, taxes, savings—the ramifications are almost unlimited.

To get behind partisan claims and counter claims, as they will be aired by columnists, commentators, and editors, and by spokesmen for this interest and that, it is necessary to look at the specific issues submitted to the board, the present stabilization policy, the data brought together in the proceedings before the Basic Steel Panel, and thus to try to see for ourselves what actually is involved in the AFL petition and the steel wage case.

WLB Wage Policy

The wages and salaries of some 30,000,000 workers are under the control of the National War Labor Board, the agency charged by Executive Order with responsibility for administering the wage stabilization sections of the whole anti-inflation program.

But in July 1942, three months before the passage of the Stabilization Act, the tripartite WLB had shaped the wage stabilization tool that is still in use late in 1944—the Little Steel formula. First worked out in deciding the wage case of the “independent” steel companies, the formula was adopted by the board as a general wage policy.

The handling of wage issues by the board has been determined not only by this general policy, but also by the successive Executive Orders and policy directives defining, limiting, or extending its authority.

A further check on wage increases was the rule laid down by the Economic Stabilization Director in his May 1943 directive, requiring that any increases granted by the board which might lift prices or costs of production must be passed upon by him.

As the result was summarized by Chairman William H. Davis of the WLB in his statement before the Senate Committee on Banking and Finance, the board, in dealing with wages today “has the responsibility . . . of disapproving any increase in wages or salaries except those which: (1) represent an adjustment in accordance with the Little Steel formula; (2) correct substandards of living; (3) correct gross inequities as de-

finied by a comparison of the rates in question with the minimum of the brackets of sound and tested rates for the appropriate occupational classifications in the labor market area . . . (4) are reasonable adjustments designed to provide an orderly wage structure within the establishments such as ‘promotions, reclassifications, merit increases, incentive wages, or the like,’ (subject to the proviso that no increase in prices or appreciable increase in production costs shall result).”

In the fifteen months ending January 1, 1944, Chairman Davis told the Senate committee, the board developed and applied its wage policies “in almost 300,000 applications for wage adjustments, requests for rulings, dispute wage cases, and the like.”

The first major challenge to the adequacy and justice of the Little Steel formula was the drive by the steelworkers to “break the formula,” and almost simultaneously the petition by the American Federation of Labor for its relaxation.

The American Federation of Labor petition asked only that the WLB request the President to “modify realistically” the Little Steel formula. Thirty-two representatives of the AFL appeared before a tri-partite panel of three members appointed by the WLB to “hear publicly and to summarize and make public” evidence offered in support of its request. This panel reported its findings to the board on September 8.

The Steel Wage

The CIO case grew out of a wage and policy conference held by the steelworkers' union in December 1943, approving a 22-point program (later enlarged to 24) of desired changes in its agreements with various steel companies. These included a wage increase of 17 cents an hour, or \$1.36 for an eight-hour day.

Following contract procedure, the union notified approximately 500 companies on December 4, 1943 that it desired collective bargaining conferences. A few days later the steelworkers filed a petition with the WLB asking an interim order to extend the contracts and to make retroactive any wage adjustment secured. The companies rejected the proposal for a retroactive adjustment, no acceptable compromise was worked out, and strikes began. As the stoppages spread, threatening to cut off a basic raw material of war industry, President Roosevelt stepped in to request “uninterrupted production of steel and steel products.” In return, he promised the workers that any wage adjustments under the existing policy included in the new agreements would be made retroactive. When further efforts at conciliation failed, the Secretary of Labor referred the dispute,



Watching the Wrong Pot

Courtesy of The CIO News

was able to submit to the board an "Interim Report on Issues and Procedures," and ten days later the board gave its instructions based on this report. Then the wheels could turn.

The hearings on the merits of the case ran intermittently for four months from March 23 to July 25—with the companies occupying the lion's share of the time. The union commenced its case on March 24, and four days later completed its presentation. The companies opened their case on April 25. Their evidence was coordinated by a Steel Case Research Committee, with representatives of a number of different companies appearing before the panel, each to discuss an assigned subject. This time-saving device made it necessary to spend only four days in hearing testimony on the special problems of individual companies. There were two final days of rebuttal by the union.

The transcript of the hearings fills more than 4,000 pages. In addition, the panel had before it 150 briefs and exhibits. The record is a labyrinth of facts, figures, conclusions and counter-conclusions. To examine its documents, even superficially, is to be appalled by the complexity of a great industry and the relationships—human, economic, financial, technical, legal—involved in it. The report summarizing the contentions of both sides and presenting the panel's findings of fact on each issue, is a mimeographed volume of 285 single-space pages.

Common Issues

In both the AFL petition and the CIO case, the union groups concentrated upon the relation of wages to cost of living, and the injustice, as they see it, of "freezing"

at the request of certain of the large steel companies, to the War Labor Board, which took jurisdiction on February 1. About two weeks later, the board appointed a tri-partite panel of six members* "to make findings of fact on the issues presented in the dispute between the United Steel Workers of America and eighty-six iron and steel producing companies."

The panel submitted its report to the board on September 9, 1944. Of the intervening months, several were spent in working out procedure—in itself a highly complicated problem since it was necessary to define the "basic steel industry," to hear evidence relating to companies interested in the case but not covered by the definition, to clarify issues, and to formulate orderly but flexible rules for the presentation of facts and argument. By March 16, the panel

* Public members of the panel: David L. Cole, chairman, a Paterson, N. J., lawyer, public member of the second regional War Labor Board and chairman of the New Jersey state board of mediation; N. P. Feinsinger, on leave of absence from the University of Wisconsin Law School, director of WLB's disputes division and until recently chairman of WLB's trucking commission.

Industry members: Hugh Morrow, a Birmingham, Ala., lawyer, president of the Sloss-Sheffield Steel and Iron Co., president of the Alabama Mining Institute; Edwin D. Bransome, formerly coordinator of business relations for the Air Reduction Company, Inc., since 1935 president of the Vanadium Corporation of America.

Labor members: John Despol, a steelworker, graduate of the University of Oregon Law School, international representative of the United Steelworkers on the Pacific Coast; Stephen Levitzky, a steelworker, charter member of the United Steelworkers and an international representative of the union.



Poor Eliza Leads a Hectic Existence

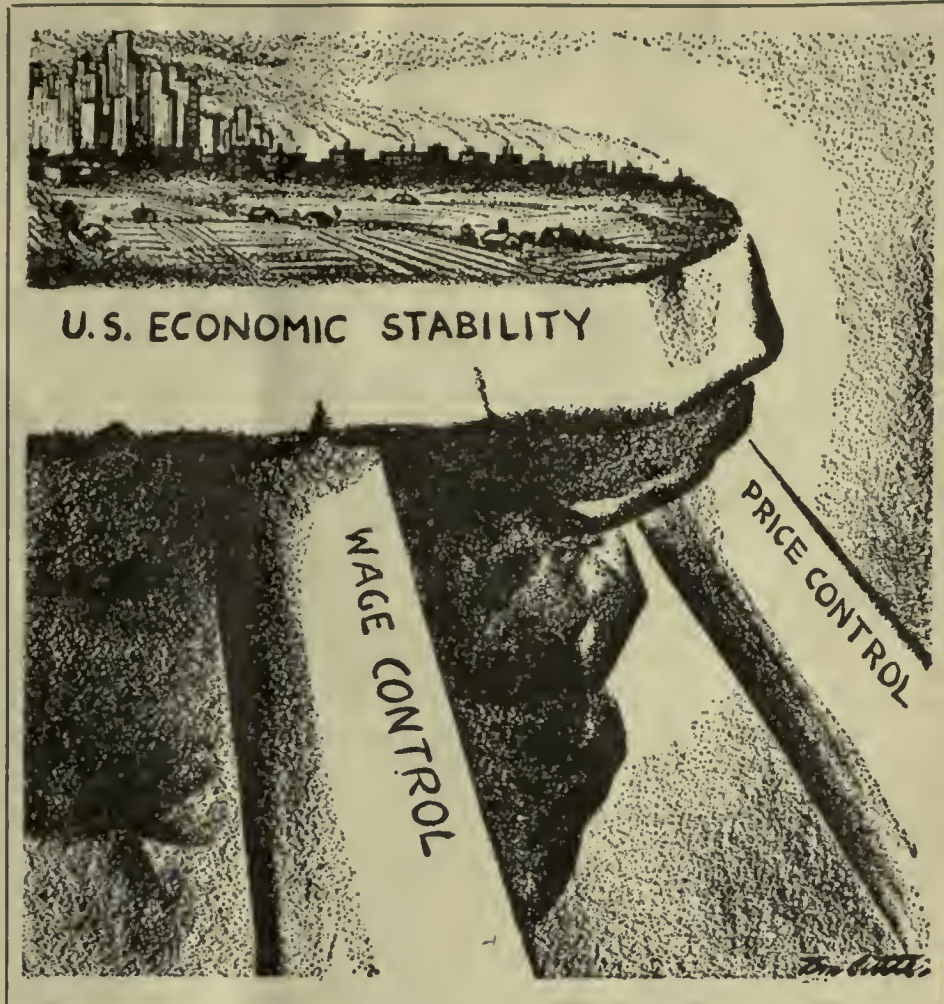
...e rates at a level 15 percent above pre-
 rates. In general, the findings of the
 panels on these larger issues of wages
 cost of living are in agreement. This
 will not attempt to summarize and
 compare the two reports and the suppl-
 mental treatment of certain points in special
 reports by the industry and the labor mem-
 bers. Some major findings of the Basic Steel
 panel will indicate the range and the trend
 of the data on which the question of main-
 tenance, modification, or abandonment of
 the Little Steel formula has to be decided.
 It must be borne in mind first of all that,
 when the steel case was presented to the panel,
 the wage issue was only one item in a list
 of fourteen demands. Thirteen additional
 demands were deferred at the request of the
 union for further collective bargaining.
 Many of the fourteen demands submitted
 to the panel, such as severance pay, sick
 leave, more liberal vacations, would amount
 to indirect wage increases, if they were
 granted. To keep it to manageable length,
 this article will be confined to the demand
 for a direct increase in the wage rate of 17
 cents an hour for all workers in the in-
 dustry.

As the panel report points out, the sta-
 tionization authorities have stressed through-
 out the war period the interdependence of
 wages and prices, and have warned against
 an inflationary trend that will be set in
 motion if either one outstrips the other. On
 the other hand, these authorities have held
 consistently that labor stands to lose, if
 wages are increased to a degree which
 would push up production costs and hence
 price ceilings, on the assumption that in
 a free market prices would rise faster than
 wages. At the same time, they have stated
 (and implied) that if wages are stabilized
 under the Little Steel formula, prices also
 must be stabilized, or rolled back. Other-
 wise, wage increases would be required to
 restore the balance between earnings and
 production costs, and an upward spiral of infla-
 tion would be set in motion. In this per-
 spective, the panel considered that wages
 should not be viewed as "frozen" for the
 duration but are to be "reexamined from
 time to time in the light of changing con-
 ditions." The task of the panel in the
 steel wage case may be said to constitute
 a "reexamination."

The case for or against a wage in-
 crease rests on the answers to three ques-
 tions: How far has the cost of living risen
 since January 1, 1941? How completely
 have the wages of steelworkers been stabilized?
 Would a general wage adjustment to match
 increases in the cost of living have an
 inflationary effect, either by increasing con-
 sumer purchasing power, or pushing up
 price ceilings?

The Cost of Living

The index of the Bureau of Labor Sta-
 tistics of the U. S. Department of Labor
 shows a rise in the cost of living of 25.1
 percent between January 1941 and July
 1944. The unions challenge this figure,
 claiming that by the beginning of 1944
 living costs had gone up by at least 43.5
 percent.



The Nation's Props

Little in The Nashville Tennessean

This was the figure set by the labor members of the President's five-man Committee on the Cost of Living, named in November 1943, which has not yet made its report. The labor members, however, have released the findings of some studies made under union auspices. As itemized in the hearings before the panel in the AFL case, these surveys showed increases in food prices of 74.2 percent; clothing, 72.2; rents, 15; light, fuel, and ice, 8.6; house furnishings, 62; miscellaneous items, 15.9. Further, these labor spokesmen held that "if other factors, such as the effect of black markets, shifts in the distribution of family expenditure due to wartime conditions, the more rapid rise in the cost of living in small communities expanded by war production, or the extra expenses incident to wartime shifts and dislocations in population had been considered, the figure of 43.5 percent would have had to be raised."

So sharp became the controversy over the index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics that the President's Cost of Living Committee, of which William H. Davis, head of the War Labor Board, is also chairman, appointed a special committee of experts to determine its adequacy. With Prof. Wesley C. Mitchell of Columbia University as its chairman, this group of statisticians and economists examined the index and in June 1944, submitted a 167-page report. Leaning on the Mitchell report, the

steel panel found that the BLS index in fact measures changes in retail prices of selected goods, rents, and services bought by wage earning and low salaried families in certain large cities. "It does not show the full wartime effect on the cost of living of such factors as lowered quality, disappearance of low priced goods, and forced changes in housing and eating away from home. It does not measure changes in total living costs—the total amount families spend for living." Even as a measure of retail prices, the index was found to need a revision upward of three to four points (3.5 to 4.5 in smaller cities). Confronted by many conflicting analyses of living costs by industry and union spokesmen, the panel decided it lacked sufficient information to make a decisive finding as to the accuracy of any one yardstick. But its findings include the BLS figure of 25.1 percent, and the Mitchell committee report that this is "low"—even as a measurement of change in retail prices. On the face of it, this represents a rise in the cost of living about twice as great as the 15 percent wage increase permitted by the Little Steel formula.

Are Steel Wages "Frozen"?

Take next the extent to which steel wages have been stabilized. In all the discussion of this question, the union has emphasized wage rates; the companies have emphasized earnings.

(Continued on page 472)

Educational Reconstruction

A review of current programs now being shaped for the use of education in restoring and safeguarding democratic institutions in war ravaged lands.

V. T. THAYER

A HAPPY-GO-LUCKY OPTIMISM PERVADED OUR conduct in the last war. People believed that victory in itself would insure a world safe for democracy. Consequently they gave little heed to the circumstances that alone would guarantee a new world order.

Today the coming of peace is viewed with something akin to alarm. Men in the service worry about their adjustment to civilian life. Civilians fear the disappearance of wartime jobs and the painful reconversion of business and industry. And the fear of future unpreparedness persuades our national leaders to press for peacetime conscription even before they can envisage the nature of the postwar period.

But this very fear of the future has spurred us to conscientious planning for the change-over from a war to a peace footing. Never before in history has a nation or a group of nations planned as meticulously as the peoples of the United Nations are now planning for that transition. It is as though they realized at long last that what men do today determines the world of tomorrow.

Lessons of 1918

All this has its repercussions in the field of education. As William Carr of the Liaison Committee for International Education reminds us, there was widespread willingness in 1918 to end isolation and to form an International Commission on Education. But "no statesman then took up the cause for which the educators pleaded"; and "When, during the interval between wars, educators talked about large scale international exchange of students, a strong international office of education, consistent teaching of international good will, men in positions of power seldom paid attention." Today, the widespread destitution in Europe and the Far East calls for immediate measures of reconstruction that may serve to shape international instruments of education.

There is no need to describe here the deplorable conditions in the occupied countries. These lands have suffered more than the usual devastation of war. Japan in China and Germany in Russia and Europe have carried out a ruthless resolve to destroy the cultural life of subject peoples. Walter Kotschnig points out in his carefully documented volume, "Slaves Need No Leaders," that the Nazis gauged their acts of destruction by their conception of the function they have assigned each of the conquered peoples in the "new order."

Educational Devastation

Thus France, Norway, and Denmark, despite the havoc wrought upon them, have been spared the fate of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Greece whose people were

—By a widely known educator, spokesman for liberal viewpoints in the schools. Mr. Thayer is educational director of the Ethical Culture Schools in New York City, and associate leader of the Ethical Culture Society. He served as chairman of the Commission on the Secondary School Curriculum of the Progressive Education Association, which completed its notable eight-year study and report in 1939.

condemned to a virtual slave status.

In Poland, for example, it is estimated that of 125,000 pre-war teachers, 50 per cent are dead. Of the school buildings, 25 percent are demolished; no teacher training institutions survive; and all physical training equipment, tools, and libraries in the original 30,000 schools are destroyed.

In Greece, perhaps 11,000 of the 26,000 teachers are alive today. Starvation in concentration and labor camps or death in battle have been the fate of their colleagues.

And in Czechoslovakia the Nazi decree that "it will be sufficient for the Czechs to know how to read and write; the Czechs will not be permitted to acquire higher education or enter the professions," has been sternly executed.

To these carefully laid plans for the extinction of cultural development in the occupied countries, including Russia and France, is now added the scheme of the Nazis to destroy what remains of civilization and culture in their forced retreats. The United Nations thus face more than a problem of physical reconstruction. They must insure in some way the restoration of the primary conditions of cultural existence. To food, clothing, and shelter must be added education, if democratic institutions are again to take root.

Restoration and reconstruction constitute the first essentials in a plan of international education. On the suggestion of American representatives, the recent Conference of Allied Ministers in London set up machinery for determining as accurately as possible the needs of the various countries not only for trained personnel, but for basic school supplies, including books, periodicals, libraries, and the equipment for teaching and research laboratories. Obviously, the extent of need cannot be known exactly, but once international commissions begin the task of assembling information it becomes possible for governments as well as private organizations and individuals to inaugurate continuing programs of restoration.

In this country the Department of State is in touch with associations of laymen and educators devoted both to long term planning and to immediate reconstruction, but

Congress must act before our government can take active and official part in the work of reconstruction agencies here and abroad. The United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction has established a World Education Service Council which aims "to give to the schools, pupils, educators, and friends of education in the country a chance to participate directly and in a personal way" in the reestablishment of healthy educational conditions in the devastated countries. Numerous American educational organizations have endorsed the purposes of the council, and steps are now being taken to encourage the participation of schools in relief measures and channel what is given through organizations such as the Red Cross, Save the Children Federation, and other groups not able to ship supplies abroad.

Foundations for Cooperation

The work of the council is comprehensive and varied. To children it affords opportunity to develop realistic international understanding and good will. Schools are urged to prepare student kits containing such articles as pencils, notebooks, paper supplies for school workshops and garden book parcels, sports equipment, and scrapbooks and reports designed to give the young people to whom these materials are sent a glimpse of American life. The intention is to personalize giving. As the council states: "The receiving countries will promise to do everything on their part to develop that personal relationship by letters, books, reports, products of workshops and later on, when prosperity has returned, other activities."

Imaginative teachers will see in the direct approach an opportunity to rescue education in international understanding from much of the verbalism and empty formula that characterized it in the past. When information on foreign lands is direct and personal and hands of friendship are actually clasped, a genuine foundation for international cooperation is laid.

On the adult level, the World Education Service Council proposes to establish International Teachers' Recreation Homes to which teachers from the liberated nations can come for a three months' stay. Americans will serve as hosts and friends. Following the initial period of rest and recreation there will be discussions bearing upon the future cooperation of the nations in education. The teachers of this country will be urged through service or gifts to contribute directly to the promotion of these centers.

Both in England and this country books are being collected, sorted, catalogued and stored preparatory to distribution to nations whose libraries have been destroyed.

The American Library Association has requested various learned societies to prepare lists of books published since the war began, which their colleagues abroad normally would have purchased. These lists will serve as buying guides in securing books for libraries in war areas. Further, the Rockefeller Foundation has enabled the American Library Association "to make systematic purchases of current subscriptions to some three hundred periodicals published in this country." The association is asking assistance in securing similar files from publishers, institutions, and individuals to be stored for future distribution.

Rebuilding

But equipment and books without personnel are of limited value. For this reason, probably the most promising step for immediate educational relief as well as for long term planning has to do with the retraining and the training of students and specialists. Stephen Duggan, director of the Institute of International Education, is chairman of the Commission of International Exchanges and Scholarships. According to Mr. Duggan, three groups will come to this country for education and training. The first will be made up of individuals who can be used immediately in the rebuilding of their country. These will want short practical courses, designed for agriculturalists, craftsmen, technicians, specialists, similar to those arranged for returning servicemen. The second group, composed of men and women with more academic preparation, will desire "abbreviated, intensive, and refresher courses in some scientific field or profession. These courses would be modeled upon those organized by the army and navy so that in eight or ten months or a year

there might be obtained a very specialized training on a relatively high level of achievement." The third group would enter our institutions of learning as regular students pursuing a college or university course or engaging in professional studies and research.

This plan has a dual purpose—immediate relief and building for the future. The immediate need is to train specialists who can help carry on the scientific, technical, and economic life of the countries that have been dominated by the Axis. These countries are ready to send student-specialists to this country and are prepared to meet a portion of the expenses involved. Likewise a considerable number of American institutions are ready to assist in this program. At the present moment, there is wanting only authorization and the necessary appropriations from Congress.

The second phase of the program involves an expansion of activities in which Mr. Duggan, as director of the Institute of International Education, has long engaged. The institute's experience in the selection, placement, and guidance of exchange students can be employed on a larger scale to promote international good will and understanding. For some years to come, the United States will doubtless receive more students than we can send abroad; but plans developed now should envision student exchange on an extensive basis. As Mr. Duggan remarks: "It is a remarkable fact in human experience that the peoples who have studied in large numbers in the universities of another country almost invariably return home friends and admirers of that country . . . But did the peoples of the countries in which these students studied maintain a

similar high regard for the students' native lands? They did not. The Athenians regarded the Romans as a virile people without culture. Germans and British regarded American education and culture with considerable disdain down almost to the first World War." This means that we can realize the full promise of student exchange only when it is in fact a two-way street.

It thus appears that the plan now accepted by the Department of State (pending appropriate action by Congress) to bring to this country 1,500 student-specialists for training as quickly as possible is pregnant with future possibilities. Students are carriers of ideas and of values. A policy of student exchange extensive enough to bring students from many countries to our technical schools and institutions of higher learning and to send considerable numbers of our own young people abroad, will go far toward eliminating American isolationism and developing international understanding.

Few will question the importance of the program for educational reconstruction sketched here. It is the more impressive when we consider that it represents almost entirely the efforts of private individuals and private organizations. The absence of enabling legislation by Congress has restricted the Department of State, thus far, to a secondary role.

It is questionable, however, whether this anomalous situation can long obtain without serious consequences. Military events are moving at an accelerated pace in Europe. Areas formerly occupied by the Nazis are being freed. Educational opportunities as well as food, clothing, and other basic essentials are in immediate demand. Private efforts, no matter how generous in scale or how wise in vision, require coordinated and unified direction if they are to avoid confusing and wasteful duplication. It is imperative that these careful plans and policies receive official sanction and financial support from our government.

An International Organization

For some time groups in England and this country have urged the establishment of a United Nations council on educational policy with authority to plan and act. The Harpers Ferry Meeting of the Liaison Committee for International Education last winter repeated this recommendation. The committee consists of representatives of some thirty American educational associations with a special interest in international education, and educators now in the United States from each of the United Nations and Associated Nations. Its statement at Harpers Ferry pointed out that "such a commission would receive reports and requests of assistance from the educational administrators of the devastated countries, indicating the extent of destruction, the extent of need, what they themselves can do, and the nature of the help they desire from the United Nations." This conference also suggested the establishment of a permanent international organization for education.

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Proposed Constitution for a United Nations Office for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction

As summarized by the Secretariat of the Allied Governments

"The first [section] contains a statement of the underlying reasons why international cooperation in educational reconstruction should be attempted.

"The second defines the functions of the projected organization in terms which should permit it to work effectively in the fields of educational and cultural rehabilitation and reconstruction and to develop ultimately into a permanent body with broader activities.

"Section three declares that membership shall be open to all the United Nations and Associated Nations and to such other nations as shall be accepted by the assembly, upon application thereto, after the cessation of hostilities with the Axis.

"Section four, which lists the agencies of the proposed organization, provides for an assembly with equal representation and votes for all member states, an executive board to be elected by the assembly, and an international secretariat.

"The fifth, or financial section states that administrative expenses shall be shared by the member nations on a basis to be

agreed by the assembly. It also provides for the creation of an emergency rehabilitation fund controlled by the emergency rehabilitation fund committee. National contributions to the rehabilitation fund will be fixed by the committee subject to the approval of each contributing nation, and the committee will also make allocations from the fund. The committee will consist of representatives of the three States making the largest contributions for administrative expenses and three members elected by the executive board.

"Section six contains provisions relating to ratification, amendment and interpretation which follow closely those in the statutes of other international bodies.

"Section seven contains provisions requiring member nations to supply information about education and cultural matters, defining the legal status of the organization and its staff, providing for cooperation between the organization and existing international organizations in the educational and cultural fields and governing the relationship of the organization to any agency for coordinating public international organizations."



Anticipation. By Frank Neal

Art and Understanding

The new International Print Society has opened a gallery in New York to present the work of contemporary artists of all races. The director, Edward B. Allford, has a warm concern for better race relations as well as a life-long interest in art. A number of individuals and organizations are sponsoring this new venture, among them President Rufus Clement of Atlanta University, Dr. Alain Locke of Howard University, the East and West Association, the Southern Regional Council. Work by a number of gifted Negroes, such as that here reproduced, was included in the society's first exhibition.



Julius. By Richmond Barthé

A Hopeful Sign in Race Relations

In large communities and small, new interracial committees are trying to guard against racial conflict and develop common understanding in the United States.

LESTER B. GRANGER

INTERRACIAL COMMITTEES HAVE SPRUNG UP in all parts of the United States during the past eighteen months. They have been appointed by governors and mayors; they have been formed by educational, scientific and social organizations; they have grown out of spontaneous gatherings of people deeply concerned about wartime morale.

These committees are the result of the American public's new and impressive concern with the social threat involved in racial hostility. Of course, it is the instinctive reaction of many Americans, faced with a social problem, to call for a committee—any committee! To some, a committee is a magic elixir; to others it is an easy substitute for action. But in this case, committee organization seems to express a real will-to-do previously lacking in the typical American community. This new attitude holds great promise for solving our most vexing problems of racial antagonisms and inequalities.

But beyond the matter of attitude, there is the question of the functions, techniques, and accomplishments of interracial committees. What, specifically, have they done? How have they done it? And how should they be related to other community programs? Answers to these questions must be tentative for this wartime trend is too new to permit of hard-and-fast conclusions.

New Efforts

There are no figures available as to the number of committees formed since the beginning of last year's riots. There are probably several hundred, most of them unknown to a central recruiting group and many of them unaware of any national interest in them. But anyone who travels about the country with a watchful eye on race relations developments can discover a number of interracial committees in seemingly unlikely communities and will be impressed by the amount and quality of volunteer effort that has gone into their organization.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University has listed 102 formally organized groups. Of these, 17 have been appointed by state governors, 16 by mayors, and 69 have come together voluntarily without official sponsorship. Some of these committees antedate the war but have been revitalized by the urgent racial problems of the past eighteen months. Some committees use the term "race relations" in their title; others, covering more than the field of Negro-white relationships, use such titles as Human Relations Committee, Goodwill Commission, Committee on Unity, Welfare Commission. Some were organized simply to guard against the outbreak of racial conflict, while others have essayed the tougher job of im-

proving race relations and Negro welfare.

This very diversity of structure and objectives shows how far the nation is from an over-all program for interracial equality and good will. Community leadership is still fumbling, earnestly or half-heartedly, at various approaches and methods. Until recently, racial problems were considered the responsibility of a few organizations especially formed for the purpose. Now, for the first time, a considerable section of the general public is trying its hand in the field. Trial-and-error is still the beginner's way of learning, and we must expect these first efforts to include the wrong as well as the right method of approach. Thus judgment regarding the future of the new interracial committees cannot be passed today, since comparatively few have significant achievements to report, nor could a great deal be expected after so short a trial.

But the structure, stated purpose, and types of activities of these new committees can be fairly assessed, and to obtain this information the writer addressed a questionnaire to the 102 interracial groups referred to earlier. From 57 came replies to questions regarding derivation of committee authority, objectives, frequency and type of meetings, staff, accomplishments, and plans for "relieving racial tensions." To the data thus gathered, the writer has added information gained from his field visits to different parts of the country since last year's riots, and from reports of local Urban League secretaries.

This article does not attempt a detailed analysis of the responses to the questionnaire, but rather summarizes the reports received and draws some conclusions as to the way American communities are trying to meet a serious social situation.

—By the executive secretary of the National Urban League, whose country-wide contacts in these swift-moving war years have put him in close touch both with the ominous tendencies in American race relations and the new social tools that are being forged to correct them.

After Dartmouth College Mr. Granger attended the New York School of Social Work. He has spent twenty-five years in social work and related educational service—on the staff of the New York Welfare Council; as director of legislative investigations for New York and New Jersey; with the Urban League. He has served on advisory committees of state and federal agencies; on the executive committees of the National Conference of Social Work and the American Association of Social Workers.

How committees are formed, and the composition of their membership is important in this connection. The derivation and extent of the authority of an "official" committee determine much of its effectiveness. The basic philosophy which a committee is prepared to defend depends largely upon whether it confines itself to a limited field or seeks the good of the community at large.

Organization and Authority

Interracial membership is a characteristic of all of the committees reporting—though Dallas, Tex., carefully avoids the term "interracial" and calls its mayor's committee "bi-racial." But even this committee has an equal number of Negro and white members. Most of the committees show a fondness for the "prestige" of individual members. Where committee members are chosen only for their community influence they are very apt to shy away from any decidedly liberal position on questions of race. Many committees have taken pains to include labor leaders. There is usually an over-heavy proportion of ministers, social workers, physicians, and lawyers. Generally speaking, committee membership is eminently respectable, but not remarkable for qualities of dynamic leadership.

There is considerable variation in the method of committee organization and the extent of authority among both official and voluntary bodies. A few state committees have legislative sanction; most do not. Similarly, few municipal committees have city council endorsement. The great majority of official committees have inadequate working budgets. Voluntary committees generally also are short of funds and while their members may be drawn from special interest groups, they seldom are authorized to speak for their respective organizations or expected to report back to them. Lack of representative authority is especially important in the case of official committees. Without it, they are handicapped in examining the policies and practices of public agencies, which are sometimes prime factors in generating racial friction.

Massachusetts and West Virginia

Massachusetts has two state committees—one, the Governor's Committee for Racial and Religious Understanding, and the other a legislative Recess Commission Studying Racial Discrimination. The latter was authorized by the 1943 legislature to inquire into discrimination in employment and to recommend means of abolishing it. As a legislative body it possesses the power of subpoena and other means of thorough investigation. It is due to report to the current session of the legislature. Governor

Saltonstall's committee, on the other hand, is without legislative sanction. It was organized during last year's anti-Semitic outbreaks in Boston and hence gave first attention to questions of police protection. It has also sought to extend intercultural activities in Massachusetts and has sponsored the organization of local commissions in several cities.

West Virginia's Human Relations Commission, appointed by Governor Neely, is also without status in law. But it includes in its declaration of purpose two functions which can be political dynamite: "Study of the policies of public and private agencies within the state, with reference to problems dealing with human relations; mobilization of public opinion in the interpretation of the facts and policies and in support of the objectives of the commission." In other words, the commission is empowered to turn the spotlight on the state's own racial policies and to mobilize public opinion to effect needed changes. How this body uses its opportunity in a border state with a bi-racial administrative system should be a matter of national interest as well as a test of the leadership qualities of its members.

New York, Illinois, Maryland

New York's present Committee on Discrimination follows a line of state action which began with a depression-born legislative commission "to study the condition of the urban colored population." After Pearl Harbor, Governor Lehman set up a committee of the State War Council to prevent discrimination in war employment, providing it with a field staff and working budget. The committee was further supported by a state law, making discrimination illegal and providing penalties for violation. In cooperation with the Office of Production Management and the War Manpower Commission, the New York committee was instrumental in placing and upgrading thousands of Negro, Jewish, and foreign-

born workers in war plants from which they otherwise would have been excluded. The committee's manual, "How Management Can Integrate Negroes in War Industries," was used widely throughout the country.

Governor Dewey reorganized the committee in 1943 and reaffirmed gubernatorial support. Early in 1944 the committee submitted to the legislature and the governor several bills proposing changes in state laws, among them a bill for a permanent State Fair Employment Practice Committee. Instead of urging its passage the governor asked the legislature to authorize another committee to study the recommendations of his own committee and report in 1945. Six members of his committee, three of them Negroes, promptly resigned, accusing the governor of delaying action on the fair employment proposals because he feared it might embarrass his campaign for the Republican presidential nomination.

This New York experience shows how politics or the suspicion of politics can intrude upon the program of governmental agencies concerned with race relations. As Gunnar Myrdal remarks in the report on his great racial study, "An American Dilemma," there is a "peculiar American danger of corruption and undue influence when something becomes 'political.'" Three safeguards suggest themselves: precise definition of an official committee's responsibility; sanction of that responsibility by the city council or state legislature; specific direction to the committee to examine and criticize publicly the government's record on racial policy and practice.

Illinois, like New York, began state action during the depression by appointing a legislative commission to study racial conditions and recommend legislative action to better them. This commission proposed amendments to state laws aimed to reduce discrimination in employment, housing, and

civil liberties. In 1943, Governor Green established an Interracial Commission "for the purpose of investigating means, not only of preventing racial strife, but of effecting permanent improvement of racial relations in the state." In lieu of an adequate working budget, the services of the research staff of the state department of finance were made available to the commission, several members of which were white and several Negroes.

The memorandum adopted by the commission as its initial guide is marked by rare common sense and sound Americanism: "Good will, in any permanent sense, cannot be promoted between racial groups by simple expedients such as the writing of pamphlets, the delivering of lectures, the institution of a series of radio programs, and the dissemination of general preachments about the brotherhood of men. . . . Unless white and colored groups both are thoroughly educated to believe in the concept of racial equality from the moment that their individual members can absorb the knowledge, so that the concept is accepted emotionally and rationally, the barriers to establishing amity between racial groups will be impossible to surmount."

The commission proposed a multi-point program including not only the usual conferences, broadcasts, and press releases, but also organization of local commissions throughout the state; study of school, recreational, employment and transportation facilities; scrutiny of police department and court practices; examination of the record of public and private welfare agencies. The commission is well implemented on the research side, but it has yet to demonstrate what it can do to correct the undesirable conditions it discovers. It is difficult to see how, lacking a staff of its own or power to impose penalties, the Interracial Commission can accomplish much more than its predecessor of the depression period.

Maryland's interracial commission was appointed by Governor O'Connor after a huge delegation of Negroes had "marched on Annapolis to present a bill of particulars regarding the state's failure to insure equality of opportunity for Negro citizens." The committee is only now moving to appoint an executive director, but several steps have been taken to keep Maryland, and Baltimore particularly, out of the race riot category and to dispose of some of the specific grievances presented by Negro leaders. For instance, in Baltimore for the first time Negroes have been appointed to the uniformed police force and the city's school board now includes a Negro member.

Chicago, Cleveland, New York City

Mayors' committees, for the most part, have been more hastily and less effectively organized than the agencies created by state governors. In several cities they seem to have been the mayor's method of passing on to some hapless group the pressure exerted upon his office for action in racial emergencies. As a rule, a mayor's committee is official only in the sense that a mayor appointed it, for the group is explicitly relieved of any clear responsibility to the

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Shipmates—and wounded by the same enemy

Official U. S. Navy photograph

SPECIAL BOOK SECTION

LETTERS AND LIFE

Serious Reading for a Grave Year

HARRY HANSEN

IN FORMER YEARS THE FALL WAS ALWAYS the season when publishers made their biggest efforts to catch the attention of the public and to win a share of the lucrative holiday buying. For this reason books were sometimes postponed from spring and summer to fall publication, with the result that lists were often unbalanced and some worthy books crowded aside by best-sellers. Publishers deprecated the rush but blamed the erratic character of book buying; when this had been disappointingly small in the early months of the year they hoped to even accounts at the end. This worked a hardship on many authors, for books published before Christmas were invariably looked upon as "last year's" by January second.

This year two factors have changed the situation. The public is buying books as never before, the year around, and the publishers are short of paper. Practically no selling talks are needed; the bookseller is invariably out of stock and the publisher has used up his quota.

Books Are in Demand

The effect on fall book lists is easily recognizable. The lists are shorter, there is less experimental writing, and there are fewer "trial balloons," books that may or may not catch on. The pre-publication demand, which is established by the response of the bookseller to advance copies, has changed to such an extent that a novel which the booksellers know their customers will buy gets an advance printing of 170,000 copies without benefit of a book club, where in former years 50,000 would forecast a big best-seller.

New publications reflect the serious mood of the American public. Although the appetite for entertainment must be served, by books no less than by motion pictures, no publisher makes fiction predominant among his coming publications. Fiction gets disproportionate emphasis in the talk of the trade, because one novel may sell better than all the non-fiction titles on the list, but influential ideas, comment on political and economic affairs, cannot be ignored, even when less profitable according to the ledger. They are as necessary as the backlogs of textbooks and classics, giving distinction to a list when the ephemeral books are forgotten.

Here a reference to the salutary side of book clubs may be in order. In sending "The American Character" by D. W. Brogan (Knopf) and the Beards' "Basic History of the United States" (Doubleday) to several hundred thousand subscribers,

one of the clubs at least is doing more than providing entertainment.

While politics and economics are well represented in the fall lists, I miss any discussion of postwar plans for an international order of the stature of Sumner Welles' "The Time for Decision" (Harper). Fortunately this book is not shelved merely because it is a few months old. Many commentators already have published their views and cannot be expected to repeat them season after season.

The discussion continues in "The Battle Against Isolation" by Walter Johnson and "The Tyrants' War and the Peoples' Peace" (both University of Chicago Press), by Ferdinand A. Hermens, a plea to avoid extremes; in "Foreign Policy Begins at Home" by James P. Warburg (Harcourt, Brace), "The Future of Europe" by Johannes Steel (Holt), "War and Its Causes" by L. L. Bernard (also Holt); in "Argentine Riddle" by Felix Jose Weil (John Day) and "An American Program" by Wendell Willkie (Simon & Schuster). A book of information called "An Intelligent American's Guide to the Peace" (Dryden Press), carries an introduction by Sumner Welles. The title, so reminiscent of one of Bernard Shaw's political books, reminds me that this octogenarian will be in the lists with "Everybody's Political What's What" (Dodd, Mead), but while this will be filled with Mr. Shaw's political advice I do not know whether it will have a bearing on the postwar order.

Matters of Deep Concern

The state of the nation is the subject of many new books. Perhaps I should mention, first, books that deal with economic tendencies and not specifically with the United States, such as "The Road to Serfdom" by Friedrich A. Hayek, introduced by John Chamberlain (University of Chicago Press), which came from England and attacks the movement toward totalitarianism via collectivism; and "Capitalism and Slavery" by Eric Williams (also University of Chicago Press). "Social-Economic Movements" by Harry W. Laidler (Crowell), "Puritanism and Democracy" by Ralph Barton Perry (Vanguard), "The Social Interpretation of History" by Maurice William (Scribner), "The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness" by Reinhold Niebuhr (also Scribner), are titles that easily provoke the reader's interest.

"Democracy Begins at Home" by Jennings Perry (Lippincott), describes the fight against the poll tax of the Nashville *Tennessean*. The combative Carey McWilliams

is bound to fight for a cause in "Prejudice: Japanese-Americans—Symbol of Racial Intolerance" (Little, Brown). The very title of Blake Clark's book, "The Advertising Smokescreen" (Harper), suggests an inquiry. The Negro in America continues to be the subject of earnest discussion, and of fiction such as "Deep River," by Henrietta Buckmaster (Harcourt, Brace); serious books include "What the Negro Wants" by Rayford W. Logan and other writers (University of North Carolina Press), and "The Negro in American Life," by John Becker (Messner), sponsored by the Council Against Intolerance in America. In this connection it should be remembered that Gunnar Myrdal's "An American Dilemma" (Harper) is a 1944 book and one that will be valuable for years to come.

While demobilization and the return of the soldier to civilian life are subjects that fill newspapers and magazines, they have been touched only briefly in books. One, "The Veteran Comes Back," by Willard Waller (Dryden Press), issued a month ago, takes up the possibilities of future employment; whereas another, "When Johnny Comes Marching Home" by Dixon Wecter (Houghton, Mifflin), brings the whole problem into historical focus by showing that readjustments have been difficult after every war, and that lack of employment and agitation for government relief, whether in the form of bounties, pensions or bonuses, have been present in the United States for over 150 years.

The character of the individual soldier and his development as a fighting man have never been better described on the spot than in the writings of Ernie Pyle, whose next book, "Brave Men" (Holt), will have a very wide circulation. Here this unpretentious writer, whose sole aim was to write for the folks back home what the boys were doing, and who had no awareness of literary patterns, makes by far the most valuable study of the civilian under arms that presence on the field has brought us.

Armchair Adventures

To speak of thrills in reading is not solely the prerogative of the mystery writer. There must be many who recall the thrill of reading "Looking Backward" for the first time. Arthur E. Morgan, former president of Antioch College, has written its author's biography in "Edward Bellamy" (Columbia University Press). A group of papers by Thomas Mann and other writers has been collected under the title of "Chaim Weizmann" by Meyer W. Weisgal (Dial

(All books ordered through Survey Associates, Inc., will be postpaid)



CENTRAL UNION OF EUROPE, by Peter Jordan. McBride. \$2.

Mr. Jordan starts with the wholly correct supposition that the federation of all of Europe is at present impossible, perhaps even undesirable. A more practical proposal seems, at least at first sight, a federation of the eleven states lying between Germany and the Soviet Union, between the Adriatic and the Black Sea. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this famous "middle zone" was part of the Austrian, Russian, and Turkish Empires; the principle of nationality disintegrated those empires and a number of small and medium sized states resulted.

It is doubtful whether the Western principle of nationality can be fully applied east of the Rhine. Mr. Jordan suggests combining this principle with those of economic and strategic security by creating one federation from the Gulf of Finland to the Aegean Sea.

Press), with an introduction by Felix Frankfurter. George W. Norris' autobiography, "America As I Saw It" (Macmillan), was completed just before he died. "Bernard Baruch, Park Bench Statesman," by Carter Field (Whittlesey), describes the career of another contemporary leader. "The Exile's Daughter" by Cornelia Spencer (Coward-McCann), deals with the life of Pearl S. Buck. And General Eisenhower is remembered in several volumes, including "General Ike" by Alden Hatch (Holt).

Historical figures are, as usual, subjects of biographies: this season's list includes "Frances Willard, From Prayers to Politics" by Mary Earhart (University of Chicago Press), "Against the Current: the Life of Karl Heinzen"—a Prussian radical who was exiled in the nineteenth century—by Carl Wittke (University of Chicago Press), as well as the usual studies of persons as remote as Amerigo Vespucci and as inevitable as the men around Lincoln. Three biographies already published properly belong to the fall season: "Patrick Geddes, Maker of the Future" by Philip Boardman (University of Chicago Press); "The Gentleman from Massachusetts: Henry Cabot Lodge" by Karl Schriftgiesser (Little, Brown); and "Pitchfork Ben Tillman" by Francis Butler Simkins (Louisiana State University Press).

Books on the war, firsthand reports of fighting, as well as comment on foreign

peoples and their political fortunes, will continue to have an important place among fall books. These vary from straight chronicles, such as "Where Away—A Modern Odyssey" (Whittlesey), the story of the USS Marblehead, by George Sessions Perry and Isabel Leighton, to documentary analysis in Waverly Root's "The Secret History of the War" (Scribner). While India will have a place in several new books, no new work on India by a political authority is announced. John B. Powell, who suffered severely from medical neglect while in the hands of the Japanese, is one of the last of the prewar foreign correspondents to publish his impressions in "My Twenty-five Years in China" (Macmillan).

Re-Discovery

In addition to books about war and politics, there will be much satisfying reading in literary criticism and literary history and we may well look-forward to opening F. O. Matthiessen's "Henry James; the Major Phase" (Oxford), J. Donald Adams' "The Shape of Books to Come" (Viking), and Joseph Wood Krutch's "Samuel Johnson" (Holt). We sometimes forget that our literary past must be discovered anew for every generation—or for what Woodrow Wilson called every college generation, four years—and that the greatest service rendered by such a book of personalities and comment as Van Wyck Brooks' "The World of Washington Irving" (Dutton) is

Mr. Jordan makes some excellent points. He is right in regarding East Prussia and Prussian Silesia as German invasion bases against the Slavs and suggests the removal of these two dangerous wedges. Certainly there is much to be said for the kind of Central Union he suggests. But at present Russia will not countenance the formation of such a federation; on the contrary, she intends to incorporate some of this territory into her vast empire and to maintain the independence of the other countries as buffer states between herself and the West. Though Mr. Jordan may be right in believing that what he proposes would benefit Russia no less than the peoples of the countries concerned, there is no indication at present that Russia agrees.

The book has some excellent maps and a thoughtful introduction by Ernest Minor Patterson, president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Professor of History, Smith College

HANS KOHN

in leading new readers to the best traditional literature.

And to conclude, despite famine, war, and pestilence, Will Durant carries forward his writing of "The Story of Civilization," and the third volume, "Caesar and Christ" (Simon & Schuster), is quite likely to be the most important of the series.

THE CONDITION OF MAN, by Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace. \$5.

THERE IS A CERTAIN DISADVANTAGE IN APPRAISING an important book several months after its publication. By that time most of the professional reviewers will have made their views public and to some extent the volume will have taken its place in that critical nexus which determines whether or not the book is to be used or neglected.

I have had trouble both with Mr. Mumford's book and with its reviewers. I have a very distinct feeling that the critics have dealt much too lightly, not to say superficially, with it. Those I have read seem to imply that no book is important these days unless it specifies remedies for the world's ills. They seem to be in search of easy and concrete answers—to want someone to tell them precisely what to do now, this moment. When I ponder over this demand for the quick and objective solution, I am reminded of the healthy advice proffered by Confucius. "If I explain one fourth," said Confucius, "and the man doesn't go back and think out the im-

lications in the remaining three fourths for himself, I won't bother to teach him again."

The trouble I have had with "The Condition of Man" is this: I have spent more than a month reading, studying, and taking notes—all with the object of making what the author has to say clear to myself, and unhappily I have not succeeded. I am not prepared to place the blame for my confusion upon Mr. Mumford. Because I feel so deeply that this is an important book and that it should be widely used I shall strive to write a review which will stimulate readers to join with me in an effort to clarify his thesis.

Although Lewis Mumford is a sociologist, a moralist, a critic, an historian and perhaps also an economist, thus demonstrating in his own life the versatility and balance which he demands of others, this current volume belongs definitely in the realm of philosophy. It deals with the ends of life, not its instruments. But, unlike most works on philosophy, Mr. Mumford extracts his philosophical ideas from a study of history. The purpose of philosophical history is to discover a new perspective, a new insight, a new meaning, and a new synthesis.

The primary question, then, is: Has Mr. Mumford fulfilled this purpose? My answer is equivocal. I do not know whether or not he has furnished a clue with respect to the meaning of history and human conduct. It pleases me, however, to note that he is willing to devote himself to a thorough-going search. He seems to be on the threshold of a meaning which he translates as "dynamic syncretism" and he searches out the fragments of this meaning in Greek, Roman, and Christian cultures. His treatment of these three great world movements is in many respects novel, sometimes so novel as to appear unwarranted. But here I keep reminding myself that one should not utilize conventional methods for analyzing a viewpoint which is distinctly unconventional. So far as I know, no other modern historian with a philosophical intention has attempted, for example, to integrate Freudianism and Marxism with psychoanalytic and pre-communistic conceptions.

The second basic consideration revolves around the notion of historical continuity. Here again Mr. Mumford is without doubt on the right trail. Too many of our less thoughtful interpreters are now confusing the idea of continuity with the idea of unity. Because they feel the unsatisfactory consequences of a fragmented experience and therefore long for unity, they strive to derive it from continuity, with the result that they invariably end in conservatism. Mr. Mumford avoids this pitfall but he does so at a cost. His synthesis eliminates one point of view, namely that of modern pragmatists, those philosophers who have in the past been preoccupied with change and contingency rather than permanence and continuity. He would, no doubt, answer by saying that all synthesis is a process of eliminations: that which gets itself synthesized in the ongoing stream of continuity is that which possesses survival

value, or that which demonstrates itself as truth. If he should take this stand, he would at once find himself among the pragmatists who, alas, have already been rejected.

The third question, and I fear the last admissible for a brief review, has to do with Mr. Mumford's theory of social disintegration. He renounces the Spenglerian thesis because it contains no levers for self-regeneration. This places upon him the responsibility of furnishing such levers for his thesis. Fully three fourths of this book deals with processes of decadence, but Mr. Mumford is no pessimist. He takes no joy in the discovery of degenerative processes and hence he has written a final chapter which is entitled "The Basis of Renewal."

It is this chapter which left so many of the reviewers in doubt and caused them to lay the book aside without the expectation of further reading. I wish I could state Mr. Mumford's basis of hope in concise form and thereby enlist the interest of others who also seek a new faith. I shall try.

He begins thus: "The challenge of war and the threat of death has given many men and women throughout the world a new courage in facing life and a new confidence in their abilities to outwit the men and mechanisms that would enslave them. . . . Man is at length ready to depart on new missions." What will this new and brave man take with him on this journey to a better world? First of all, a religion based upon the primacy of the person.



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Nothing short of individual conversion will suffice. Following upon this he may use as resources of regeneration certain catch-words or symbols to supplant those outworn, such as "cultivation, humanization, cooperation, symbiosis." With these he will construct a society the aim of which is not expansion but equilibrium. If this new adventurer is a capitalist, he will now seek investments in industries which fulfill human needs and not in those which merely promise profits. He will build a new cult of the family and increase his desire for children. His spiritual needs will be symbolized by the wish for order, continuity, meaning, value, purpose, and design. In his new constellation of values he will put babies above motor cars, art above plumbing, the well-being of the worker above the mechanical efficiency or cheapness of his product. Individual differences will be appreciated, power will be decentralized, and personality will become balanced.

I think that I understand why so many critics have been annoyed by this chapter. It is much too hortatory and could easily have been written without the context of the preceding three hundred and ninety pages. I myself wish that this chapter had not been included in this essay. It is rather the beginning of a new book and requires a distinguishing orientation. In other words, it does sound impractical, detached and, I must add, a bit frightened. These are not levers of action; these are preliminary ideas which those who desire new instruments must examine before they will know how to use their tools.

Finally, it seems to me fitting that I should add one further critical comment of a somewhat personal nature. I belong to the pragmatic tradition, whereas Mr. Mumford seems to think of himself as a humanist who can begin with stabilized, if not fixed, values. Many of my pragmatic colleagues seem to me in error, however, when they pass a generalized judgment upon the whole of Mr. Mumford's work. The true pragmatist cannot grow on arbitrary rejections, as William James insisted so persuasively. I regard Lewis Mumford as one of the truly perspicuous scholars of our time. He puts me to work every time he writes a book; the more I disagree with him the harder I have to work. I like that kind of man.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

*Professor of Social Philosophy
New York School of Social Work
Columbia University*

PATRICK GEDDES, by Philip Boardman. Introduction by Lewis Mumford. University of North Carolina Press. \$5.

THIS IS THE LIFE STORY OF A SCOTTISH botanist who became one of the most influential sociologists and social reformers of his time. For the greater part of his life his regular college classes met only during three months of the year. His words often were inaudible. He published very little. He rarely finished a project he started.

Yet he gave thousands of young people a passion for scholarly research; upset a thousand fixed beliefs in a score of sciences.



Halsman

AN AMERICAN PROGRAM, by Wendell L. Willkie. Simon and Schuster. In cloth \$1; in paper 25 cents.

Literally Wendell Willkie's last word as a great American citizen, this little book reprints ten challenging articles on issues immediately before the country and its political parties. Before his death early in October, Willkie had arranged to have his royalties go to a trust fund for philanthropic causes he set up after the publication of "One World." The publishers' profits are to be donated to the National War Fund.

He built universities, workers' homes, student hostels, and museums; planned gardens, cities, regions, and international expositions. He introduced new ideas and methods in adult education, sex education of children, teaching of English and of literature, of agriculture, of art, and of religion—but above all of biology in all its branches.

He saw the importance of consumer cooperation when it was as yet undeveloped, had a hand in the Gaelic cultural renaissance, made one of the first comprehensive city planning surveys; put on pageants in Scotland and India to dramatize the evils of social neglect; demonstrated methods of applied democracy in industry and community, of slum clearance and of conservation of historic monuments.

The influence of Patrick Geddes outlasts not only his death in 1932, but that of some of his disciples who transmitted typical Geddesian enthusiasms to others who often are wholly unconscious of their origin. As random evidences of Geddes' impact on America, which he visited several times, one might mention an article by H. J. Fleure in the current number of the *Geographical Review*, the work of several of our best known sociologists, the newer methods of installation in a dozen museums, many activities of our social settlements, the principles of "Town Hall" programs of adult education, some of the better housing plans, the merging of individual backyards in some of our cities to create pleasant internal gardens, and a

growing realism in scientific studies of all sorts.

Geddes rarely tried to please individuals and always was direct in his attacks on prejudice and pretentiousness. With the ignorant and dull-witted he had great patience. Those who, like Mr. Mumford or the present writer, had worked with Geddes under diverse circumstances and in diverse places were again and again impressed by the perseverance of the man in spite of frequent adversity, and with it the ability which he retained until old age to tackle new jobs freshly and vigorously.

Educators should read this book for the clues it offers to the solution of that perennial problem: what makes a genius? Space does not permit here to draw attention to the particular influences that shaped this unusual mind; but it may be pointed out that even the seemingly accidental forces in the shaping of a Patrick Geddes offer suggestions for experiences which to some extent can be planned. Here we find the answer, more especially, to the rather silly dispute between the advocates of "progressive" and "academic" forms of education: it lies in the opportunity for the free acquisition of interests earnest and continuous enough to create their own internal discipline.

Readers of *Survey Graphic* may recall its series of articles by Geddes, which were his lectures given in New York in 1925 and afterwards edited by Lewis Mumford. There also was a previous biographical attempt by Amelia Defries, "The Interpreter Geddes," which conveyed an impression of its subject largely through reproduction of characteristic conversations. Mr. Boardman has done a more solid job; with his aid readers who have never even heard of Patrick Geddes ought to be able to recognize him, in the words of the subtitle, as a "maker of the future." BRUNO LASKER
*Research Secretary, American Council
Institute of Pacific Relations*

COMPASS OF THE WORLD: A Symposium on Political Geography, edited by Hans W. Weigert and Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Macmillan. \$3.50.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF WORLD AIR TRANSPORT, by J. Parker Van Zandt. Brookings Institution. \$1.

THESE TWO BOOKS DEAL WITH THE NEW world in which we are living—and shall live for any calculable future we can envisage. The first is a broadbanded spectrum of cooperative investigation of the many geographical factors of that world. The second is a precisely focused study of a single factor which is giving shape to that new world. Both are required reading for every American who pretends to be concerned with the kind of peace we want.

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PHILLIPS BRADLEY
Department of Political Science
Queens College

FRONTIERS OF AMERICAN CULTURE:
A Study of Adult Education in a Democracy, by James Truslow Adams. Scribner. \$2.50.

ADULT EDUCATION IS NEW TO AMERICAN history only insofar as it has become self-conscious of its place, purpose, and role since the first World War. Recent writings on the subject have been multifarious, specific, and scattered. It was partly with the idea of incorporating these into a single volume avoiding the academic jargon, that Mr. Adams, the historian, was invited to write this book. The idea of having it prepared by an amateur in the field of education was excellent.

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Mr. Adams is most at home when he can discuss his subject as social history. He goes back to the first settlers and hurriedly reexamines United States history in terms of adult searchings and findings. With some justification he interprets just about every activity of man on the North American continent as part of his adult education, from the Mayflower Compact right on down to milking cows. His brief sketch of three centuries comprises roughly the first half of the book.

The rest is devoted to the more formal adult education of recent decades. Here he relies more specifically on the Carnegie-financed publications of the American Association of Adult Education and on the writings of Bryson, Ely, Cartright, and the others. Drawing on these and on his own rich background of American lore, the author takes up such manifestations of adult educational interest as women's clubs, lyceums, libraries, university extension work, labor education, and so on. Readers with special concerns may carp about things left out. But a more important grievance will be the author's failure to approach the philosophy underlying modern adult education on a basis other than the most platitudinous and sentimental.

Mr. Adams is correct in recognizing adult education as a jumble of activities. He is right, too, in keeping the amateur approach, but he is too good a historian to expect us not to be uneasy at the intrusion of his own personal feelings. The book will be read with pleasure by all interested in American social history, with impatience by those conversant with current trends and thoughts in the field, even when they agree with him most.

WILLIAM S. LYNCH

*Department of Humanities
The Cooper Union*

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH: Its Place in the Service of the World, by Sir Edward Grigg (with an introduction by the Rt. Hon. Lord Halifax). Liveright. \$2.75.

THE PUBLISHERS CALL THIS BOOK "THE BRITISH equivalent of Walter Lippmann's 'U. S. Foreign Policy.'" Though it is something less than that in felicity of style and sharpness of exposition, the comparison is apt, since both books are short and penetrating essays on the fundamentals of policy.

Sir Edward Grigg is a Conservative member of Parliament with wide experience in politics and administration. He had been private secretary to Lloyd George, governor of Kenya, and Under-Secretary of State for War. Like many others, he is disturbed by the decline in Britain's position among the Great Powers. He joins Prime Minister Smuts and Lord Halifax in seeking to compensate for that decline by a closer organization of the British Empire, especially by closer cooperation between Britain and the Dominions.

He is too realistic to expect anything like imperial federation. Instead, he proposes regional groupings of the various parts of the Empire with a consultative council and regular meetings of parliamentary representatives in each area. In addition, he urges a reorganization of the departments at

Westminster concerned with imperial affairs.

The case for closer cooperation among the British communities is very strong. It is probably true, as Sir Edward argues, that the United States will have an easier time in the world if the British Commonwealth remains united. It is almost certainly true that the Dominions can preserve more of the substance of freedom as members of that free association than they would enjoy after assuming a theoretically "independent" status which would leave them in fact weak and dependent on other Great Powers than Britain. It is much less certain that such wisdom will determine the course of events.

So far, the chief effect of the war seems to be increased independence of attitude on the part of the Dominions; all proposals for stronger institutional ties have broken down on the rock of domestic politics or national feeling in one Dominion or another. Especially in Ottawa and Dublin (if Eire is still to be included among the Dominions) this book ought to be prescribed reading for parliamentarians. Americans will find it a good guide to the imperial constitutional problem.

Barnard College

T. P. PEARDON

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC MOVEMENTS, by Harry W. Laidler. Crowell. \$5.

MR. LAIDLER, WHO FOR YEARS HAS BEEN known as one of the most thorough scholars in the field of social philosophy and who is not willing to separate study and belief from action, has written an excellent survey of the historical development of social-economic movements. In view of the author's background in this field, the work warrants careful consideration. He has performed the unique service of tracing the evolution of social reform from the amoebic beginnings of the religious philosopher Amos to the complications of modern totalitarianism.

It was courageous, indeed, to attempt such a comprehensive survey. But with over twenty years of service in social movements, the author is equal to this difficult task. Starting from the solid foundations of his earlier book, "The History of Socialist Thought," he rounds out the story of social reform by the addition of much material on the communist, socialist, and cooperative programs as they emerged in various countries before and after the first World War.

Mr. Laidler is fully aware that any history of social reforms must be integrated with general social and economic history. In his preface he says that he ". . . seeks to provide a history of these movements and systems of thought and describe the social environment which led to their development." However, it does not seem to this reviewer that he has fully achieved this difficult purpose. His work is too much concerned with individual beliefs and insufficiently with the social substrata which underlie them. The beliefs of Proudhon, Fourier, Marx, Lassalle, and others are treated with an excessively biographical approach. Throughout the book one keeps hoping for broad historical analyses and

nds instead many interesting factual details and enlightening comments upon specific occurrences.

Yet Mr. Laidler more than compensates for the lack of historical theory by richness of detail and mature and cautious treatment of the subjects covered. The book will prove exceedingly useful as the only complete history of social reform; the organization and classification of these historical facts will aid teachers, students, and laymen alike.

The reader will find the chapters on socialist movements in various lands, including Australia, Canada, and the United States, particularly useful as background information. The admirable chapter on recent programs for reconstruction brings the development in these latter countries up to date in a summary that cannot be duplicated elsewhere.

WILLIAM WITHERS
Economics Department, Queens College

THE ROAD TO SERFDOM, by Friedrich A. Hayek. University of Chicago Press. \$2.75.

PROFESSOR HAYEK, who is of the third generation of the once-famous Vienna group of economists, and who has taught at the London School of Economics for the last thirteen years, has stepped forth from his academic chair much as a learned physician emerges from the laboratory in a time of epidemic. He does it reluctantly but out of conviction.

Mr. Hayek dedicates his small but excellent book "to the socialists of all parties." He sees men converging from every quarter of the political map upon a road where what they seek may be forever lost. Like several other able, imaginative, progressive economic thinkers of today, he has found that the wide surrender to Marxian concepts has created a psychological deadlock in public discussion.

He thinks it useless to argue about the soundness of this or that statement or any one of the "assertions taken over by one writer from another until, by mere reiteration, it has come to be accepted as established fact." Modern psychology teaches that once a basic philosophy is embraced as indubitably true, almost any number of details may be proved false to the believer without his faith being shaken. Consequently, it is the central assumptions of socialism, or statism, which must be broken down before anything an unprejudiced economist has to say will register at its true value in the public mind. Many eminent critics of socialism have pronounced the psychological contagion incurable. Mr. Hayek is hopeful enough to fight it, in the name not only of sane economic theory, but of a high concept of society.

To leave the socialist highway and turn back to liberalism does not to him mean setting the old against the new. Hundred-year-old socialism has posed as the way of the future so long that it has led millions into the mental concentration camps of modern collectivism. Liberalism, "the abandoned road," has yet to show to what new heights it can lead the industrial society it created, with the only systems of political liberty functioning today. "There is nothing in the basic principles of liberalism to make

it a stationary creed . . . and the term 'laissez faire' is a highly ambiguous and misleading description of the principles on which a liberal policy is based."

According to Mr. Hayek, it is liberalism, with its insistence on free competition under equal terms, that gives incentive and scope to unceasing action against social ills, whereas collectivism unavoidably runs into

paralyzing rigidities. For instance, take the threat to the consumer from monopolies. So well has the label "monopoly capitalism" been hammered home that it takes an inordinate mental effort to uncover the sense and nonsense hidden in those two words. By definition and tradition, liberalism has never ceased to fight monopolies and has succeeded where it was not forced back by



International News

WOODROW WILSON: As the Camera Saw Him Then and As We See Him Today, by Gerald W. Johnson. With the collaboration of the editors of *Look* magazine. Harper. \$2.

"Oh, the immovably, shining, smiling man!" Thus William Bolitho described Woodrow Wilson as he appeared to Europe in 1919. "The perfect model of the Christian cad." Thus H. L. Mencken described Woodrow Wilson as he appeared to a considerable number of Americans in 1920."

With these opening words, Gerald W. Johnson strikes the note of his book: a note of lucid impartiality, used throughout this honest, yet human, inquiry into the life and personality of Woodrow Wilson, twenty-eighth President of the United States.

Mr. Johnson has used a very contemporary technique in this book. He has relied on the eye. The reader sees what he wishes to see in the mass of photographic evidence we have of Wilson's career. One wishes, at times, there were more of the most interesting text which accompanies the pictures, for Mr. Johnson writes with warmth and clarity. But the pic-

torial technique is one which the gentle art of publicity has successfully nurtured. It also makes for greater brevity than if the tale were told in words, that brevity which hurried lives seize as a short-cut to knowledge.

The book contains eight chapters, the first of which is entirely textual, since photographs of the early years of Wilson's life are scarce. From then on it is mainly pictorial, with a page of text prefacing each chapter. Mr. Johnson leads us through the phases of Wilson's career by tracing how he became successively President, Leader, Hero, Idol, Villain, Victim and, finally, Legend. These are arresting terms and as controversial as Wilson himself, but Mr. Johnson explains them lucidly.

In collaboration with the editors of *Look* magazine, Mr. Johnson has made a most interesting contribution to the study of the "unforgettable figure who has returned to haunt us."

JULIE D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT

Assistant Director, Woodrow Wilson Foundation, New York

protectionism; while collectivism and monopoly have strong affinities. Socialists, accepting monopolies as ordained by economic necessity, will take them over for the state—that is, perpetuate them. Liberal economic theory, however, is free to find ways to give them battle on the broad field of free enterprise.

Along with the inevitability of monopolies, Mr. Hayek assails the inevitability of planning (in the accepted sense of collectivist planning). He discusses the uncanny relationship between absolute economic security and totalitarianism, the international dangers cropping up between the several planned economies, and many other aspects of his theme. He is so preoccupied with getting rid of the cobwebs and booby-traps that today impede intelligent economic thinking, that he leaves himself little time to indicate possible methods of dealing with the problems of industrial society today. His approach is that once the socialist-antisocialist cramp, so foreign to Anglo-American social traditions, is broken, the immense social, economic, and political tasks of our time can be tackled in the true climate of Western thought and action. Mr. Hayek will satisfy many readers that the way, though about to close against us, is still open.

The book has already been widely discussed in England; it should arouse equally keen interest here. It says what it has to say quietly, sensibly, understandably, without preaching or talking down to the reader.

Former Associate Editor TONI STOLPER
Deutscher Volkswirt

CONTEMPORARY ITALY: ITS INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL ORIGINS, by Count Carlo Sforza. Translated by Drake and Denise De Kay. Dutton, \$3.50.

THIS BEAUTIFUL AND REFRESHING BOOK HAS a double importance. It gives an enlightening analysis of the intellectual and moral origins of contemporary Italy. At the same time it is an unintentional portrait of the author himself, who may become one of the most important personal factors in the liberation of his cherished country.

The book is the result of a series of lectures by Count Sforza at the University of California. Those who seek for a chronological history, many facts, and the other paraphernalia of traditional scholarship will be disappointed. However, those who have a tolerable acquaintance with the main developments of modern Italy during the last two hundred years will be delighted and highly benefited by the author's treatment of the subject. Not only in the analysis of the last forty years in which Count Sforza had a leading role, but even in the discussion of the remoter past one feels very personal reactions and evaluations.

As an intellectual disciple of Machiavelli (of whom he gives a new and convincing interpretation) of Vico and Croce, he is perfectly aware of the continuity of history. Men and ideas for him are only the promoters or retarders in the life of the nation. Any dogmatism, philosophic or political, is alien to him. This does not

mean, however, that he is a follower of that antiquated historiography for which there are no values, no discriminations between right and wrong, but only facts, excerpts, and footnotes. On the contrary, he judges both the past and the present actors in the Italian drama in the perspective of their historical responsibilities. His book is a kind of retrospective tribunal before which the really great men find full recognition and the small ones, the mediocrities and the impostors, are unveiled.

This is the reason why events, men, and ideas often receive an utterly new interpretation in the book. The volume is a fruit of the personal experiences of Count Sforza's long diplomatic career. He has learned the common features of human psychology under different climates and in different races. He is never fooled by the conventional views of the diplomats or respectable public opinion. He is equally severe in his judgments concerning the dominant currents of his period. He shows why socialism committed a kind of suicide by the falsification of its true moral content. He shows how positivism and the "historical" method have destroyed the intellectual life of two generations, and how the policy of the Vatican assumed all the mistakes of power politics under the disguise of a sublime creed.

In all his demonstrations we feel not only the influence of the Italian past but also the shadow of the future problems which must be solved in order that Italy may find new life after the terrible Calvary of fascism. With the whole strength of his moral conviction, Count Sforza urges three main reforms: one is the solution of the agrarian problem which even the Italian radicals, since Mazzini, have neglected; the second is that Italy should be not an enemy but a guide and helper to her younger Slavic brethren; the third is a moral purification of his corrupted country. "What counts," he exclaims, "is not to know toward what the *world* is going, but to know toward what *each one* of us is going." And he reiterates with enthusiasm the words of his great master, Mazzini: "You will not create better conditions unless you yourselves become better. Let each of you always do his duty, civic and moral, and Italy will be better."

The book was finished before Count Sforza undertook the arduous task of returning home at the beginning of the liberation of his country to participate in the perils and sufferings of his compatriots. He was instrumental in the repudiation of the dynasty (one of the chief causes of the fascist disaster) by all shades of advanced Italian public opinion. Recent photographs give evidence of the enormous burdens under which he, a man of seventy-two, is struggling. He is in danger of assassination by fascist spies.

Therefore, the hostile criticism of intransigent leftists seem to be extremely ill-founded. According to them, he abandoned the cause by participating in the government on the basis of an interim compromise. It is easy to be Catic and intransigent in the relative calm of American public life. Sforza has chosen a far more

dangerous role. When Moscow abandoned the left parties and accepted the House of Savoy for the immediate future, Sforza and Croce faced the alternative of either participating in the government or of losing all influence in shaping the future.

Sforza has sacrificed for the interest of his country the intransigent formula which is his profound conviction. He may have thought in accordance with his philosophic and moral background that the trend of history is stronger than the formulae of the politicians. The liberated Italian people will surely settle their account with the discredited House of Savoy.

OSCAR JÁSZI

*Department of Political Science
Oberlin College*

THE ADVENTURES OF THE YOUNG SOLDIER IN SEARCH OF THE BETTER WORLD, by C. E. M. Joad. Arco Publishing Company, \$2.

WHEN JOHNNY COMES MARCHING HOME, by Dixon Wecter. Houghton, Mifflin, \$3.

A YOUNG SOLDIER, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE hopes and fears of mankind, goes for a walk through the English forest in which his unit is stationed. This forest illustrates the maze of contradictory thinking about the postwar world. In rapid succession the intelligent young fellow meets the symbols of conflicting ideas: Captain Percy Nick, the Devil disguised as a cynic; Mr. Speak-easy, the politician; the Ultra-red Robot, a Marxist; Redtape Worm, a bureaucrat; and other colorful, if bewildering, individuals who represent many cults and shades of thinking.

Eventually the Young Soldier meets the Philosopher (Joad himself) who doesn't provide all of the answers but who does direct his thinking into orderly channels, and concludes with the admonition: "It is you who will have to make that better world, not I." The illustrations by Mervyn Peake defy description; they must be seen to be properly appreciated. In fact, the same can be said of the entire book. This may well turn out to be the most brilliant satire and one of the most provocative books of the decade.

Professor Wecter's book cannot be described in a brief review but it can be characterized in four words—complete, scholarly, interesting, timely. Out of the richness of detail acquired from extensive research, the author describes the transition from war to peace made by the soldiers of our three great wars—the Revolution, the Civil War, and World War I. He goes on from there to the problems of the veterans of this war, and to the plans being formulated to aid them in their readjustment to civilian life. In general, Mr. Wecter finds that we, as a nation, are facing the problem much more realistically than ever before.

Many of his sources (such as diaries, journals, and letters) are of a type unfamiliar to any but professional historians. For that reason this book will be especially enjoyed by the layman with an intelligent interest in our history. For others, as well as for the reader with limited time, there are three sections which should be ex-

mined: the introduction, "After Three Wars"; the historical summary, "The Road Back, 1783-1919: A Review"; and the last chapter, "Where Do We Go From Here?" No thinking American can afford to overlook these fifty pages. Many thoughtful readers will wish to compare this book with Willard Waller's "The Veteran Comes Back" (Dryden Press).

RALPH ADAMS BROWN
Sp. (T) 1/c-USCGR

BEYOND VICTORY, by Jerry Voorhis.
Farrar & Rinehart. \$2.50.

MR. VOORHIS HAS WRITTEN A USEFUL BOOK. Its purpose is to present to the reader a picture of the causes of war and "to set forth item by item the price of peace."

False propaganda is one of the foremost forces that plunge nations into war. There must be, in the future, the free right to know the truth about other parts of the world. Great lies still are another powerful cause of war. Defeat of the Axis, statesmanship by the United Nations, and international organizations to prevent aggression, are necessary in order to remove fear. State-controlled religion, too, can become a positive menace to the peace. (In this context the author points out that probably no branch of the Christian Church "has put so much emphasis upon the importance of the virtue of obedience as has the Lutheran church.") Next comes imperialism. An indefinite continuance of colonial dependencies must lead to catastrophes. Some sort of "effective international trusteeship for the administration of such areas" is needed.

Peace also demands a solution of the unemployment problem. Hunger and want drive peoples into war, as do monopolies and cartel agreements. To subject internal economies of nations to an international gold standard breeds strife; it is, Mr. Voorhis thinks, "a relic of barbaric periods of mankind's development." It must have been a disappointment to him that under the pressure of Washington and with the connivance of Moscow the new plans for international currency stabilization have been based on gold. In his opinion the concept of master races lay at the root of the present World War.

In a concluding chapter that causes some apprehension, Representative Voorhis discusses his own past illusions with engaging frankness. It shows that even a man as progressive as he was unable to gauge the worldwide implications of Hitlerian totalitarianism and the global danger existing ever since Hitler's rise to power. Up to Pearl Harbor he believed America could keep neutral. It is disarming, but it reflects a lack of understanding of the dangers inherent in fascism and of the mechanism of aggression, that creates little confidence in the ability of even the best men on Capitol Hill to detect and counteract future dangers before it is too late.

There is hardly a page in the book to which one can take exception—apart, perhaps, from the conventional approach to private monopolies and cartels. These, together with the armament manufacturers, are perennially convenient and safe targets

of attack. Personally, I think that their role as disturbers of the peace has been greatly exaggerated; there is, in this country especially, a kind of emotional element that dominates the discussion of these outgrowths of an aging and slightly bewildered capitalism.

I wish Representative Voorhis had not been content with preaching a lay sermon. He has been such a live wire, such a force for good in Congress, that one might expect a more challenging book. It is too easy to say yes to this book, to praise its purpose, its balance, its conclusions. It is too comfortable a book. I do not believe that a single America-First, anti-Semite or isolationist would change his mind as a result of reading it or feel like knocking the author down in anger and passion. With apologies to the headmasters, who are useful members of the human society, I should say it is the book of a headmaster rather than a political fighter. All of Mr. Voorhis' combative spirit seems to go into the good fight he conducts on the Hill.

EGON RANSIHOFFEN-WERTHEIMER
Author of "Victory Is Not Enough"

MANAGEMENT IN RUSSIAN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE, by Gregory Bienstock, Solomon M. Schwarz, and Aaron Yugov. Oxford University Press. \$3.

REVOLUTIONS IN RUSSIA, by G. R. Treviranus. Harper. \$3.

"MANAGEMENT IN RUSSIAN INDUSTRY AND Agriculture" is the first study to be published under the auspices of the new Institute of World Affairs, which will function as an independent unit of the New School for Social Research. The book represents a modest but valuable scholarly beginning in the projected series.

Though much has been published in English on Soviet industry and agriculture, this study fulfills a long-felt need by concentrating on the machinery of management. Attention is focused not on aggregate effects of the management of industry and agriculture in general, but upon the distribution of functions and powers in a single industrial plant and in a single collective farm. The origin, status, incentives, and ideology of managerial personnel are investigated.

In the introduction, Jacob Marschak remarks that "reserve and caution in reaching conclusions were obviously essential. Where appraisal was made, such criteria were applied as are generally recognized in discussions of economics and social policy. Contributions to higher national income by producing large quantities of better and more useful goods was considered a success, the opposite a failure."

In general these criteria are observed, but the conclusions do not always accord with what is known of the aggregate accomplishments of Soviet industry and agriculture. Perhaps one reason for this rests in the selection of factual material. The sources are properly and almost exclusively Russian, but it would seem that an unconscious advantage is taken of the great amount of "self-criticism" in the Soviet newspapers and periodicals, and very little of the "self-praise." At times the study takes

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on the aspects of a "Truman Report" of the failures in Soviet industry and agriculture, which still leaves us uninformed as to how they were able to withstand the acid tests of war so magnificently.

In striking contrast to this intentionally limited and concentrated study is Mr. Treviranus' book, in not many more pages, which sweeps through a hundred years of Russian diplomatic and social history. It is history pleasantly simplified in the *Time* magazine fashion, and takes on the aspect of a task suggested by an enterprising publisher for the benefit of readers who demand short cuts to knowledge. The long history of the Russian revolutionary movement is more than a twice-told tale; to retell it today requires the justification of much new material or an entirely original interpretation. There is little of either in this book.

With these obvious limitations, however, "Revolutions in Russia" is well told and interesting, and reveals the author's talent for historical generalization. But such a book would have suited better the capacities of an author less informed and less scholarly in this field than Mr. Treviranus.

ERNEST J. SIMMONS

*Chairman, Department of Slavic Languages
Cornell University*

THE THEORY OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS, by C. E. Ayres. University of North Carolina Press. \$3.

ONE OF THE CRYING NEEDS OF CONTEMPORARY social science is to restore the concept of progress, urges Professor Ayres in this meaty, thought-provoking, at times confusing and controversial treatise. His theory of economic progress springs from the inherent progressiveness of technology, from the dynamics of industrialism as distinct from capitalism.

In brief, the reasoning is as follows: All technical achievement is contingent upon tools. Types of tools vary as widely as from flint scrapers with which canoes are hollowed out, to the symbols and mathematical journals of the mathematician and the literature of music and science. Skill is a function of the tool-pattern of a given culture. Tool-patterns of successive cultures are related. They may also be "cross-fertilized." All inventions are combinations of pre-existing devices. "In this process, materials—what economists have so misleadingly designated as 'natural' resources—function as devices. . . . The history of every material is the same. It is one of novel combination of existing devices and materials in such a fashion as to constitute a new device or a new material or both." Hence the developmental character of technology by an ever-increasing magnitude.

The tool-combination theory of progress points to no preconceived end, the author continues; it is our mistaken concept of value which requires us to think that it does. Essentially, technological progress is continuous even though "mystic potencies"—ceremonial patterns—retard or temporarily deflect it.

Confused analysis of institutions has led to a confusion of technological with ceremonial behavior functions. An outstanding

example is the theory that accumulated wealth is the primary instrument of industrial production, that the "spirit" of modern capitalism was the author of the industrial revolution. It was a change in tools that transformed business enterprise, among the most significant of which were printing by movable type and double-entry bookkeeping. Thus, "If economic value means anything at all, its meaning is that of a gradual and continuous realization of a more effective organization of the technological life-process. . . . For every individual and for the community the criterion of value is the continuation of the life-process—keeping the machines running."

Considering the "strategy of progress" Mr. Ayres explains that, in part, "the sickness of acquisitive society," as Tawney put it, is a police problem which calls for the business equivalent of street lighting, such as grade labeling and standardized accounts fully open to public scrutiny. Even more important is the redistribution of the national income calculated to assure markets for the products of industry and to absorb excess funds. Neglect of the present flow of purchasing power is the one defect in the Keynesian theory of the multiplier. Capitalism is collapsing because of the maldistribution of income. Unless we accept and act upon the need for continuous and sufficient consumer purchasing power, "We will enact enough social security legislation to ease our consciences, but not enough to save the economy, and so we will have more depressions and more wars."

In the allotted space it is impossible to convey a sense of the tremendous amount of effort and reflective thought which has gone into this volume, or to take up the glove over some of its postulates. Philosophic-economist in the Veblen-Dewey tradition, Mr. Ayres draws from anthropology, sociology, psychology, and history and gathers optimism that is contagious.

ELIZABETH F. BAKER

*Associate Professor of Economics
Barnard College*

THE CHURCH AND THE WAR, by Karl Barth. Translated by Antonia H. Froendt. With an introduction by Samuel McCrea Cavert. Macmillan, \$1.

KARL BARTH HAS FOLLOWED UP HIS OPEN letters to the churches in France and Britain with one to the churches in the U. S. A. It is not a spontaneous document that comes from the author's heart, but rather the answer to seven questions formulated by Dr. Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. The letter is preceded by a brief survey of the effects the Nazi rise to power had upon the churches of Central Europe. This historical sketch is pretty general and—as should be expected at this time—expresses Dr. Barth's personal views and misgivings rather than offers detailed historical information.

The letter itself is divided into two sections; one dealing with questions of political ethics; the second, with the role American Protestantism should play in the reconstruction of the world. Three points are emphasized throughout. First, only those

churches are relevant from the theological and political viewpoint which make the message of the atoning death of Jesus, his resurrection, the kingly power of the risen Christ, and his Second Coming the center of their teaching and worship. Second, the churches have to make a clear stand for righteousness, both in national and international life, but must not identify themselves with any political party or government. They have to fight National Socialism as the denial of the principle of righteousness. But this stand will be one of the many applications of the Gospel, not the Gospel itself. Finally, the American interest in postwar planning betrays a lack of realism. The Swiss theologian thinks that people in this country neglect the problems of the present hour for the benefit of a hypothetical future, and thus render themselves unable to develop the spiritual energy which an unknown and, in its concrete manifestations, absolutely unpredictable future will require for Christian action.

While the little book contains many interesting remarks, and while its skeptical attitude towards American Protestantism is probably justified to a large extent as far as the attitude toward European problems is concerned, the document as a whole is less impressive than Dr. Barth's open letters to the Christians of France and Britain. He seems to be embarrassed rather than helped by the way the questions are asked of him; his theology appears often obscure; political and ecclesiastical prejudices seem to dim his historical vision; and his ignorance concerning the spiritual life in the United States deprives this work of the directness and clarity which characterized his other contributions to the international situation. OTTO A. PIPER
Princeton Theological Seminary

THE NAZIS GO UNDERGROUND, by Curt Riess. Doubleday, Doran. \$2.50.
BLACK MAIL, by Henry Hoke. Reader's Book Service. \$1.

IN THE HEYDAY OF THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC a novel, "Der Kaiser ging, die Generale blieben," caused a certain sensation, for in it the author revealed—what was not entirely unknown to shrewd political observers in Germany and abroad—that, while the Kaiser had fled to Holland, the general staff had remained intact. The brain trust of the Imperial German Army was ready to transform Germany again into a formidable military power.

The present German leaders kept this fact in mind. Curt Riess, an exiled German journalist, asserts that the Nazis, convinced that Germany had lost the war, started going underground as early as May, 1943, after the Allied capture of Tunisia. A "general staff" was established to function when the Nazi party will be outlawed by the AMG; the underground party will have secret radio stations, clandestine papers, hidden arsenals of arms, ammunition, explosives, and sabotage material to switch over to guerilla warfare. Specially trained Elite Guards, working as policemen, firemen, relief and Red Cross Workers, and in other clever disguise, will do their utmost to prevent Germany from becoming

a democratic, peace loving nation, and to prepare the people for World War III. Mr. Riess offers the names of the underground leaders—names unknown to the American reader—and details of the Nazi plans. In part the book reads like a thriller, and one wonders how the author was able to gather such precise information, but we are told that "this book deals with facts, not dramatic and operatic speculations." There are several chapters that can be recommended not only to the man in the street but to more aware statesmen—"Those Who Paid Hitler," "If I Were a Nazi Assigned to the U. S. A.," and "Have They Gone Under Cover?" Many German bankers and industrialists soon will pose as ardent anti-Nazis, even as victims of the Nazi regime, in order to enlist the sympathies of the Allies and be entrusted with the rebuilding of Germany. According to Mr. Riess these are actually stooges, cleverly camouflaging the sinister plans of the Nazi underground. This underground will be

in close touch with all seditionists in the U. S. A. who, under cover, continue to sow dissension among the people; it will work with the crackpots and malcontents of all countries in order to make the Allies lose the peace. The illegal Nazi party would welcome a German government consisting of such "anti-Nazis" as Treviranus, Erwin Bumke (president of Germany's Supreme Court), Pastor Niemoeller, Otto Strasser, Hjalmar Schacht, Otto Meissner, or Franz von Papen, often mentioned in conservative circles in Washington and London as possible members of a German postwar government—these men would not be "over eager to do anything drastic about the underground." Mr. Riess rightly demands that something should be done to eliminate this new Nazi threat, stating that "the only way the coming Nazi underground can be crushed before it is strong enough to rear its head is to introduce a new order. In Germany—

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and outside Germany." But he fails to specify what he means by a "new order," probably thinking that the answer to this question was beyond the scope of his book.

Mr. Hoke's pamphlet reads like a chapter-and-verse demonstration of the correctness of Mr. Riess' thesis, especially as far as Nazi and fascist propaganda in the United States is concerned. "Black Mail" seems to contain irrefutable facts, gathered by a freedom- and America-loving businessman who supplies us with full names, accurate figures, and even photostatic copies of documents revealing the un-American machinations of certain individuals and groups in this country.

It seems strange that even now, almost three years after Pearl Harbor, countless anti-democratic, anti-American organizations are permitted to function. It seems incredible that the same tyranny which American soldiers and sailors are fighting abroad "should be spreading its poison here behind the backs of our armies, in our smallest villages as well as in our big cities." The book contains numerous items that should be of vital interest to the FBI.

ALFRED WERNER
Viennese essayist now in the United States

FREEDOM FROM FEAR—The Interrelation of Domestic and International Programs, by Louis H. Pink. Harper. \$2.50.

THOUGH ADVERTISED AS A "BEVERIDGE PLAN for America," less than half of this book deals with the problem of social security—and most of that is devoted to private insurance and is presented from the angle of the private insurance advocate. The greater part of the book deals with post-war international economic relations and the necessity of organized international cooperation. Between these two sections are sandwiched two chapters about housing reform and the housing projects on which insurance companies have invested some of their funds. The book fails, however, to mention the questionable contribution to social security made by insurance companies when they foreclosed some three billion dollars' worth of farms and homes, under distress conditions during the great depression.

Mr. Pink pretty nearly identifies private insurance with social security. He deems "industrial insurance" a heaven-sent "design for the thrifty poor"; opposes federal supervision of commercial insurance. With faint praise he damns the Beveridge plan as something perhaps fine for the English but not in keeping with the American spirit of free enterprise. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, according to him, is as bad or worse—"revolutionary," something which would alter "the entire social viewpoint of the country." He warns against undue liberalization of the federal old age and survivors insurance system—lest it discourage individual initiative. He points out some of the shortcomings of the present hodge-podge of state unemployment insurance laws, but favors "experience rating" and opposes the nationalization of unemployment compensation. Increasing the federal "bureaucracy," he fears, "may threaten not only the power and prestige of state

and municipal governments, but *the rights and liberties of the people.*"

The book falls short of presenting all the elements in a complete program of social security. It does not touch the problems of public assistance, maternity insurance, family allowances. In the matter of health insurance and medical care, Mr. Pink, of course, is an advocate of private, voluntary efforts. He praises the commercial health-and-accident insurance companies, the private hospital associations, and the various voluntary group and industrial efforts for the provision of medical care. However, he fails to mention that even if one could manage Blue Cross hospital insurance, plus commercial medical insurance, plus mutual sickness indemnity insurance—the only types of substantial health insurance which, in actual practice, are available to the vast majority of people in America—one would generally still be inadequately protected to meet the costs of chronic illness or of illness involving major surgery and protracted hospitalization; one would still not feel free to go to a hospital or well-rounded group clinic for a complete diagnostic checkup; or to go to a doctor early enough to take proper care of a potentially dangerous but perhaps temporarily bearable "cold," "pain in the side," and so on.

Mr. Pink does, however, favor "further study" of the problem of adequate medical care and health insurance. And he does advocate including universal compulsory insurance against permanent disability in the federal social security system. "In that regard," he admits, "private insurance does not and can not afford adequate protection."

In other words, the insurance companies have lost money on permanent disability benefits—let the government take over that field.

HARVEY LEBRUN
Formerly acting director of the American Association for Social Security

OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES, by Osmond K. Fraenkel. Viking. \$3.

THE PUBLICATION OF ANY BOOK ON THIS topic is potentially important. This is true because modern, total war is so complex and so completely alters civilian life that it inevitably, even if temporarily, restricts civil liberties. Furthermore, no one familiar with history will doubt that in the years following the close of this war our civil liberties will continue to be a subject of paramount importance. After World War I, communism was the bugaboo for those who desired limitations on our freedom, in the 1940's communism may well be replaced by the native fascism which for a decade has been a small but pernicious sore on the body politic.

While any book on this subject is potentially important, the reader needs to know the answer to two questions before accepting its actual importance: What are the author's qualifications for writing a book on this subject? Has he dealt either definitely or suggestively with the subject?

Mr. Fraenkel is a member of the New York bar with a background of more than thirty years of legal experience, much of it dealing with constitutional law. As either defending attorney or as historian he is

familiar with many of the leading civil rights cases of this century. The author's further interest in his subject is certified to by his important role in the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union.

"Our Civil Liberties" lacks the completeness, for example, Mr. Chafee's "Free Speech in the United States." The reason is quickly apparent; the latter book deals with but one of the many facts considered by Mr. Fraenkel. Some readers, comparing the attitude of this book toward un-American propagandists with the introduction to Max Lerner's "The Mind and Faith of Justice Holmes," will feel that the latter is more realistic. Yet no one will doubt the suggestiveness of this book. It has breadth, covering the entire field of civil liberties, with some historical background. By tracing the development of judicial opinion, especially during the shifting Thirties, and by translating legal history and terms into words a layman can recognize, Mr. Fraenkel has provided the answers to many questions which intelligent Americans will be asking during the coming decade.

Running through the book with clearness and persistency is the author's thesis that "democracy's privileges [such as freedom of speech] are conferred on individuals not primarily for their own benefit, but for the benefit of the whole community."

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

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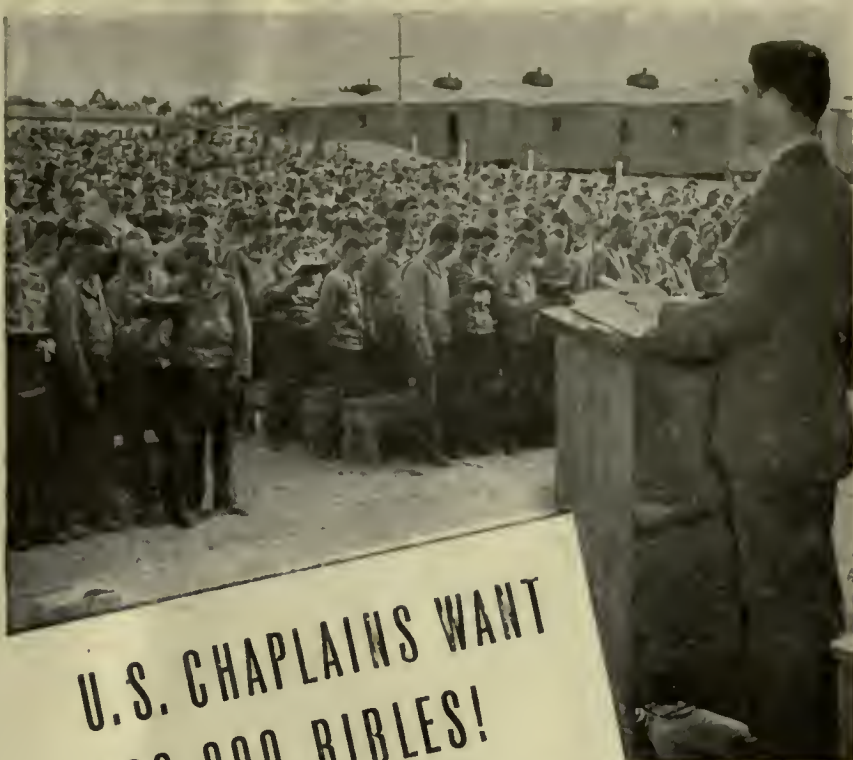
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ambassador is to be an interpreter; he tries to understand the country in which he serves and at the same time to explain it to his own home country. The diplomacy of the future may well be based on a development of this idea and a realization that in this, the century of the common man, the function of the diplomat includes, perhaps above all, the understanding and interpretation of that man. The chief lack in this important volume is complete omission of interpretation of the common man as he existed in Japan in the years before the war.

JANE PERRY CLARK CAREY

Barnard College

MIRACLES AHEAD! Better Living in the Postwar World, by Norman V. Carlisle and Frank B. Latham, Macmillan, \$2.75.

THIS BOOK HAS A SCRAPBOOK LOGIC DUE TO the inclusion of unsupported overstatements and quotations which are frequently at variance with other statements made by the authors on the same subject.

The general approach can be illustrated by a few quotations: ". . . we felt safe in depending on the unequivocal assertions of such hard-boiled businessmen as Edgar M. Queeny, who did not hesitate to say, 'The possibilities of the future, now that industry has embraced science, are so limitless that only one forecast can be made with certainty—that the most extravagant prophecy will fall short of potential accomplishment!'"

The authors state: "The manufacture of thousands of prefabricated houses, new cars, helicopters, planes, and household appliances will obviously call for a vast army of salesmen, brokers, agents, and promoters—*nearly five times* as many as were needed during the nineteen-twenties." Miraculous, utopian, or something?

In reference to housing, the authors have included many statements which have little relation to what is actually happening in this field. For example: "Your new home will be as strong as the ancient castle that was built with walls four feet thick!" Later on they state, in reference to prefabricated houses with plywood panels: "Flood waters, blows from metal objects, and boiling water make no impression on these panels." No one but an advertising man would make a statement that blows from metal objects make no impression on these panels, nor that they were as strong as that ancient castle.

ROBERT L. DAVISON

Director of Housing Research, New York.

UNRRA ON THE MARCH

(Continued from page 440)

ence. The resolution was offered by the delegate of the United States. It was seconded by the delegate of France. Among the first council members to rise in support of the resolution were those from nations that had suffered even longer and more from fascist aggression—Greece, Yugoslavia, Ethiopia. There was bitterness in their hearts, they acknowledged. Their own people are under greater privation than the

Italian people. But, they said in effect, our people will not be helped by starving Italian babies and letting the horseman of pestilence loose on the peninsula.

Extension of a general program of aid to the inhabitants of the Dodecanese Islands was authorized. Acting on recommendation from the United States delegation, the council authorized aid to territories important to the military program of the United Nations, and threatened with famine or disease. Under these terms, it would be possible in the case of future famine or epidemic in India or other semi-frontline areas to give UNRRA aid, even though the territory had never been invaded.

The Most Afflicted

Several classes of displaced persons in a number of different territorial locations will receive aid under the Montreal resolutions. They are highly important. They define the assistance to be given to these, the most afflicted of the war's victims. One resolution opened the way for aid to displaced persons in territories that were never occupied by the enemy—the Western Hemisphere, for example. A second authorized aid to displaced persons of United Nations nationality in enemy and ex-enemy areas, or to persons, regardless of nationality, who have been driven from their homes because of race, or religion, or of activities on behalf of the United Nations. A third extended aid to this latter group of persecuted persons of enemy or ex-enemy nationality found in United Nations territory. A fourth would lessen the burden on liberated United Nations by providing UNRRA aid in the removal of intruded enemy or ex-enemy persons left in their territory.

In the field of relief supplies, the council accepted the detailed formulation of bases of requirements for liberated countries submitted by the council's committee for Europe. This establishes yardsticks to assure that liberated nations have an equal opportunity to get supplies in the first month after liberation. The council modified the principle of flat equality with a second resolution providing that "special weight and urgency shall be given to the needs of those countries in which the extent of devastation and of the sufferings of the people in a part or the whole of their respective areas is greater and has resulted from hostilities and occupation by the enemy and active resistance in the struggle against the enemy."

In the highly important health field, the council accepted revisions of the International Sanitary Conventions and recommended adherence of member governments to them. If accepted by the governments, these revisions will place in UNRRA temporary responsibility for collecting the facts about epidemic conditions, and for standardizing preventive procedures so that uniformity will prevail and the most effective means will be universally employed. UNRRA's temporary administration of these fundamental health measures would not prevent their eventual return to the International Office of Public Health at Paris.

Finally, looking toward the reconstruction days after the rescue job of UNRRA

ll have been done, the council ventured a word of advice and challenge. In its final resolution, it called attention to the fact that the type of rehabilitation called for in the UNRRA program will not suffice to set world production and trade in motion; that the rehabilitation needs of the devastated areas will require further action. The council commended such action to the consideration of the member governments.

We Must Act Together

There were many expressions of the ideal of the United Nations as exemplified in the UNRRA program. But none was either more nor more truly reflective of the mood of the delegations than the closing words of the able permanent chairman of the session, L. B. Pearson, Canadian Minister to the United States:

"... I plead for two things—a vigorous practical administration and behind it the full, steady, and understanding support of every government represented here.

"If we get these, UNRRA . . . can do its part in leading ravaged humanity out of the swamps and wasteland of postwar desolation—up to a higher and sunnier level where man will not be plunged every generation into blood and suffering and savagery. God help us to achieve that high purpose and give us enough sense to realize that we can never do so unless we act together. For better or for worse—in success or failure—we are as surely roped together as any climbers who ever scaled a mountain peak. We go up—or down—together.

"The work we have done at Montreal gives us more reason to hope that the way will be upwards."

EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION (Continued from page 453)

The Allied Conference of Ministers of Education held in London last spring recognized the importance of combining temporary relief measures for the United Nations with more permanent plans for international cooperation. Accordingly, it received for study the draft of a constitution for a United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction. This constitution is now before the forty-four nations for consideration. Doubtless, amendments and changes will be forthcoming, but acceptance of the constitution on the part of twenty nations will insure its inauguration. (See page 453).

Plans for reconstruction thus flow into a larger stream, one that promises to stimulate permanent educational progress in the nations. For it is evident that much of the machinery of international government required to promote recovery from war can be used as well to insure that the objectives of war are not lost when peace comes. A complete list of possible activities of an international organization of education is included in "Education for International Security," a report of the Harpers Ferry meeting of the Liaison Committee for International Education. The list includes cooperative action in the training and the

The kind of a book we can ignore at our own peril.

—Joseph Barnes, N. Y. Herald Tribune

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retraining of teaching personnel; the education of student-specialists; the exchange of students and teachers between countries; sharing information and furthering research designed to promote unbiased history teaching along lines followed so successfully in the Scandinavian countries; assisting countries that request help in the development of their educational and cultural activities and institutions; developing "curricula, teaching materials and techniques that might be useful in the different countries in the study of problems of common concern in the school systems"; defining desirable minimum standards of education and making recommendations to member nations; helping "all nations insofar as feasible in the elimination of illiterates." These are but a few of the possible functions of an international agency of education that are of importance tomorrow as well as today.

Reeducation for the Axis

But what of the Axis nations? Here too, a continuing agency representative of the Allied powers is called for. Until the smoke of battle clears, no one can predict in detail the conditions that will obtain in the enemy countries. It is clear, however, that after a military victory, attainment of the purposes of this war cannot be left to chance.

We have seen education used in Germany to corrupt a generation of young people. It is reasonable to assume that education can restore healthy conditions of growth to their successors—provided we bear in mind that the ideals and the ways of life we wish these young people to acquire are nourished and sustained outside the schools. It is the necessity of a working harmony between life in the adult population and life within the school that makes supremely important the nature and spirit of the occupation all recognize as inevitable, for a time, in Axis countries. If this is designed to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children or to condemn the innocent for the crimes of the guilty (or to permit the guilty to escape a just punishment for their sins) we shall find it impossible to reeducate the children of defeated nations. Great skill and wisdom are called for in the transition period, since the wrong approach can breed a new hostility and create again in the minds of the young a resurgent longing for the glories of conquest.

A detailed blueprint of the policy to follow in Germany and Japan is contingent upon the conduct of the war and the execution of the peace by the military authorities. Time and circumstance will define the measures to implement this policy. There is fairly generous agreement, how-

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ever, upon certain general items of procedure. The Liaison Committee for International Education outlines a number of these as follows:

1. "That appropriate steps be taken to terminate . . . all Axis propaganda, whether carried on through press, radio, educational institutions or so-called cultural agencies;

2. "That the people be informed about recent events and about the United Nations' purposes and plans for achieving world security, through the schools and other established institutions, through radio and the press, and through printed matter, films and recordings prepared in advance;

3. "That advantage be taken of the use of schools as relief agencies to build the confidence of the community in the schools and to increase the use of schools as centers for community activities;

4. "That local committees composed of known opponents to Nazism, fascism, and Japanese militarism be set up for the purpose of aiding United Nations administrators in eliminating all teachers and school administrators whose past records have been manifestly anti-democratic, and for the purpose of recruiting trustworthy substitutes;

5. "That youth organizations controlled by Nazi, fascist or the Japanese military parties be disbanded; that educational, religious, and other appropriate agencies be encouraged to revive or create youth organizations committed to the democratic way of life."

Following these steps, new educational policies and procedures can be developed under the auspices of an international or-

ganization with the assistance of professional educators. These would have in mind:

6. "That a program of teacher education be instituted, based on new educational needs, new national and international goals, and new social conditions, such program to make use of international fellowships and exchange, in-service training, short courses, foreign lecturers, and educational conferences;

7. "That new teaching materials be introduced in the schools to replace Axis inspired materials;

8. "That a system of youth and adult education be established which will promote widespread citizen participation in the study and solution of community, national, and international problems through schools and universities, through public forums, study and discussion groups, through maintenance of free public libraries and wide dissemination of books, pamphlets, and audio-visual materials."

On August 9, 1939, "An act to authorize the President to render closer and more effective the relationship between the American Republics" was adopted. Under this act our State Department and private organizations have improved immeasurably cultural relations within the Americas. There is now pending in Congress a bill (H.R. 4324) authorizing the Secretary of State to extend "these cultural and cooperative programs" to other countries of the world "in furtherance of the purposes of the United States in the present war and in the peace to follow." This simple amendment would enable the United States to ex-

ercise an influence in the reeducation of the nations commensurate with its new position of power and responsibility in world affairs. Let us hope that Congress will quickly approve the bill and appropriate the funds essential to enable our country to join with the nations of the earth in an effort to win the peace through education.

SHOULD WAGES GO UP?

Continued from page 451

On the basis of the data submitted to it, the panel reported that since January 1, 1941, steelworkers have received general wage increases which total 15.5 cents, or 18.2 percent of the straight time average hourly earnings on January 1, 1941. Thus wage rates have been held approximately within the Little Steel formula, and the War Labor Board has repeatedly made clear that it means wage rates when it speaks of the "stabilization of wages."

The companies reasoned, however, that looking not at wage rates but at "take home"—the contents of the pay envelope—the increase in the steelworker's wartime earnings exceeds the increase in wartime living costs by any standard, even by labor's own figure of 43.5 percent.

In its findings on earnings, the panel found an increase in weekly "take home" from \$29.88 in 1939 to \$49.77 in 1943 (66.6 percent) and a rise in average annual earnings from \$1,514 in 1939 to \$2,612 in 1943 (72.5 percent). This compares with a rise in average weekly earnings in all manufacturing industry over the same period from \$23.86 in 1939 to \$43.14 in 1943 (80.8 percent), and a rise in average annual earnings from \$1,355 to \$2,363 (74.4 percent).

Further, the panel found that gross average hourly earnings (straight time plus overtime plus incentives) had risen during the war period (January 1941 to April 1944) from \$.869 to \$1.158 an hour—an increase of 28.9 cents, or 33.3 percent. And that straight time average hourly earnings (statistically the most significant criterion next to wage rates) in the same period had risen from \$.852 to \$1.073 an hour, which is an increase of 22.1 cents or 25.9 percent.

The difference between 28.9 cents (the increase in gross hourly earnings, as estimated above) and 15.5 cents (the total general increase in steel wage rates in this period) is 13.4 cents an hour. The panel found this difference due to two factors: "6.8 cents is attributable to increased overtime and 6.6 cents to increased incentive or production earnings, merit increases, promotions, and shifts in employment among low and high paying firms, regions and occupations." The companies agreed with this finding. The union contended that 5 cents was attributable solely to incentive payments.

The insistence of the War Labor Board that wage stabilization means stabilization of wage rates is, of course, related to production goals. To adopt any other standard—to "freeze" hourly earnings, weekly or annual "take home"—would result in the limitation of production by restricting the output per worker, the hours of work per

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week, or the weeks worked per year. The worker's insistence on wage rates as yardstick rather than the "take home" a relatively short war period, is due to conviction that the wage rate is the real safeguard of living standards.

Looking ahead to the postwar period, the panel itself found that "as hours of work contracted and wage earners return to peacetime operations and industries, other factors remaining unchanged, gross hourly earnings may be expected to decline." The report translates these colorless words into human terms. The shift from the 48-hour week to the 40-hour week, which is generally expected to follow close on V-E Day, means to the steelworker a 23 percent cut in earnings (straight time plus overtime). A study of 187 family budgets made by the union was submitted as evidence in this case to show that the average steelworker is not saving, even on his wartime "take-home," in the face of wartime living costs. Philip Murray, president of the United Steelworkers, at the public hearing on the panel report, summarized his outlook thus: "The steel worker is facing cutbacks, decreased working time, decreased weekly earnings, decreased purchasing power, and possibly unemployment."

The Effect on Prices

As their contentions were summarized in the panel report, there was no meeting of minds between union and company spokesmen as to whether or not the proposed wage increase would boost prices. The union, in its presentation, insisted that the companies could pay the additional 17 cents an hour out of earnings, and still enjoy substantial profits. The steel companies jointly held that the wage increase could be paid only by means of higher steel prices.

The panel, in its findings, pointed out that inflation, in the sense the word was used by both steelworkers and steel companies, means "a substantial rise in the price level." Such a rise occurs when prices are "pushed up," by increased costs; or when they are "pulled up," through the use of increased consumer purchasing power in competitive bidding for a limited supply of goods and services. So far as wages go, the panel found that increased purchasing power today is due to increased employment, overtime, shift to higher paid industries, upgrading, and so on. "Wage rate changes have played a relatively minor role." The incidence of expanded purchasing power to pull up prices has been to a large extent offset by such involuntary controls as taxes, rationing, and price ceilings; and such voluntary controls as bond purchases and savings. "Whether, in itself, an increase in wage rates would affect these controls is a matter of speculation." The panel returned the Scotch verdict, "not proved," on both the union insistence that "corporate profits reflect the direct cause of the present inflation and rising cost of living"; and the company position that "increased payrolls, in which increases in wage rates constitute an important element, are the principal cause of increase in the cost of living."

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would necessitate a rise in steel prices—obviously, an inflationary influence on the total economy—is one of the most complicated issues of this highly involved controversy.

Briefly, and without attempting to summarize the vast volume of documentation submitted by both sides, the high points of the two conflicting arguments, as summarized in the panel report and the findings of the panel itself, are these:

The final figures of the United Steelworkers as to the cost of the 17 cent wage increase was \$211,823,000, using April 1944 figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, for the number employed in the industry (485,500) and the length of the work week (45.9 hours). The company figure was \$220,300,000, using January 1944 data.

To determine the profits available for meeting the proposed wage increase, the steelworkers compared average net profits in the "peacetime era" of 1936-39, with net profits in the defense-war period of 1940-43, using as its "sample" 18 steel companies, their combined capacity making up 87.17 percent of the industry. These showed average profits of \$631,981,000 for the defense-war years, as against \$138,665,000 for the peacetime period, or an increase of 355.8 percent. The union followed the reasoning of the panel in the Little Steel case in 1943, and defined "net profits" as corporate profits *before* federal taxes but *after* state and local taxes. That earlier steel panel held:

"Profit taxes represent the government's opinion of the extent to which the government should share in the net profits of business after all other expenses, including labor costs, have been deducted.

"To propose that wages should be affected by profit taxes is to propose that labor's return should be conditioned by the government's impost on industry. The panel believes that this neither can nor should be the case, and the panel's finding that the companies are able to pay is not affected by the results flowing from any change of policy relating to profit taxes on the part of the government."

The companies, in their presentation, argued that corporate net profits must be figured *after* taxes:

"The implication of the [union] attitude is, of course, that though it is improper that 'labor's return should be conditioned by the government's impost,' it is proper for the government's revenue to be conditioned by labor's demands. It would seem that the union has prior claim on the sum the government taxes, merely leaving to Congress to tax that which is left after its own demands have been satisfied. It should, therefore, be clearly understood at all times that increased benefits to the union mean either increasing the national debt or the tax bills of the people, or both, more than they mean diverting corporate income to steelworkers' pay envelopes, for the taxes are the bigger part of the sum. The union's demands are primarily upon the taxpayers."

The companies did not offer figures strictly comparable to the "net profits" of the union evidence. Their exhibits were based on the composite statistics of 31 cor-

porations, which together represent 87 percent of the production capacity for ingots and castings. Fourteen of these 31 are included among the 18 companies used as the union "sampling." The industry's own presentation showed, not profits as the union used the phrase, but gross receipts which (for their sampling) were \$6,294,000,000 in 1943, as compared with \$2,101,000,000 in 1936; payments for wages and salaries, \$2,491,000,000, as compared with \$762,000,000; net income *after taxes*, \$171,000,000, as compared with \$128,000,000. The companies further contended that "the net income trend is downward." From 1940 through 1943, they submitted, net income (after taxes) decreased \$106,000,000, though in the same period total wage and salary payments increased by \$971,400,000.

Assets, the unions asserted, were 22 percent higher at the end of 1943 than they were at the end of 1939, the aggregate for the 18 companies amounting to \$1,107,980,000. The figures given by the companies showed an increase of \$994,845,000. The panel report pointed out that the unions failed to mention the fact that as between these two years, liabilities as well as assets increased. The 31 companies cited by the industry showed a rise in total liabilities between 1939 and 1943 of \$917,000,000 (excluding funded debt).

The union submitted a comparison of depreciation, depletion, and amortization allowances showing an increase in the year-end average of the 18 companies of 82.4 percent—\$146,378,000 in 1936-39 as against \$267,066,000 in the three war years.

But, said the companies, the increase in these reserves, which the union called "concealed profits" in whole or in part, is due to the fact that the volume of business increased from \$2,300,000,000 in 1939 (for the 31 companies) to \$6,300,000,000 in 1943, with a corresponding increase in the depletion of mines and quarries and in the sums that will be needed to make deferred repairs. Further, the companies must provide against losses on disposal of war inventories and the "extraordinary risks and hazards" of war production. In 1939, these allowances and reserves totalled 6.4 percent of gross receipts; in 1943, 5.6 percent.

The union submitted figures showing that undistributed profits for the two periods rose 74 percent, or \$440,198,000 for the 18 companies. "Undistributed profits or surplus have by no means risen unduly, countered the companies, and buttressed their argument with detailed comparison between 1929 and 1942 for U. S. Steel Bethlehem, and Republic.

A comparison of dividends for the peace and the war periods show, the unions testified, an increase of 59.1 percent. The average amount of dividends paid yearly by the 18 companies in 1936-39 was \$93,918,000 as against \$149,431,000 for the three war years.

The companies' sample shows an increase in dividends of 62 percent—from \$81,400,000 for the peace time era, to \$130,000,000 in the war years. However, the companies point out, the dividends in the three year 1936-39, represented 2.7 percent of capital stock and surplus, while in the 1940-43 pe-

and, the return, though improved, was only 2 percent.

The final conclusion of the union was that "industry can meet the wage demand without increasing its prices." Contrariwise, declared the companies, profits in the war period have by no means increased at the expense of labor—and increased wages cannot be paid without increasing steel prices. The panel, in the report of its findings, pushed aside as irrelevant all contentions as to whether the companies or the workers have benefited more" from the capacity production of the war period. It finds that the companies' income before taxes in 1943 was 300 percent greater than the 1936-39 average, and after taxes, 56 percent greater. Total payrolls, for the same periods, have risen from \$828,000,000 to \$2,500,000,000; the number of employes from 517,000 averaging 35½ hours of work a week, to 904,000, averaging 43.4 hours. "The reserves and allowances for depreciation, amortization, and for additional war costs are properly cannot be considered as concealed profits." While for credit and investment purposes, net earnings should be figured after taxes, the panel finds that "in considering ability to pay wage increases, the profits of the companies before income taxes is the proper test, because wages, like other business expenses, come out of gross receipts."

As to whether the wage increase demanded by the unions would require "price relief"—that is a question the panel "resains from considering," because authority to determine it "has been lodged exclusively with the Economic Stabilization Director."

But the panel does make this interesting and relevant finding:

"In the four years, 1936-39, the 31 companies had a combined net income which amounted to 3.6 percent of their combined average capital stock and surplus, and they paid dividends amounting to 2.7 percent of capital stock and surplus. In 1943 the same companies had a combined net income of 3 percent of their combined capital stock and surplus, and they paid dividends which were 4 percent of their combined capital stock and surplus. The general wage increase demanded, if granted, other things remaining equal, would result in a net income to the companies of less than 5.3 percent, but more than 3.6 percent of their combined capital stock and surplus."

The OPA Study

It is to be regretted that the steel panel did not have before it a recent but unpublished study of the financial condition of the steel industry made by the Research Department of the Office of Price Administration. The study was undertaken when the steel industry made a request for a general price increase of approximately 10 percent. Some of the highlights of its findings were cited by Philip Murray in a public hearing on the panel report, held by the War Labor Board in late September. The board ruled that this section of Mr. Murray's argument would not be considered, since the study was not offered in evidence to the panel. But it throws light on the whole controversy.

According to the OPA finding, as quoted by Mr. Murray and as later brought out in the press, the output per manhour of employment in the steel industry has increased since 1939 more than have average hourly earnings. As a result, "labor costs are currently about 4 percent below 1939 levels and 8.5 percent below the average level for 1935-39." This is due in part to economies of capacity operation; in part to improvements in plant, equipment, and technology. "These latter economies will result, even at prewar levels of output, in labor productivity substantially higher than prevailed before the war." To these must be added the savings that will accrue to the industry as overtime payments are reduced and downgrading occurs, and costs of materials respond to the slackening of demand.

The analysis shows that, assuming that 1943 levels in average hourly earnings and prices for materials and costs are maintained, the U. S. Steel Corporation would break even if it operated at 52 percent of capacity. At 75 percent, its earnings would be \$120,000,000; and at 90 percent, \$210,000,000, as compared with average profits of \$66,000,000 in the 1936-9 period.

"On the alternative and more realistic assumption that the wartime effects of upgrading and of premium payments will disappear from average hourly earnings and that costs of materials and services purchased will decline to 1941 levels, the break-even point is found at 35 percent of capacity. Upon these conditions, earnings at 50 percent of capacity would be \$78,000,000, and at 75 and 90 percent they would be \$240,000,000 and \$370,000,000 respectively."

As to wage increases, and the ability of the industry to meet them without a price increase, the study concludes, "even in the event that the wage increase requested by the union were granted in full, the case for a price increase would not be persuasive. For even if the wage demand were granted in full, its effects upon average hourly earnings would be largely offset by the disappearance of overtime and the reversal of the labor upgrading process. These two factors account for 16 cents in average hourly earnings. As against this, the wage demand comes to 17 cents."

As the issue stands at this writing, the War Labor Board has stated that, not being "sufficiently informed as to the possible effects of a modification of the Little Steel formula on the price structure and on the national economy generally," it will not "include in its factual report to the President any recommendations for action one way or another with regard to the Little Steel formula."

The labor members of the WLB were prompt in their protest: "It is apparent to us that the board simply adopted this subterfuge in order to postpone and delay what it considers an unpalatable decision." At a press conference, they declared that they would make their own recommendations to the President. Meanwhile, in the sooty streets of Pittsburgh's "Victory Valley," in Gary and Buffalo and Youngstown and Birmingham, the steelworkers are demanding, "What about our case?"

The industry members of the board had

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earlier held that the WLB, as an administrative body, is not the correct agency to investigate whether the wage stabilization policy should be changed and "that the matter is one for Congress to consider."

Chairman Davis, a public member of the WLB, pointed out that it is "unfortunate" that wages are not measured by dollars alone "but by dollars divided by prices." While the board will give President Roosevelt its views on whether there are inequities in wages and living costs, he said, "somebody else will have to tell him how they can be corrected, and if it can be done without price increases."

A HOPEFUL SIGN

(Continued from page 456)

mayor's office. This is not true of Chicago, where Mayor Kelly has backed his Committee on Race Relations, secured funds and inferential approval for it from the city council, and directed the heads of city departments to appear at public hearings called by the committee at city hall. The improvement of race relations is thus officially tied with other phases of Chicago's postwar planning. For instance, as postwar housing is blueprinted, the mayor's committee, on the basis of its public hearings, is able to demand careful attention to the housing problems of Negroes, barred by property owners' covenants from home purchase or tenancy in more than 85 percent of the residential area of Chicago.

Cleveland's Mayor Lausche is chairman of his own race relations committee, which means to at least one of its members that "in an emergency we can throw the whole book at the troublemakers." Cleveland's city planning commission has a special subcommittee, responsible for relating racial situations to the whole plan for a postwar Cleveland.

New York City's Committee on Unity, appointed by Mayor La Guardia in response to numerous requests, has been a puzzle to many of its observers and a serious disappointment to some. The critics charge it with over-deliberate organization, too elaborate structure, and prolonged inaction. The mayor was careful to divorce the committee from the regular agencies of government, though its office is located in Brooklyn's Borough Hall. Funds were secured from independent sources. Charles Evans Hughes, Jr., was appointed chairman, and the committee's membership is distributed among white Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Negroes, and foreign-born. Conservative and liberal spokesmanship is represented. The committee named as executive director a sociologist with a reputation for liberalism, and as associate directors a white lawyer of the Catholic faith, an experienced and capable Negro woman, and a Jewish Rabbi, certainly a competent and representative staff.

Yet more than six months after organization there is no published program, report, or visible sign of committee functioning. The racial issue of Stuyvesant Town, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's restricted housing project, has flared up and

receded into the background of public debate; Negroes have picketed the Metropolitan Life offices in protest against employment discrimination; gang wars between white and Negro youths have been waged in Washington Heights, Brooklyn, and other parts of the city; anti-Semitic outbreaks have occurred in the Bronx—still on finds no record of activity by the mayor's committee.

Many have concluded, therefore, that this is not an action but a long range planning committee, with no more pace to its program than would be expected of a committee planning at leisure for postwar highways and parks. It is this apparent dilatoriness and caution which has prompted many disappointed New Yorkers to turn for leadership in what is still a critical situation to interracial groups with more zest for action and greater readiness to grasp controversial issues.

Detroit, Still Dynamite

In Detroit, there was equal public impatience with the slow pace set by the mayor's interracial committee. The 1943 riot had spurred into activity a number of voluntary groups, one with labor leadership, another formed by the Detroit Urban League, a third by the Detroit Council of Churches, while the largest was an unusually active and militant branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. None of these agencies was willing either to adjust its program to the languid initial movement of the mayor's committee or to forge ahead of the official group. Thus emphatic suggestions were addressed to the committee regarding steps which the city should be taking to correct the underlying causes of the riot and avert another outbreak.

Since the mayor's committee is a municipal agency, it has ready access to all city departments. With a small budget and staff and with Detroit politics in a hectic state, it treads softly the narrow path between vested political interest and insistent demands from special interest groups. The committee seems torn between two impulses—on the one hand, to publicize racial problems and proposals for their solution, and on the other to avoid "inflammatory treatment" of a still dangerous situation. Local leaders worriedly admit that "Detroit is still dynamite" and that last year's grim experience may be repeated because few fundamental factors have been corrected.

The mayor's committee has stimulated progress on a housing project for Negroes; but it has not tackled the issue of interracial occupancy of public housing projects. It has obtained improvement in taxicab service for Negroes (many Detroit cabs have refused to pick up Negro passengers either in the streets or at cab stands). A manpower shortage in the city recreation department has been relieved, with consequent improvement in the playground situation. The committee reports that housing conditions are slightly better and that private builders seeking to compete with public housing are making homes available to Negroes. Police administration, the faults of which contributed to the 1943 riot, has undergone

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lastic reorganization, with a new director, more Negroes on the force, and directives in the attitudes of all officers toward Negro citizens.

In cooperation with the police department, the mayor's committee has established "community barometer" for measuring local racial tension. Volunteer observers report difficulties as they occur in different parts of Detroit. These are compiled and recorded with reference to their area and intensity. This experiment replaces and improves upon ordinary word-of-mouth report in which fact is apt to be confused with rumor and so fan smoldering fires.

But, with the exception of police changes, most of these developments are superficial, as some members of the mayor's committee readily admit. Racial tension, Detroiters say, begins deeper—in Father Coughlin's still potent influence, in the activities of Gerald L. K. Smith and kindred spirits, in the shameless use of racial prejudices to reinforce political fences and special privilege. Thus, even more important than the mayor's committee are activities of church, labor, business and social organizations working with masses of people where personal attitudes are formed and economic interests affected.

Philadelphia and Los Angeles

The experience of Detroit, like that of many other communities, emphasizes the importance of the voluntary committees which make up most new interracial organization, and which reflect most accurately rank-and-file public attitudes. In Philadelphia, the mayor's Committee on Goodwill was conspicuously inoperative during the recent street car strike over employment of Negro operators. The committee reported early in the summer that it had no budget or staff, no plan for official action in case of "incidents," no definite accomplishments to report, and no long term program laid out. When the strike occurred in August, leadership immediately passed to other groups. The Philadelphia branch of the National Association for the Advancement

of Colored People joined with the Council for Equal Job Opportunity in printing 100,000 handbills which urged self-restraint and distributing them in Negro neighborhoods the first night of the strike. Large advertisements in the daily press were sponsored by twenty-one organizations of different races and faiths. Among the agencies that functioned constructively were the Citywide Interracial Committee, the Fellowship Commission, the Philadelphia Church Federation, the Armstrong Association, and the local Friends' Race Relations Committee. It was because of this concerted and intelligent action that the strike was settled not with a deterioration in race relations but with an actual improvement. That improvement was thumpingly emphasized by the recent election of a Negro vice-president and two Negro members of the executive committee by the very Transport Workers' Union local in which the strike developed.

Los Angeles, with a Negro population which has grown in four years from 64,000 to 119,000, also has a number of voluntary committees in addition to a mayor's interracial committee. The official body concerns itself largely with police administration, housing, and war employment. A community relations committee of the Council of Social Agencies has concentrated on housing and health, attacked the problem of foster home facilities for Negro children, joined with labor and church leadership in developing recreational facilities, and conferred with teachers' committees on intercultural education in the schools.

Voluntary Committees

Though the examples so far cited are largely urban, interracial activity is by no means confined to great industrial centers. Cambridge, Mass., Monrovia, Calif., Portsmouth, Va., and Burlington, N. J., are only a few of the smaller communities where committees are doggedly tackling America's toughest social problem. In most cases, these are voluntary committees, which is an advantage, for the voluntary group is less

bound by official red tape and has greater freedom to experiment.

Yet there are serious errors into which the voluntary agency can fall, chief among them, excess of ambition and impractical planning. Over-enthusiastic leadership is apt to forget that, basically, race relations is like any other social challenge. Morbidity rates are not affected by community excitement over an epidemic. Neither does racial tension diminish simply because good citizens become alarmed over its existence.

The most effective race relations committees in these critical months are those which first chose specific tasks and then organized for specific action. At the beginning, they considered budgetary problems; where funds were meager, they drew into their membership some people with leisure to carry out daytime assignments, as well as attend evening meetings. Successful committees have avoided becoming "catch-alls" for community grievances. By limiting their programs, they are more apt to see definite accomplishment.

For Advice and Guidance

Most committees, official or voluntary, feel that guidance from a national, experienced source would save loss of time and energy. There have been tentative steps toward federating some of these committees. The Southern Regional Council, less than a year old, stimulates organization of southern interracial committees and gives them guidance. In the last two years the Federal Council of Churches, through its department of race relations, has helped increase the number of interracial committees with religious connections. Local committees on fair employment practice, outgrowths of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee, are now discussing organization into a national federation. Some local groups, desiring leadership or national affiliation, turn to the National Urban League, with its emphasis on the social welfare of Negroes and social work techniques; some to the National Association for the Ad-

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(Continued from page 477)

ancement of Colored People, with its special interest in citizenship rights. The newly organized American Council on Race Relations has announced its readiness to advise municipal and state committees on racial problems in local communities.

It is doubtful whether plans for national federation of interracial committees will or should go much further than these developments. It would be particularly unfortunate if new committees should federate too fully or depend upon only one or two national advisers. Such restricted contacts would be likely to stultify growth and freeze patterns of action. The American community, locally and nationally, lacks a well-defined philosophy of race, as well as a sound, generally accepted strategy for achieving step-by-step gains in the field of race relations. While that development is in process, "free enterprise" in race relations is necessary to enable the imaginative and courageous to set an example for the cautious and shortsighted.

There are many and varied advisory services available to local committees. They in turn to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for advice on racial discrimination and segregation, to the National Urban League for help in social planning, research, and organization. Protestant and Catholic church groups can turn, respectively, to the Federal Council of Churches and the Catholic Interracial Council. Various federal agencies, such as the Office of Community War Services, the War Manpower Commission, and the National Housing Agency provide constant services in their fields. The Civilian Control Administration, the War Relieved War Relief Committee and Labor's League for Human Rights (AFL) have community services divisions which work with local social and civic agencies.

Social Pioneering

Looking back over the past months, it seems clear that rapid organization of official and voluntary race relations committees is a promise, rather than a guarantee, of progress in race relations. Its promise lies in the willingness of local committees to tackle racial problems seriously. This uneasy stirring of the public conscience—this tentative fumbling for an action method—is a most encouraging development.

The guarantee of social growth will come when self-conscious committee organization is no longer necessary—when the principles set forth by these groups are so firmly embedded in our public and our personal association that they are accepted as unthinkingly as ordinary good manners in social relationships. Until that day comes, we need not fewer, but more, interracial organizations. We need official groups appointed by governors and mayors, or created by legislative enactment, and strengthened by official prestige and authority. We also need voluntary committees to supplement official action, criticize it, and set it an example. This is a day of social pioneering, and our country needs every hopeful technique, every possible experiment in race relations to help establish the truth of American living in every American community.



WAR HELPS CHISELERS

(Continued from page 448)

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State of New York } ss.
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Before me, a Commissioner of Deeds, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Walter F. Grueninger, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the SURVEY GRAPHIC and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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Survey Graphic for December 1944

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"A Little Extra Effort"

ALL WHO SHARE IN THE TASK OF EDITING AND publishing this magazine have been heartened and humbled by a very special gift that recently came to us, across the mysterious distances which separate a New York office from correspondents now receiving their mail "c/o Postmaster, San Francisco."

The story begins in August with a letter from a stranger, a staff sergeant overseas. The letter started with the question, "What exactly is Survey Associates?" It continued:

"In this predominantly southern organization there exists a grave and deep-rooted suspicion of anything northern and at the same time liberal, or anything just plain factual. There are more arguments here over facts than there are over principles. In such cases, not only the facts are questioned but the standard authorities are not acceptable. It sometimes becomes necessary to argue the definition of a word although the dictionary plainly states its meaning; to some of these people a dictionary is not an authority so long as it deviates from their conception. In their attitude toward facts they are completely anarchistic, or rather, opportunistic, in that they manufacture 'facts' to suit their point of view. When everything else fails, they fall back on the dignity of their ancestry—as 'aristocracy' they preclude your

right to question their accuracy or inaccuracy. The above may lead you to understand the alarm with which *Survey Graphic* was received here, especially 'American-Russian Frontiers'."

In reply to this an associate editor explained the cooperative publishing society through which some 2,000 forward-looking men and women, by their annual membership dues of \$10 and over, help meet the cost of producing *Survey Graphic* and *Survey Midmonthly*.

Weeks later came another letter from the sergeant:

"I wish it were possible for me to express what I am about to say with a fluency which would convey the feeling of urgency about sending the money which I enclose. The amount in itself is an indication, for soldiers are not capable of much lavishness. . . . The hope you express that one of the good things to come out of this war may be broader viewpoints among Americans does not seem so in practice. In cases of intolerance, it merely affords a greater number of things about which to be intolerant. It does, however, shake people like myself out of the misty reaches, and impress upon us the urgency of *doing* something. In that respect, it is good. Because a very small quantity of progress can neutralize an enormous amount of reaction.

"If I could do so, I would write a personal message to all of your contributors, both financial and literary, telling them to give (or 'put out') just a little more than they think they are capable of doing. It is amazing how much effect a little extra effort can have."

With the letter, the sergeant sent his check to Survey Associates. It was a grimy, dog-eared slip of paper, like the last blank in a book carried a long way. It was signed with a southern name, a fine old name that appears on many pages of American history. It was for fifty dollars.

Newark's Dana

HOW FOR THIRTY-FIVE YEARS THE NEWARK, N. J., Museum has served its community as an agency of creative recreation and education, is being told in a current exhibition, "A Museum in Action." The exhibit is also a tribute to John Cotton Dana, its first director, who saw museums and libraries as "'people's universities,' set up in this country to implement the democratic idea through providing the widest possible opportunities of self-development and self-expression." More than twenty years ago, Mr. Dana set forth these views in a notable *Survey Graphic* article, "A Museum of Service."



We—at least a lot of us—make our views known by writing to the President, and our letters arrive by the truckload .



The people's response to an important broadcast by the Executive

Harris & Ewing photos

“DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:”

SURVEY GRAPHIC



Magazine of
Interpretation

Published by
Survey Associates

Big Government

With elections over, the role of government under American democracy will take on new significance as our economy begins to shift from war to peace.

STUART CHASE

ONCE BIG BUSINESS, BIG UNIONS, AND BIG farmers moved in upon the scene, the community had to develop Big Government to cope with them. Between them these three pressure groups had pretty well demolished the free market as Adam Smith pictured it. They made it increasingly clear that a nation dedicated to laissez faire can remain a passive umpire only so long as such economic formations are small. E. H. Carr, the English political scientist, summarizes it this way¹:

"Every modern state has intervened, first to protect employers against trade unions, and later to protect the rights of unions. If we wish to get a correct picture of the structure of the modern world, we must think not of a number of individuals . . . but of a number of large and powerful groups, sometimes competing, sometimes cooperating, in the pursuit of their group interests, and of a state constantly impelled to increase the strength and scope of its authority in order to maintain the necessary minimum of cohesion in the social fabric . . ."

"The issue is whether to allow social action to depend on the haphazard outcome of a struggle between interest groups, or to control and coordinate the activities of these groups in the interest of the community."

This is putting the present crisis of political democracy about as flatly as it can be put. It comes down to the question of who's in charge around here. If the pressure group free-for-all holds the stage, economic breakdown is not far away. If the government is in charge, there is the danger of the authoritarian state. Yet if a breakdown develops, the danger of the

authoritarian state immediately reappears, and in a more extreme form.

We are not expounding theories. Germany was a democracy once.

Here in the U. S. A., with Congressman Doaks looking for the high sign as to how he shall vote from Ed O'Neal, from the AFL man, from the NAM lobbyist—and getting pretty cross-eyed in the process—

—By the special editor of the eighth of our "Calling America" series of *Graphic* specials: "From War to Work: How to Get Full Employment" (*Survey Graphic*, May 1943).

During the war years, the Twentieth Century Fund, Evans Clark, director, has focused on some of the larger economic and related issues our country will face in changing back from military to civilian status. Research studies and special surveys have been brought out under the general supervision of the Fund's economist, J. Frederic Dewhurst. In addition, the Fund has published a telling series of personal reconnaissance reports by Stuart Chase under the general title "When the War Ends."

In these small volumes, Mr. Chase has brought to bear his training as accountant, and his extraordinary insight as an investigator, whether in the field or in cracking the inner secrets of statistical reports. Plus a gift for insurgent interpretation which makes the play of economic forces at his hands as fresh and vivid as a baseball game.

Herewith the first of two articles drawn from his forthcoming book in this series: "Democracy Under Pressure: Special Interests vs. the Public Welfare."

we have about stopped counting on him to represent the whole community. Who does look out for all of us?

There are two answers: we ourselves, and the President of the United States. Neither is a very good answer—not nearly so good as it should be. As individual citizens most of us are adolescent Americans. Our country has been so vast, so rich in natural resources, that it has never occurred to us until lately that anybody needed to be responsible for keeping it going. It is clear, however, that the more responsibility we accept as individuals, the less needs to be taken by the government.

If, for instance, all the forty million Americans who drive cars should suddenly begin taking heed for the anatomy of their neighbors, think of the decline in traffic cops, judges, courts, public ambulances and hospitals!

The Presidency

As Walter Lippmann has pointed out,² the only agency which officially represents all of us is the Presidency—the President himself and his executive aides, including at present a number of special bureaus. As a matter of fact, the President seems to have been cast in this role by the Founding Fathers. Congressmen were supposed to represent the states and localities. Only the President could look over the heads of the clashing local interests and see the nation, steadily and whole. That, at least, was the theory, and there is something in it. If flesh and blood Presidents did not have to

²Column in the *New York Herald Tribune*, December 21, 1943. "Without strong national leadership by the President, Congress, though it is elected by the people, soon ceases to represent the nation." It represents organized pressure groups led by professionals. It does not hear from the rank and file who have no professionals to speak for them. Only the President can speak for them, says Mr. Lippmann.

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES 1941

	(In billions of dollars)			Total
	Federal	State	Local	
National defense	6.7	*	*	6.7
Relief and welfare	1.8	.5	.7	3.0
Schools and libraries	*	.3	2.2	2.5
Highways and transport	.3	.8	.9	2.0
Social security	.9	1.0	*	1.9
Agriculture and conservation	1.2	.1	.1	1.4
Administration and legislation	.4	.2	.6	1.2
Health	*	.3	.6	.9
Police	*	.1	.6	.7
Recreation	.1	.1	.1	.3
Interest and debt retirement	1.2	.4	1.0	2.6
Miscellaneous	.4	*	.5	.9
Total	13.0	3.8	7.3	24.1

* Less than \$50,000,000. The table does not include government enterprises which earn their keep—such as water supply, power, gas, postal service, port authorities, airports, and the like.

devote so much time to trying to get re-elected, there might be even more.

In these days, when pressure groups have turned Congress into a sort of revolving door, the necessity for the Executive to represent all of us becomes even more urgent. Is this generally recognized and allowed for? It is not. On the contrary, the executive arm is labeled "bureaucracy," and lives in a perpetual blizzard of criticism. This makes it difficult to get the mail signed, let alone do any intensive representing of the whole community.

Intensive representing we must have, however, if the pressure groups are to be controlled. We must have a watchdog devoted to the interest of all the people. As long as the people do not get together and instruct their hired agents, they depend on volunteers, or on chance. In a way, the President acts as a volunteer when he analyzes a public demand and takes action to satisfy it.

Sometimes a congressional committee, like Senator Truman's, acts voluntarily in the public interest, not in response to a definite mandate, but with wide approval once it has acted. Such an administrative bureau as the late National Resources Planning Board was created to assist the President (and presumably Congress as well) in studying the consumer interest. Such a bureau as the Farm Security Administration was created to represent a class of farmers who were not articulate enough to apply much pressure, but who badly needed help.

If it were a question of deciding among petitioners, the President would have little difficulty in balancing the pressure groups. Now, however, it has gone beyond that stage. It has become a matter of curbing power which already is overgrown. Nobody, to my knowledge, has the specific task of curbing that power, or even of planning how to curb it.

Inadequate Government Machinery

If the government were so organized as to give legitimate representation to economic interests, the pressure groups could never have grown so strong. But our government is not so organized. Today industrial, trade, professional, occupational interests are often more important than the

geographical interests which are supposed to limit congressmen.

This is one reason why many congressmen consider it their duty to represent economic interests which are strong in their states—so that we talk of "Silver" Senators and "Cotton" Ed Smith. The lobbies of these interests take care that the duty shall not be too painful to the congressmen. Such representing has to be done, however, with a good deal of indirection, because technically Congress is not supposed to take any action favoring special interests.

The relations of government to business, labor, and farmer are intricate beyond description. There is constant give and take. Does government run business in the WPB or do businessmen run government? Both statements are true in part. Does government run the farms or does the farm bloc run government? In giving labor more power, has government weakened its own position? And by government do we mean Congress, the President, the war control boards, or the great departments? We have to look beneath the high abstraction, "Government," in order to find meaning in this powerhouse of clanking gears.

Agenda of the State

What will be the proper functions of our government after the war? A great controversy has been stirred up, in large part by pressure groups, about how much authority the government is to have once peace arrives. To listen to some of the attacks on government activities, one would think public servants were usurping power when they performed the smallest task.

Yet since the first human societies met in caves, there has been a division of labor. Individuals have been responsible for some tasks, and the headman, the elders, the "government" of the tribe, have been responsible for other tasks—especially for the police power, the food supply, justice and military defense. The American government, despite the contempt in which it is widely held, has followed this timeless pattern. It, too, has been responsible for the police power, military defense, the courts, and since 1933 for the food supply.

Jeremy Bentham, one of the classical political economists, was an uncompromising opponent of government interference.

He coined a concept, however, which is still useful after a century. What, he asked, are the Agenda of the State? By this he meant the irreducible minimum of things the government must do to maintain a vital community. And what are the Non-Agenda, the things individuals and private enterprise should do?

Some twenty years ago, John Maynard Keynes, having seen his "Economic Consequences of the Peace" amply vindicated, scanned the heavens and realized that laissez faire as a self-generating system had run its course. That left a serious gap in the economy. "Perhaps the chief task of economists at this hour," he said, quoting Bentham, "is to distinguish afresh the Agenda of government from the Non-Agenda; and the companion task of politics is to devise forms of government within a democracy which shall be capable of accomplishing the Agenda."³

If the distinction was important to draw in 1926, it is even more important in 1944. What is the function of American government today? Are we going to be able to dispense with most of it after the war, as so many hopeful citizens seem to believe? Or will it be more firmly in the saddle than ever?

Take Radio Waves

These are large, fundamental questions which can only be briefly developed here. To begin with, it is fairly obvious that in power age communities there are many essential tasks which do not appeal to businessmen as sources of profit. Running the schools, for instance. The government, federal or local, is the agency which does the essential jobs that nobody else can or will do.

As an example, take radio waves. In 1927 all government controls were removed from radio broadcasting. Any enterpriser could set up a station and make it as loud as he wished. Bedlam ensued. New stations sprouted all over the map. Older ones increased their power in order to drown out the new ones, grabbing whatever frequencies they liked. You could never be sure that a program clear today would not be strangled by interference tomorrow. People stopped listening in disgust. Sponsors concluded that radio was a fine way to waste their money.

Free enterprise had complete sway over the airwaves. After eight months of it, broadcasters stormed Washington, imploring to be regulated. It was the only possible solution. The reasons are technological, and cannot be changed by any act of man. There are exactly 106 radio channels, or frequencies, available in the standard broadcasting band. There were many more enterprisers who wanted to operate broadcasting stations than the frequencies could accommodate. The government, by careful planning of wave lengths, districts and power, finally managed to squeeze in 900 stations.

"To prevent chaotic conflict resulting from electrical interference, it is obvious that somebody has to determine who shall and shall not be licensed to broadcast, the

³ "Essays in Persuasion," Harcourt, Brace, 1932. Some of the essays were written ten years earlier.

frequency on which each station shall operate, the power of its transmitter, the number of hours it shall be on the air. It is equally obvious that the federal government is the only institution that can do this with an approximation of justice and satisfaction for all."⁴

Prewar Agenda (1941)

Perhaps the simplest way to estimate the true role of the U. S. government is to follow the trend curve. What functions did government exercise at a given point in the past? How does this list compare with other taken just before we entered the war? What functions does it exercise today, and what must it do in the period of unloading from war to peace? What is the outlook for the long swing?

Let us take 1913 as the anchor for our curve. In that year the per capita cost of government—federal, state and local—was \$33.31. In 1941 it was \$217.09. In 1913, there were 1,879,000 government employees at the three levels, in 1941 more than 4,000,000—including the growing army. In 1913 the federal government accounted for only 26 percent of all government outlays, in 1941 for 58 percent. Local government—cities and towns—used to be the largest spender of the three, and federal the smallest. In 1941, federal was by far the largest. It spent \$13.0 billion to \$7.3 billion for local, and \$3.8 billion for state governments. The total of these expenditures, \$24.1 billion, was close to a quarter of the net national income in 1941.⁵

At this point, papers like *The Wall Street Journal* usually burst into tears and refuse to hear more. Let us press on, however. What were all these citizens working for? The government up to—raking leaves, as the *Journal* fears? What were the Agenda for the State? They appear in the table "Government Expenditures, 1941," on the opposite.

These are the major functions of Big Government. Washington is chiefly responsible for national defense, relief, land and conservation outlays. The states are responsible for a large share of social security and highways. The cities and towns are chiefly responsible for schools, health, police. They also absorb a large slice of highway and transport outlays.

These expenditures originate in 165,000 units of government. Beside the federal government and the forty-eight states, there are 3,050 counties, 16,000 incorporated places—mostly cities, 19,000 townships, 118,000 school districts, and more than 8,000 special districts—water, irrigation, conservation, and the like. A magnificent streamlining job awaits us here!

Look again at the table. Granting for the sake of argument that the administration is deplorable, what function can be eliminated—schools, health, national defense, police? Clearly they all represent vital activities. Clearly businessmen do not see much profit in activities of this nature, except perhaps as contractors. These functions have grown in response to public demand over the

years. No agent from Moscow started them. They began long before anyone was afraid of Moscow.

Wartime Agenda (1944)

In the all-out effort of total war, the federal government is, as I write, in control of the whole economy. Little can be produced against the wishes of the WPB. Little can be bought without the sanction of the OPA. The government is spending \$8 billion a month, close to \$100 billion a year. It is ordering 60 to 70 percent of all goods and services. Observe that the government is not making the stuff—except for the regular arsenals and navy yards—it is *ordering* it. Private businessmen are filling the orders.

Today, right now, in the midst of a dreadful verbal clamor about "free enterprise," "bureaucrats," "regimentation," those who have steady eyes can see the government men, businessmen, workers, and farmers linked together in one gigantic organism to produce such a torrent of munitions as Hitler never dreamed of.

Agenda for Demobilization (194?)

When the war ends I think we can safely predict that Uncle Sam will be thrown out of his total war position into something more modest. He will continue to order goods and services in the billions, whatever happens, but not at the present rate. The WPB estimates a 50 percent cutback when Germany is defeated. After the Japanese war is over, the cutback will be deeper.

Reconverting the economy to peace promises to be more difficult than converting it to war. Conversion was done to an iron purpose; reconversion can become a purposeless scramble. To bring some sort of order into it and avoid disaster, the following things must be done—things that private business cannot take the lead in doing. They are service functions, not profit functions, and they belong in the Agenda:

1. Demobilizing 12,000,000 men and women from the armed forces. Congress has already passed a "G.I. Bill of Rights." The law includes unemployment insurance for veterans, subsidies for education and vocational training, the guarantee of loans to help purchase a home, a farm or a small business, free hospital facilities, and a speedy settlement of all disability claims.
2. Demobilizing up to 20,000,000 men and women from the war industries. Congress is wrestling with various bills, as I write. Millions of people will have to be transported over long distances, among other things.
3. Cancellation of war contracts.
4. Liquidating up to \$50 billion of inventories.
5. The disposal of some 2,500 government factories.
6. The extension of the OPA for a time, to keep the price structure steady.
7. The extension of lend-lease for a time, to stabilize our victorious allies.
8. The administration of relief abroad for a time.
9. The continued control of foreign trade and investment, at least until we know what other countries are going to do.

10. Control of airways and foreign bases as a military precaution.

11. The accumulation of stockpiles of strategic materials as a military precaution.

12. Control of the merchant marine for a time as a military precaution.

13. Controlling the *order* of reconversion so that industry does not tear itself to pieces trying to beat the gun to consumers' markets. (It promises to be a regular Cherokee Rush. The WPB is volcanic with pressure right now.)

Agenda (1950)

When the world has stopped weaving around like the aspirants Joe Louis used to hit, some of these emergency controls can be dropped. For the long swing, what seems to be the shape of the Agenda?

To begin with, we can move the 1941 Agenda right ahead to 1950. Those major functions of defense, education, police and the rest will continue to be major.

Next we may expect to see some kind of compensatory economy in operation, where the government slows down booms and depressions, by the coordinated use of taxation, public works, and social security. The British Tory government is all set to do this, and I think it probable that the United States will develop a compensatory model of its own.⁶

In addition we might anticipate the following in the 1950 Agenda, in some form or other:

1. A great housing program, with federal aid.
2. Extension of present social security provisions to the whole population.
3. A great health program added to social security.
4. A nationwide nutrition program, and crop controls to reinforce it. The Food Stamp Plan of Milo Perkins, as well as school lunches, will probably be back in the Agenda.
5. More multiple-purpose river developments like the TVA. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, as a result of the disastrous floods of 1944, is now roaring for a Missouri Valley Authority, and bills have been introduced in Congress.
6. Large public works—such as continental super-highways, a national reforestation program, reconstruction of cities—on a scale hitherto unknown.
7. New and effective methods for controlling monopolies, and for checking conspiracies to restrict output.
8. Improved government machinery, permitting the Republic effectively to meet problems rather than to dodge them.
9. More government control of foreign trade and investment than in 1940, though not so much as in 1944.

All the above seem to be on the trend curve.

The Democratic Deadlock

Here we are with a quarter of the whole national effort on the government Agenda
(Continued on page 509)

⁶ One model was outlined in my previous book in the Twentieth Century series, "Where's the Money Coming From?" Beardsley Ruml has released (July 1944) another model. Wendell Willkie advocated another in June 1944. *Fortune* proposed a model as early as 1942.

⁴ *Fortune*, May 1943.

⁵ Figures from J. Frederic Dewhurst, unpublished study for the Twentieth Century Fund.

Jamaica Takes a Census

The census is a once-every-decade institution to us—but to a small neighbor in the Caribbean it brought adventure, self-discovery, even a political renaissance.

ELSIE BENJAMIN

IN 1943, IT HAD BEEN TWENTY-TWO YEARS since a census had been taken in the densely populated island of Jamaica. The last enumeration, carelessly conducted, had furnished few details. Enabling legislation for a new count had been passed as far back as 1929, but it had remained something to be talked of rather than done. What brought matters to a head was a nationalist movement, which had culminated in the granting of universal suffrage and a constitution by Britain. Elections could not be called until accurate statistical data had been assembled. Hence the census, on which I worked in the head office. Its more important figures have recently been made public.

Commissions Ask Questions

A serious labor upheaval had occurred in Jamaica in May 1938. It was the climax of a smoldering discontent caused by wages that were below subsistence level. Fifty cents a day was considered good pay in many unskilled callings. The trouble began on the Frome sugar plantation, where a strike was launched without proper organization. At that time there were no labor unions in the island, because both the government and the business interests had discouraged the idea. The possibility of cooperation was a new thought to the workers.

Baffled by the strike, the police read the Riot Act to the people and then fired on them, killing several and wounding scores. A brief period of chaos resulted. News of the events at Frome quickly spread to Kingston, where the longshoremen walked out, paralyzing shipping. They were among the poorest paid laborers. The unemployed in the parks seized the opportunity to have a "good time," by which they meant causing as much confusion as possible. For a day or two, hooliganism reigned in the lower section of the city. The mob seized and ran the trolley cars, closed the stores, and bullied the police. But it ordered the newspaper offices to remain open and post bulletins. A few deaths, most of them caused by accidents, finally scared the mob back to sanity. The fever meanwhile had spread to other parts of the island, where there were sporadic outbursts.

When things quieted down labor unions were formed and the wage scale was slightly increased. A considerable state of unrest persisted. Inevitably a political movement to demand self-government took shape.

The people had come alive after seventy-five years of drugged sleep under the Crown Colony system. Jamaica formerly had been one of Britain's richest possessions, ruled by white planters and merchants for their own benefit. With the abolition of slavery and the collapse of the West Indian

—Born and educated in Jamaica, British West Indies, Miss Benjamin is not only a statistic in the census of which she writes with understanding and humor—she played a part in the exciting project. Formerly on the largest daily newspaper of Kingston, *The Gleaner*, Miss Benjamin became the only woman supervisor in the census office. Now she is in the United States to continue her studies in the two subjects in which she is most interested—economics and dramatic art.

sugar monopoly in the middle of the last century, the island had become a mere stepchild of the Empire. It had stagnated slowly, from the political as well as the economic viewpoint.

The British now reacted sharply to the riot, as they called it. A new and stronger governor was appointed. A series of commissions came from England to investigate the evils that had grown up under his predecessors. These commissions—unlike others in the past whose practice had been to spend a few months in the salubrious climate, ask a few questions, and then return home and forget their visit—probed deeply and filed a report containing recommendations for the future benefit of the country.

The repercussions in Jamaica were the most notable in its history. An actual renaissance occurred. For the first time, the inhabitants as a whole became conscious of being a people and not mere shadows of their rulers. The original flush of excitement gave place to serious thought—confused and perhaps wrong at times, but still creative. Artists discovered themselves and something in their land of which to be proud. Political parties sprang up. The public began to demand economic facts.

The only facts and figures that it previously had been deemed worthwhile to make available to Jamaicans were those concerning the British Isles. We studied English history in school and we knew all our dates and events from William the Conqueror in 1066 to the present day. There was no point on the map of Great Britain and Ireland on which you could floor us. But we did not know the number of rivers and mountains in Jamaica. We did not have a single comprehensive geography or history of the island.

Fortunately, the thing recommended by the last Royal Commission as being of primary importance was the immediate taking of an exhaustive census. The objective was to establish a statistical bureau based on the information thus assembled. The project moved slowly. But when Downing Street decided in favor of political reforms,

it also gave the go-ahead signal for the census. A. J. Pelletier, an energetic and gifted Canadian with long experience in this sort of work, was borrowed. He started the count in January 1943.

The results demanded by the government were set forth as follows:

"(1) The enumeration and description of every man, woman, and child in Jamaica, giving residence, age, education, religion, employment, and so on.

"(2) A redistribution of electoral districts for representation in the legislature, to be made on the completion of the census.

"(3) The compilation of detailed statistics on agricultural lands and products; the number of domestic animals by age groups, with animal products, and so on.

"(4) The establishment of basic statistics for all government administration, social and economic."

Mountains, Woods, and Water

This seemed a Herculean task to those of us who were familiar with the island. We did not even have a close approximation of the total population and its resources. Nor were there any real records of how previous head counts had been taken.

We knew that the common folk would fear and resent a census. They would see it as a means of getting information for the sole purpose of levying taxes in peace and conscripting in war.

The physical geography of the country would have been enough to deter a less determined man than Mr. Pelletier. Mountains form the backbone of Jamaica; its original Indian name, Xaynaca, means "the land of woods and water." Enumerators would be compelled to traverse miles of unpopulated mountainous woodlands—tangled as any Amazon jungle—and find at the end of the long trail perhaps a hut or so occupied by two or three woods men. There are precipices with wattle-and-daub thatched houses perched precariously atop "goat mountains," so called because they seem accessible only to goats. But people lived there, people who would have to be taught the meaning of the very word census.

Within six miles of the capital city of Kingston, there are inaccessible areas, reached only by narrow tracks through dildo bush, a very prickly species of cactus. The openings would be missed by the average city dweller, and it is said that the police are strangely innocent of how to navigate them. Beyond are whole colonies of dwellers in mud huts or under trees, primitives who draw their water from a stand-pipe three miles down the road. Hundreds of these illusive ones were found only because the census officer was shrewd enough to get

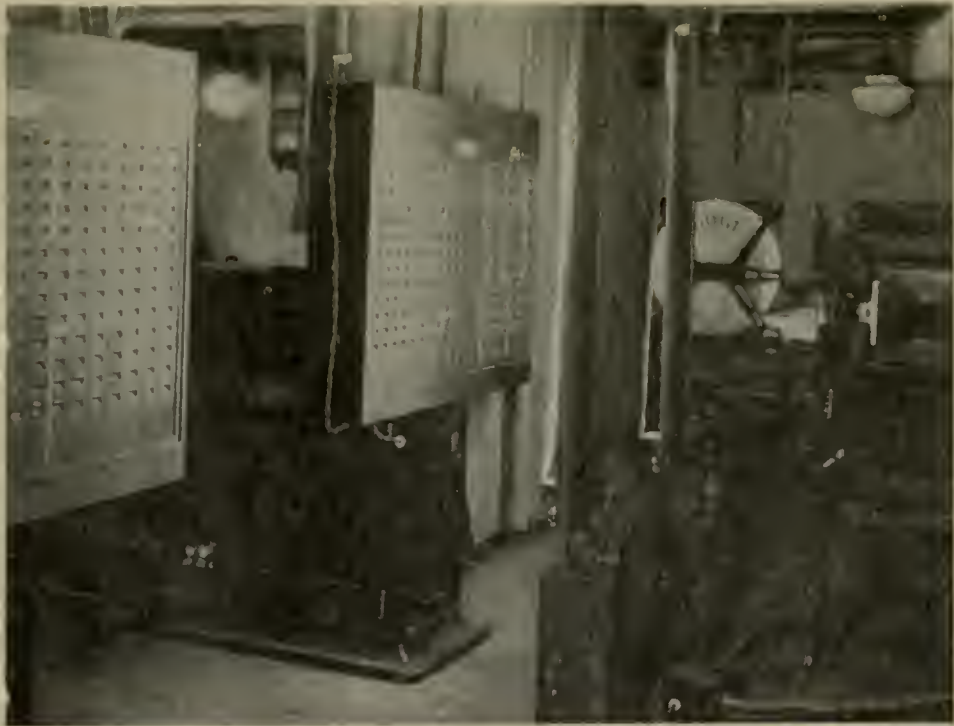
veral newspapermen on the job for the
 icts in question.

had been feared that the Maroons
 ld be especially hard to handle. They
 constitute a semi-independent nation, com-
 posed of the descendants of runaway slaves
 with some admixture of aboriginal Indian
 blood. They were never conquered by the
 British, but were conceded their own form
 of government more than one hundred and
 fifty years ago. The Maroons inhabit a
 rugged area called the Cockpit coun-
 try which is incredibly difficult to traverse
 because of the succession of sink-holes in
 the limestone formation. They are a secre-
 tive people. Luckily, their then chief,
 "Colonel" Rowe, happened to want a cen-
 sus of his people and was willing to co-
 operate.

All Speed Ahead

J. Pelletier arrived in Jamaica in May
 1942, and by August had set up offices,
 hired an assistant, and made contacts
 with every organization or group that
 professed to know anything that might be
 of aid. After touring the island, he an-
 nounced that the census would be taken
 by the *de jure* system as of January 4, 1943.
 Weeks of derision and a flood of warnings
 regarding the impossibility of accomplish-
 ing the task so quickly greeted him from
 all sides. Even the government seemed
 skeptical, while giving him the support he
 needed. His chief assistant, a young Jamaican
 economist, proved easy to train and eager
 to learn.

The census officer used every advertising
 medium at his disposal. He gave talks
 wherever there was an available platform.
 He rented or borrowed statistics machines
 from Canada and the United States—and,
 as he was unable to relate, they arrived on time.
 Despite the submarine warfare then
 raging in the Caribbean. Hundreds of visi-
 tors came to see the complicated machines;



Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau

Tabulating machine used for the census, invented and owned by the Canadian Bureau of Statistics. It does the final sorting of all cards, even rejecting cards with errors.

they astounded a simple populace. A stiff
 pace was set for printers and others called
 upon to furnish supplies. Time began to
 mean something to Jamaicans.

On the radio, and in clubs, churches, and
 the halls of political organizations, people
 were told how and why the census was
 being taken. The island was plastered with
 colorful posters. The intensity of the
 propaganda, coupled with the shortness of
 the intervening period, prevented many of
 the ignorant but wily inhabitants from
 thinking up ways of evading the census-
 man.

The incorrigible minority confined them-
 selves to giving slightly misleading informa-
 tion to the enumerators. One drifter, for
 instance, who was cornered in a park at
 seven A.M., insisted that he was called Spree
 Boy. Only the threat of prison elicited the
 more formal appellation, Hezekiah Jones.
 But he swore manfully that he had no
 home except "under the Banyan tree, Vic-
 toria Park," and no business except "park-
 bench speaker," which probably was true.

Some individuals declared that the chick-
 ens on their premises did not belong to
 them. They were simply taking care of
 the birds for their sister-in-law's uncle or
 cousin's brother, who had gone to England
 to fight. This, they thought, would help
 them to evade whatever tax the govern-
 ment was planning to level on chickens.

There was the woman who herself was
 eighteen years old, yet who had a son of
 thirty-five. Nor was she conscious of lying.
 When the enumerator dared to suggest that
 the ages might be the other way around,
 she indignantly showed him the door.

Another woman, upon being asked the
 number of her children, scratched her head
 and said that she would have to count
 them. "Tommy, Joe, Katie, Lulu, Jane,
 George, Henry—dat makes seven!" She
 gave all the details concerning them, saw

the enumerator to the door and was on the
 point of saying "good-day" to him when a
 noise was heard under the bed. Out came
 a tiny boy of three. "Lawd, me good
 child!" the mother exclaimed. "If you
 hadn't stirred I'd never have remembered
 you, and look what Government would
 have missed! Come back, sah, and set
 him down."

Nor was it all easy going among the
 middle and upper classes. One of the diffi-
 culties was to get exact information con-
 cerning the business standing of these per-
 sons. Apparently wealthy people were un-
 willing to go on record with facts that
 might make them seem less powerful and
 rich than they were believed to be. The
 attitude toward color also played an im-
 portant part in withholding information.
 In Jamaica there is a very large element
 with light skins and, of course, mixed blood.
 They are locally called "would-be's," mean-
 ing that they wish to be considered white.
 The great majority of this type lied con-
 cerning their origin and color, but the
 country is a small one where everyone
 knows the descent of everyone else, and the
 enumerators were often able to correct the
 racial data given.

It is felt that the whole truth about
 illegitimacy, as well as illiteracy, was not
 told. The middleclass working girl seldom
 acknowledges her child, if she is unmarried.
 On the other hand, some big businessmen
 and planters are barely able to sign their
 names. The margin of error in these two
 respects, however, was not sufficient to up-
 set large averages.

"Every Man, Woman, and Child"

Apart from their adventures with the
 recalcitrant, the agents of the census did
 a prosy, painstaking job. Hardly had their
 figures reached the office than government
 bureaus and business houses, social institu-

HELP THE CENSUS TAKER



JAMAICA CENSUS 1943

ALL INFORMATION STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL
 THE CENSUS WILL BE USED ONLY FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES
 AND FOR ADULT VOTERS LISTS, AND WILL NOT BE USED FOR
 TAXATION, OR CONSCRIPTION PURPOSES

ANY PERSON REFUSING TO GIVE INFORMATION OR GIVING FALSE INFORMATION IS
 LIABLE TO A PENALTY OF \$10

YOU NEED THE CENSUS — THE CENSUS NEEDS YOU!

Effective census poster in two colors



Typical planter's house. The three roofs are a protective device against high winds

tions and research committees, began to ask eagerly for them. Statistics on almost everything had been needed for a generation.

Complete information was released within fifteen months of the actual taking of the census, and it is considered as nearly accurate as was possible in the peculiar circumstances. That means about 98 percent accurate. The headquarters staff of 140 persons had had fairly steady employment for over a year. Its members received statistical training that could not have been obtained otherwise in Jamaica, and that only some of the largest colleges in modern countries could have provided. The Bureau of Statistics which the legislature promptly authorized had an experienced

personnel on which to draw.

The total population as revealed by the Jamaica census is 1,237,063, as against 858,118 reported in the preceding census in 1921. Since an increase of around fifty percent in twenty-two years is scarcely credible, we must assume that the earlier total fell far short of actuality. Kingston, the only large city, has 110,083 inhabitants. The next largest town musters a mere 12,028, the third largest, 11,500.

The overwhelming majority, 1,192,994, are Negroes or of mixed Negro and Caucasian blood. Only 13,377 are white. There are 21,114 Hindus, and 6,894 Chinese. The whites include most heads of government departments, managers of banks, large



Municipal market in Kingston, Jamaica's only large city, with 110,083 inhabitants

landowners, police officers, and a few ministers. The Syrians control the large, retail businesses in the island, although they number only 835.

The professional class is drawn chiefly from inhabitants of mixed blood. But the great mass of the latter either remain on the soil, or work as clerks in the towns. They do not lack enterprise, but they do lack stability and continuity of purpose. Literacy was judged by the ability to read and write a short letter: 729,516 persons are able to read and write, 28,675 more can read only, the rest are illiterate.

Jamaica's elementary schools are government grammar schools; 661,866 persons are from them. The 8,784 practically trained persons include students of commercial, practical, industrial and technical training schools. Practical training centers are new in Jamaica but, being partly vocational schools, they are proving to be the type of education most useful. Of the 25,536 people who have secondary education, 14,534 have had some high school work and the remaining 11,002 are graduates. There are 4,424 in the pre-professional group of people who have completed some intermediate professional examination. In spite of the fact that the professional group includes doctors, lawyers, accountants, ministers, teachers, and others with university degrees, the total of 2,001 is very small. There is no university in the island, though there is the possibility that one may be established through the Colonial Welfare and Development Scheme in the near future.

Only the twenty-seven largest bodies of religious groups were classified in the census—these include Confucianists, Hindus, Buddhists, Pocomaniacs, Jews, Christians. The Anglicans have the largest membership, 350,311, nearly 40,000 more than the Baptists, second numerically. In spite of the small numbers of Roman Catholics (70,535) they are at present the strongest body in those parts of the island where they have settled, and they form a group almost as large as the Anglican in Kingston. There are 49,094 persons who profess to have no religion and 19,475 non-denominationalists. In spite of the government's effort to stamp out Pocomania, which might be called a very mild form of Voodooism, the acknowledged membership is 4,230 and the actual membership is likely to be much larger.

The census accepted the long established practice of common law marriage and the figure 142,988 is formidable when placed beside the legal marriage figure which is 212,035. Jamaica's only woman counselor is perhaps responsible for the totals not being even closer; some three years ago she started a series of mass weddings with as many as 32 couples married at one time. It is yet to be proved that they are successful, however; I know of couples who lived together for many years, only to separate soon after legal marriage.

Farms and Employment

Although Jamaica is basically an agricultural country, this was the first agricultural census taken. The figures show
(Continued on page 512)

Health for the Nation

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

In a significant report, "Principles of a Nation-wide Health Program," 29 doctors and laymen present jointly an American plan for medical care and health insurance.

"Medical costs must be paid for in ways that enable everybody to get medical care when they need it."

"Medical care must be good enough to make it worth while paying for when you get it."

THESE TWO STATEMENTS REPRESENT VIEWS that have a past and a punch.

Thirty years ago a small number of economists and administrators became interested in health insurance, as a scheme for paying for medical care by regular deductions from the current earnings of workers, usually supplemented by payments from employers and from public funds. In the late Twenties some of these men joined with physicians and other experts in a research body, the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. A decade later the general public as well as economists, administrators, and the professions were brought together at the call of the national government in the National Health Conference of 1938. Here for the first time both main branches of organized labor placed themselves squarely behind public action for health insurance. By 1943, organized labor had moved from the applauding sidelines to carry the ball down the center of the field, initiating and sponsoring a comprehensive social security measure including health insurance for a hundred million people.

This thread of history ties to medical economics. Paying for medical care by health insurance is now a public issue that is behind it a politically powerful punch.

The second of the statements set at the beginning of this article relates to doctors. Doctors are the central figures in furnishing medical care. They have a stake in its economics but their professional concern is with its quality. The official conservatives of the profession have used "quality of care" as a club to belabor health insurance, if these were antithetical. But there are doctors and doctors.

In Massachusetts in 1917, the early group of economists and administrators found one doctor in that state—just one—who was willing to appear at a legislative hearing in behalf of their bill. He was Richard Cabot. By 1927 there were doctors on the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care who wanted to find ways whereby, under health insurance, medical care would be good enough to make it worth paying for when you get it." Within the last decade, doctors with this point of view have begun to organize themselves to work out actual procedures to this end. In 1944, there is a body of such doctors, the Physicians' Forum, which is not only organized but militant.

This thread of history is the professional

—By a widely known authority on medical economics, editor of the quarterly, *Medical Care*, who organized and served as chairman of the Health Program Conference. Earlier, Dr. Davis was director for medical services of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and one of the organizers of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. Since 1937, he has been chairman of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics. His books include: "Clinics, Hospitals, and Health Centers," "Public Medical Services," "America Organizes Medicine."

thread. It should be spun by physicians who furnish or administer the services of medicine. Their ideas will gain punch as the public comes to understand them.

Medical & Economic Viewpoints

The "Principles of a Nationwide Health Program," given out last month, is an attempt to weave the economic and the professional threads together into a pattern of action. A little over a year ago, an informal, temporary organization, the Health Program Conference, was set up for this purpose. It did not go into the three important subjects of dentistry, nursing, and pharmacy, though appreciating their significance, because of the limited time available. The twenty-nine persons who made up the conference include thirteen physicians, some in private practice, most in salaried positions in universities, health agencies or hospital administration. There are eight economists, all of whom have long worked for health insurance, including the research directors of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. There are eight administrators connected with governmental or voluntary agencies.

These twenty-nine people agree in presenting a nationwide health program which, in brief:

(1) would offer comprehensive service, preventive and curative;

(2) would provide comprehensive coverage of the population;

(3) would be administered with the participation of those who receive and those who furnish service, utilizing voluntary as well as governmental agencies, under a national system with decentralized administration and local responsibility;

(4) would be supported by contributory insurance payments required by law from beneficiaries and from employers, supplemented by tax funds;

(5) would aid localities needing hospitals and public health departments to obtain or improve these facilities:

(6) would encourage medical service supplied through group practice, developing hospitals into medical service centers;

(7) would assure basic rights: patients free to choose physicians, hospitals and other medical resources, including the right of group choice as well as individual choice; physicians free to come into or to stay out of the health program and to choose the type of practice, individual or group, which they desire; hospitals free to participate and to maintain their autonomy.

Each of these seven major points hits important and controversial issues.

Service

1. Service should be comprehensive, says the Health Program Conference's report:

"Plans of medical care which are limited to hospitalization, surgery or 'catastrophic illness' only, do not express the ideals of medicine, nor do they apply the present powers of medicine at the most effective points or in the most economical ways. Plans which provide cash payments only, to meet the cost of some services in whole or part, are still more limited in medical and economic value. Only comprehensive preventive, diagnostic and curative service will minimize disability, inefficiency and premature death, which bring heavy losses to individuals and to the productivity of industry and agriculture."

Here the program contrasts with the restricted scope of care offered by the Blue Cross hospital insurance plans and with those of organized medicine. Medical societies in nearly half the states have officially approved health insurance in principle and some twenty plans have actually been started under the sponsorship of state or local societies. Most have made little headway, but this sponsorship by organized medicine is a noteworthy commitment. They usually limit their scope to surgical and obstetrical care in a hospital.

Coverage

2. A nationwide health program, says the report, should be comprehensive in coverage of the population as well as in service.

"If the health program is established as part of a general system of social security, this system should include all insured employed and self-employed persons and their families, and indigent and other persons who, because of employment or income status, are not directly eligible to the insurance system. . . . Limitation of coverage to certain income groups or to those engaged in certain occupations is not desirable."

Most medical society insurance plans insist upon income limits above which people are ineligible for membership, or if people above the limit are admitted they can re-

ceive only specified cash indemnities for particular services, whatever the doctor may charge for these. Similar indemnities can be bought from many insurance companies. Three of the twenty-nine conference members are willing to accept an income limit. Five accept "broad coverage as the goal" but think that it "should be attained gradually to avoid lowering the quality of care." All the others want no income limit and believe it "feasible and desirable to start with broad coverage."

Administration

3. The program offered by the conference is nationwide in scope, national in auspices, but decentralized in administration. "In order," says the report, "that comprehensive service shall be available to all or most of the population and in order to minimize the administrative costs of acquiring members, it is essential that financial participation in the system be required by law."

There has been a major cleavage in lay and professional opinion whether health insurance should be by voluntary action only. On this issue the Conference is unanimous and definite. Legally required payment, however, would not mean that

people must use the medical or hospital services thus financed, any more than they have to send their children to public schools because they must pay school taxes. Nor would doctors be compelled to work under the publicly established insurance system. Nor does it imply that all services would be supplied by governmental agencies—the report declares quite the reverse. Voluntary hospitals with their extensive facilities, and voluntary health insurance plans are recognized.

"Voluntary agencies providing services of acceptable standard should have the right to participate in the system. Voluntary agencies not providing services should have the right to participate if they would contribute to the efficiency and economy of the system.

"Under these principles, voluntary agencies which directly provide physicians' services or hospitalization of acceptable standards would be eligible to participate in the system, but agencies would not necessarily be included when they were concerned only with the collection of funds and the distribution of cash indemnities to beneficiaries."

The program proposes that, for reasons of economy, the insurance contributions

from individuals and employers should be "levied and collected by the national government, along with other social security funds." The general tax funds in the system would be federal, state, and local. National collection of the funds is compatible with any one of the three methods through which the federal government has administered health programs:

Direct federal management, for instance the hospitals of the Veterans Administration and of the Public Health Service;

Federal-state procedure, for instance the grants-in-aid to the states for general public health services for venereal disease control, maternity care, and so on;

Direct relation between federal and local agencies, as in the medical care plans of the Farm Security Administration or the building of hospitals under the wartime Lanham Act.

Local Responsibility

Health insurance bills have been heavily attacked as establishing centralized authority and therefore "regimentation" over personal services to individuals. The report counters by affirming that "medical care cannot be run satisfactorily by remote control." The administration of services must be highly decentralized, with local responsibility, that is—

"... responsible participation of local people, physicians and agencies (governmental and voluntary) in the administration and control of their health services under national standards. . . . The powers, funds and administrative agencies of local political subdivisions, and of the states must be utilized in planning and in the provision of services."

The local organization "should be the administrative unit and foundation of the national system," related to the public and the voluntary agencies of the locality, the state, and the nation. So far as possible the local area should be a "functional area," suited to the provision of physicians' and hospital services and might correspond with a local political subdivision or include several such. "It would be the duty of the national bodies to work out the areas and their organization with the state and local agencies."

The report does not give blueprints of organization, prescribing the particular agencies of our government which would administer the program. That must be done in a bill; the report is not a draft of legislation. It does set forth principles:

"The national policy-determining body for the health program should be representative of the chief groups of those who receive service and of those who furnish it. The same procedure should be followed at local and intermediate levels.

"All policy-determining bodies and officials should be responsible to the general public interest as distinguished from the interests of any vocational or economic group."

Throughout the report this principle of participation is emphasized. "The people cannot obtain a high quality of service unless adequate training, intellectual freedom, and economic security are assured their

Members of the Health Program Conference

Will W. Alexander, *Chicago*
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Professor of Economics, Yale

Solomon F. Bloom, *New York*
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Ernest P. Boas, M.D., *New York*
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Allan M. Butler, M.D., *Boston*
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Michael M. Davis, *New York*
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Florence C. Thorne, *Washington*
Director of Research, American Federation of Labor

J. Raymond Walsh, *Washington*
Director of Research, Congress of Industrial Organizations

C.-E. A. Winslow, *New Haven, Conn.*
Professor of Public Health, Yale

Edwin E. Witte, *Madison, Wis.*
Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin

physicians. The medical profession cannot realize the highest social esteem nor its additional ideal of service to all according to their needs, unless the financial accessibility of service is assured the people."

Administrative officers appointed by and responsible to a public body or official, and removed as fully as possible from partisan political pressures," would fall into two operating groups—professional and financial. The strictly medical activities should be under qualified members of the profession. The professional and financial officials, each having administrative authority in their respective fields, would be coordinated through the policy-determining body. These principles should apply to each local area and on national and intermediate levels also.

To provide needed information and guidance for the policy-determining agencies and the administrative officers, the report outlines a general advisory council and special councils on medical, hospital and financial subjects. These councils have the freedom of action requisite to effective influence, but no administrative responsibilities.

Financing Medical Costs

4. The Health Program Conference establishes its financial program upon one basic fact: that American families spend annually an average of 3 percent of their current income for physician's services and hospitalization. This fact knocks out the underpinning from the claims that we "cannot afford" health insurance. A contribution for medical care insurance of 3 percent or less of current income would not mean an added burden on the earnings of workers."

"The American people are now spending for physicians' services and hospitalization enough to provide for all with only minor supplementation, if these payments are regularized, instead of falling with disastrous uncertainty. . . . The chief support of a nationwide system of medical care should be contributory insurance required by law, with the amounts of payment from employees, employers, and self-employed persons related to the earnings of the contributors, combined with support from general taxation."

Just before the war, some \$750,000,000 of tax funds was expended annually for medical purposes, the larger part of this money coming from local and state governments. These publicly supported hospital, health, and medical care services should be related with those of the nationwide medical care program "so as to tend towards a professionally unified and financially economical system."

Adequate Facilities Necessary

5. For a long time, doctors have been going to the cities and shunning rural areas. The war has accentuated this trend. Many rural sections have no hospitals or none worthy of the name. Many of these areas and not a few states are too poor to pay for adequate facilities by themselves. Hence—

"The national health program should in-

clude general tax funds from the start, especially to aid (a) new or improved hospitals and health centers, particularly in rural areas; (b) the further extension of full time public health departments and other preventive measures, so that every part of the country will be served thereby; and (c) the provision or improvement of medical services to those dependent and other persons not directly covered by the insurance system."

The special needs of rural areas "cannot be met simply by providing means of paying the current costs of medical services. Such a system would assist in maintaining rural physicians and hospitals, and would tend to attract more physicians; but there are many rural areas wherein the physicians and the hospitals requisite for adequate or even minimal service do not exist."

The report suggests other steps to help keep physicians in rural areas and attract new ones, particularly during the coming period of medical demobilization.

Group Medical Practice

6. Facilities, money, and management all hang upon the question: Will the services the people get be worth paying for? Here the medical side of the conference takes command.

In order to maintain and improve the quality of service, the career of a physician must offer "stimulating professional opportunities and adequate financial compensation." There must be "ample support for medical education and research; freedom of experimentation in medical science, medical technology, and in the forms of medical practice." The quality and the cost of service are also greatly affected by the ways in which the services are organized and paid for. Teamwork among doctors is better than solo practice.

"An organized group of doctors, including general physicians and specialists in due proportions, with pooled use of equipment and assistant personnel and in affiliation with a hospital, represents the most desirable form of service. There are sufficient examples of group practice in the United States to demonstrate its efficiency and economy.

"Numerous studies have shown that, through well organized group practice under a prepayment plan, about twice as much physicians' and auxiliary service may be furnished for the same total expenditures as the people are accustomed to spend for comparable services supplied in the same community through individual practice paid for on a fee-for-service basis.

"These studies also indicate that (1) economy in the cost of service is possible in group practice because of the more effective use of personnel and facilities, and reduction in overhead expenses; (2) the quality of care furnished by a well-organized group of physicians is usually better than, and certainly at least as good as, that furnished by individual practitioners serving similar population groups in the same community; and (3) these advantages to the public are accompanied by improved professional opportunities and more assured income for the physicians."

Group practice cannot be legislated all at once. It has long been developing in private medical groups, like the Mayo Clinic and several hundred smaller examples, and in our hospitals and outpatient departments. This evolution can be protected and promoted. "The organized staffs of the best hospitals and clinics now constitute the most widely diffused examples of group medical practice." Unfortunately, says the report, the advantages of group practice in these hospitals are at present chiefly confined to non-paying patients.

Hospitals and clinics should be reorganized, as some of them already have been, so that comprehensive service through group medical practice will be available to people of all incomes. The proposed methods of paying for medical care would make this goal financially attainable. Hospitals should come to "function as medical service centers, offering preventive, diagnostic and treatment services for bed, ambulatory and home patients and providing office facilities for the physicians on their staffs." The typical non-profit American hospital could modify its organization so as to accomplish this aim, immediately or gradually, without losing its autonomy.

We have ample patterns for this sort of health insurance in plans long conducted in many large industrial establishments and recently dramatized by Henry J. Kaiser. These and plans typified by the Group Health Association of Washington, the Ross-Loos Clinic of Los Angeles, the Community Hospital founded by Dr. Michael Shadid in rural Oklahoma, represent the same principle—service paid for by health insurance and provided by teams of salaried doctors, working in or through a hospital and clinic. Organized medicine has fought this principle, desiring that health insurance plans be directly or indirectly under medical society control, and demanding that service be furnished under the traditional pattern of individual practice, an open panel system with the doctor paid from the insurance fund according to a fee schedule for each service he renders.

How Shall Doctors Be Paid?

On this thorny point, the report recognizes that both the amount and the method of payment influence the quality of service. Of seven principles stated regarding the payment of physicians, the first is most important: "Compensation should be adequate." The other principles relate to judging adequacy of income and to fixing the best method of payment under various circumstances. The program recognizes "three methods of payment, or combinations of these: salary, capitation, and (under certain conditions) fee-for-service."

"The fee-for-service method is most open to abuse for patients and physicians and is the most costly to administer. Adequate control of the services requires fiscal and professional supervision, which is expensive and often vexatious. The promotion of quality and of prevention is difficult. The use of the fee-for-service method should therefore be discouraged, except for special-

(Continued on page 510)



Perhaps. Small farming "still provides a living for the family with some resources"

Farm Security Administration photos

If We Want Small Farming

The root difficulties of the small farmers, who with their families make up some thirty millions of our people, are problems all Americans must share.

CHARLOTTE PRINCE RYAN

SMALL FARMING HAS BECOME A DEPRESSION business. Small—not large—farming. Large farming has become big business, with all the financial interconnections and lines to Wall Street of any industry—and all the wartime prosperity.

Of the small farmers, on the other hand, very many have heard about wartime prosperity but have seen none of it themselves. Many others are doing well largely because without help they work harder and keep all the proceeds. But one man, even with wife and children, cannot do everything, and generally they already pay in deterioration of health, of barns and equipment.

The call of good money from the war plants passed over the small farms like a giant magnet. Most of the hired labor and all the half-hearted farmers disappeared. Most of those left either can't leave farming or stay because they like it. Few stay because small farming is a "good job." Once it provided a secure and good living. It still provides a living for the family with some resources. But scarcely ever is the return commensurate with the effort involved, and for the great majority small farming is definitely a marginal business.

Moreover, the proportion of the country's food and fiber produced by large farmers has increased to the point where many agriculturists and economists doubt whether small farms are necessary to the agriculture

—With her husband and two young children, Mrs. Ryan turned away from the city a few years ago to go into dairy farming. The Ryans bought a 168-acre farm, have ten cows, raise all their food except staples. Because of the shortage of labor they do all the farm work themselves; but Mrs. Ryan points out that, unlike so many small farmers, they can afford to buy labor-saving machinery when it is available.

The author is a graduate of Cornell, though she was a classical not an agricultural student. Before she turned her hand to Holsteins, she had a successful career in the publicity field.

of the future. Even though during the war years small farms have shown both greater increases in production and greater possibilities for increase than the large farms at present operating, these economists point to the parallel with the industrial development of manufacturing, and suggest that with the development of factory methods in agriculture small farming will gradually disappear.

The Will to Independence

On the other hand, we grow more than automobiles and beef and corn and refrigerators in this country, and something

besides love of profit keeps the majority of the six million farm families of this country on the land against multiple discouragements. Even the very lowest income group among rural folk—the dispossessed, the Okies—think of themselves not as the homeless, ne'er-do-well wanderers that others see, but as farmers who will one day return to their own. Their rugged individualism has often been the despair of the agencies that would help them—and in this they are like the great majority of farmers.

Given fair conditions, small farming is ever admitted to raise good citizens. Whether it is outdoor work, care of animals, striving with natural forces, or some thing beyond, farmers are generally expected to be of upright character and generous impulses. Not that avarice is less common among farmers than in any other group, but that is unimportant. What is important is that it is too often forgotten that poverty is prone to warp the best of characters, and with the poor conditions prevalent in many places small farming is raising bad citizens—selfish, suspicious, ill-educated, given to the dog-eat-dog ways that too often attach to chronic poverty.

Small farmers and their families are a sizable chunk of this country—some thirty million persons—who have already shown plainly enough that so large a sore spot

in the country's economy may well be disastrous. Some enthusiasts are given to saying that small farming is the backbone of the country. It may or may not be that. But among small farmers may be found, in common with every mechanic who covets his own garage, every clerk his store, and every worker his own home, that which may be conceded a part, at least, of the American spirit—the will to independence.

For that will to independence the small farmer is commonly held up to praise by the highly colored advertisements of industry, and the equally colored stories of the rural press. From neither might a reader guess that the steady trend against small farming has brought ownership by operators down to approximately half our farms, that opportunity in agriculture has dwindled so far that it is next to impossible today for a young farmer to get a start on his own land.

Second-Hand Opinions

Few small farmers realize one of their main troubles is their leadership. Mainly because they never get outside the influence of their leadership to look at it. Generally speaking, small farmers do not read. Overfull days and over-hard work leave little energy and less time. Forced to count every penny, moreover, the working farmer looks twice at the one he thinks of spending for books or papers. Those that do read are likely to be confined to the rural press—with few exceptions owned and operated by the leadership—farm bulletins, and the local conservative paper. Without exposure to contrasting opinion, their reading is not likely to be critical.

The majority seem to be governed by an array of facts and opinions originating from press and radio, not gleaned at first hand, but filtered through a multiple screen of neighborly gossip and feedstore conversation. And since in such talk like bolsters like, naturally suspicious notions of "city people" are reinforced, and given direction, by economic pressures to picture "government," "labor," and "city buyers"—the latter term lumping together all consumers—as gigantic, nebulous ogres. There was a time when farmers talked about "Wall Street," but in the last decade this ogre has faded as business has become more and more closely allied with big-time agriculture and farmer opinion has become subtly reformed.

A local feed man, for instance, passed along the word to his customers to listen to Fulton Lewis, Jr., on a certain night. The request came, he said, from a large company, whose feed he sells, and that night Lewis attacked subsidies for keeping down feed prices, among others. Few commentators, if any, were as outspoken on the other side, and among newspapers few but the handful of liberal papers—which practically no farmers see—clearly supported subsidies. Instead, on the whole subject of subsidies versus higher prices the farmer is subjected to such confused thinking as this editorial bit from the September *Breeder's Gazette*:

... this tremendous victory that the

farmer has won: as a national policy farm prices must not go below a just plane, even if the government has to hold them up. . . . The next great political task for the farmer is to free himself from government controls."

Organization from the Top

The domination of small-farmer thought by economic pressure can scarcely be overestimated. It starts with the pressure exerted by the local big farmers—pressure usually both political and economic. The local big farmers are likely to hold the ever-present mortgages, either directly or through local banks under their control. Second, from Maine to California the local big farmers dominate not only local markets but, by leadership of so-called cooperatives, the wider markets as well. That is not to say that there are no genuine cooperatives from which small farmers benefit. They have gone a long way toward freeing the farmer from his perennial disadvantage in the nation's marketplace through mass buying and selling of his products. But too often cooperatives are founded or taken over by big farmer interests.

The worth of cooperatives is easily estimated in which small orchardists in California are forced to sell their crops below cost of production because the large orchardists dominate the packing industry and are able to make up losses in production by profits of packing and marketing. Or of the Connecticut Milk Producers Association, under whose domination of the market 75 percent of the dealers were discovered, according to the July Report of the Connecticut Milk Administrator, to

have withheld payments to farmers of \$309,675.65 between October 1, 1941, and April 30, 1944—of which his office had recovered \$299,926.58—and made overpayments to other farmers of amounts unspecified, some of which were called "deliberate." The return checks puzzled some of the recipients, who had no time for reading the report and knew nothing of the new auditing program. Small farmers have grumbled about the CMPA for years, and a few have broken away into small cooperatives, but the majority work on too slim a margin to risk the loss of revenue rebellion is believed to entail. Farmers tell of milk sent back for "taste," butter fat percentages dropping unaccountably, or the milk cans simply left on the platforms because dealers "could not use the milk." None of this, of course, has happened in wartime.

Yet small farmers generally are not at all sure they would be better off if they did break up the economic organization, however oppressive they feel it to be. They are vaguely aware that their organizations, the Council of Cooperatives, the Farm Bureau, the Grange, are organized from the top. At times they even may be aware how little voice they have in the farm organization policies. Local organizations pass resolutions they know are requested by the state unit—or occasionally do not. One or two state organizations have opposed the national leadership openly.

But the opposition does not go far and most farmers are not aware of anything better to do. The chief farm organizations keep their people in line because the small farmer, like everyone else, feels the need to organize. As one Farm Bureau farmer



Once he was a tenant farmer; now he is a day laborer on a Texas cotton farm



Familiar pre-war scene: a farm owner and his skilled hands at dinner

organizer put it—one who articulately distrusts the leadership: "What can we do? We've got to have organization." It is typical of the confused thinking among farmers that this man has been a frequently active rebel against the CMPA for years and is yet unaware of the close connection between the two organizations. He has no interest in an independent organization such as the Farmers' Union—and neither, for now at least, have a majority of farmers.

It is a union—they have been led to distrust unions. It finds common cause with the ogres—labor and government and consumers. Alone of the big organizations the Farmers' Union is primarily interested in the farmers of lower and middle-bracket incomes, and primarily interested in small-farmer education and farmer-run cooperatives. Apparently for this emphasis it is almost pariah to the other farm organizations. An article in the October *Farm Journal* attacks the Union for communist infiltration, though even the author of the article has none but good words for President James G. Patton.

In some areas, notably in the western states, the Farmers' Union has been gaining strength substantially. Its president has achieved a persuasive voice in Washington. For instance, Mr. Patton is credited with the resignation of Will Clayton as Surplus Property Administrator. Mr. Clayton had planned to assign the land disposal program to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for "free bidding," rather than to the Departments of Agriculture and Interior for division into farm tracts. Lands have heretofore been handled by these two departments, never by the RFC, while the method of "free bidding" is attacked as opening farm lands to speculation and closing them to small farmers.

The "conservative" farm leaders, mean-

while, working toward ends which are not always so clear, enlist the support they need by playing on the chords to which most farmers are responsive. Chief among these is the will to independence. In their newly-discovered opposition to subsidies they have found a willing audience. Whereas big farmers have cheerfully taken AAA subsidies for years—like business men from the time of Hamilton—small farmers generally have disliked government money.

An occasional farmer laughs at the leadership opposition, such as the one who wrote the *Rural New Yorker*:

"What's all this talk Fred Sexauer is giving out about being opposed to farm subsidies? What does he think he and his fellow directors [of the Dairymen's Lea-

gue] have been living on for ten years?" But he is unusual. Most farmers accepted even the soil conservation program with ill grace, and with small understanding of the "soil is our heritage" philosophy behind it. They took it grumbling, "Well, it's just getting our own money back, any way." Farmers have so little money they have an exaggerated notion of the taxes they pay.

Striking Familiar Cords

The leaders appeal to the farmer's prejudice against city folk, his underlying fear he may be considered less than they. So Edward O'Neal, president of the American Farm Bureau, appealing in the March 1943 *Farm Journal* to small farmers for support of his higher prices program, taunted them with the tradition that the farmer is "a peasant . . . who is not in the nature of things entitled to the rights and privileges and wealth that others considered themselves entitled to as a natural right. Traditions . . . die hard."

This at almost the same moment he was telling a different audience—that of the American Forum of the Air on February 28 of that year—that "agricultural labor . . . is a different type of labor from any labor in the United States, you know, and so not entitled to a fixed minimum wage."

They appeal to his fear of poverty—the poverty which for fifty years has steadily been overtaking hundreds more farmers each year. "Poverty among able-bodied men is not a social disease," wrote E. R. Eastman, editor of the *American Agriculturist* in the March 13, 1943 issue. "It is an element of inherited character. Divide the wealth equally, and in a few years it will have left the spendthrifts and the lazy and be back again with the workers and savers."

Perhaps Mr. Eastman would apply his dictum to a certain young Vermont farmer, one of three strapping and skilful brothers—for only one of whom the home farm was sufficient. It is the same situation which



Box car home for migrant sugar beet workers on a large Montana farm



Farm families at an evening class, conducted by a vocational agricultural teacher in an Alabama country school

was typical of Europe for centuries and the root of much migration to this country. It has now become a commonplace of American farms, and again the root of migration.

This young farmer, however, clings to the land. With the Yankee penchant for enterprise on a shoestring and a bit of land, he spent the small amount of money he had for a good team, mortgaged the horses to buy ten good cows, and the cows for material with which he built a small barn and hay shed. Last spring, at the end of a year's hard work, he had not been able to keep up the payments: he sold the cows, paid his debts, and went to logging at which in the present war period he is able with his team to earn wages equal to the best in industry.

Whatever the reasons, this man did not fail because he was "spendthrift and lazy." Despite his bitter feeling that "there is just no chance for a young fellow nowadays without capital," he is anxious to try again. His failure, however, was at the height of so-called war prosperity.

There is not, of course, enough land for all who would farm. But for those who can find land and lack capital there is practically only one resource—the Farm Security Administration. This the group of national leaders have fought with every weapon they could find. With such statements as Mr. Eastman's they lay a stigma on FSA assistance. Its leaders are attacked as radical and fronting for communism. In the last decade FSA has rehabilitated one and a half million able farmers, but in the last year or two the program has been

curtailed and has come within a hair of being erased.

What is the reason for such hostility? It is not that the cost is great, as they have protested. Whatever else big farmers think of their small fellows, they respect and dislike their competition. They prefer, instead, that unsuccessful small farmers shall continue to swell the labor reservoir.

They also prefer that those funds—relatively small as they are to AAA subsidies for instance, be turned to the benefit of large farmers. Fundamentally the hierarchy has no faith in small farming. "The farmer who sells at once after the product is produced makes little or nothing," wrote D. Howard Doane in the Farm Bureau house organ, *The Nation's Agriculture* of October 1939. With this article, according to the 1940 "Yearbook of Agriculture," "Mr. O'Neal said that he was in agreement."

"Our profits," continues Mr. Doane, "come from our own hauling, storing, insuring, ginning, distributing, financing, and marketing. On one property of 7,000 acres we can perform many of these services for ourselves without the help of others. . . . When we compete as producers we are competing with a group which seldom figures labor costs, never adds a profit before pricing, and does not set the price." The hope for small farmers, he said, lies in cooperatives. The notion of setting a greater value on the actual labor of production is not advanced.

"Blackmailing of Labor"

Perhaps it is not coincidence that the farm leadership has put its best efforts

to fanning bitterness against organized labor. "You would think to read some of our farm papers that the prime business of the American farmer was or ought to be to carry on a feud with all labor organizations," wrote a Maine farmer in another unusual letter, this to the *Eastern States Cooperator*. Most farmers write—and talk—about the "blackmailing of labor." Editors harp on strikes, on high wages, giving figures that exaggerate inequalities in reality sad enough, and most of all on organization power.

And the great majority of farmers are convinced. The insistent reply of one farmer to a neighborly argument sums up a general feeling: "Of course we want labor to have a fair deal. But those fellows have gotten too much power. They are running the country." Yet this farmer is considered unusually generous and fair-minded, and, years ago, he was an organizer for a structural steel workers' union.

The small farmers are scarcely aware of the identity of those they hear and follow: in the Farm Bureau, Edward O'Neal, a large Alabama cotton planter who spends more time in Washington than at home, and Oscar Johnston, manager of the largest cotton plantation in the world, owned by British and Dutch textile interests; in the Coop Council, Charles C. Teague, head of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange (Sunkist) and H. E. Babcock, head of the Grange League Federation, chairman of the governing board of Cornell University; in the Grange, Louis Taber, one of the organizers of America First; in the Milk Producers' Fed-

eration, John Brandt, head of Minnesota's Land o' Lakes Creameries. Among the rural publishers, that "perennial Republican candidate for President," Frank Gannett, owns the *American Agriculturist*; the *Farm Journal*, fourth in circulation of all magazines in the country, is owned by the Pew family, of whom J. Howard Pew is president of Sun Oil Co., and Joseph N. Pew Jr., also of Sun Oil, is Republican boss of Pennsylvania.

These men—and a number of others—frequently boast they "talk the farmer's language." Maybe they do, but whether they talk the farmer's interest is another question.

Policy Statement

In January 1943 the Big Four farm organizations held a joint conference in Washington and formulated the program which they baldly stated in several places they intended to force through Congress. It was not entirely a program for war production.

Briefly, these were the several items, in the order given by *The New York Times*:

1. Revision of the parity formula in computing price ceilings on farm products to include allowances for farm family labor.

2. More "fundamental changes" in the method of computing parity.

3. Extension of work week in industry to 54 hours and elimination of over-time payments.

4. Termination of all "tributes" paid as requisite for employment: that is, union dues.

5. Elimination of subsidies for holding down prices of farm products, since without higher prices production would decline.

6. Adequate machinery and equipment, with readjustment of priorities.

7. Importation of Mexican and West Indian labor under "practical procurement and distribution conditions."

8. Elimination of all "impractical restrictions" on the placement of domestic farm labor.

9. Blanket deferment of agricultural labor.

10. Elimination of attempted regulation of agricultural employment by the United States Employment Service and the Farm Security Administration.

11. Elimination of "slow-downs and racketeering practices being imposed by organized labor."

The policy statement was signed by A. S. Cross, master, the National Grange; Edward A. O'Neal, president, American Farm Bureau Federation; Charles C. Teague, president, National Council of Farmer Cooperatives; and John Brandt, president, National Cooperative Milk Producers' Federation.

The most important thing about this policy statement is that all points except one, No. 6, may be divided into two columns, and that these columns add up to high prices on one side, and low wages on the other.

High Prices

In the high price column: The farm lobby wanted labor costs of farmers and their families figured into farm prices

(point no. 1) despite two facts. Labor costs are already figured into farm prices, and family labor is largely unpaid labor so far as the individuals are concerned. Wives and children increase the production of the family unit, whether working for themselves or someone else, but they are paid as a unit, practically never as individuals. There has been no evidence that the farm leaders have any intention of making payment to individuals or of passing along any increases to their workers. The evidence is all on the other side. This demand, however, appeared in the Pace bill, which was passed by the House and was shelved in the Senate by Administration opposition.

Point no. 2: As one of the desired changes, the farm lobby did not and does not want AAA benefit payments to farmers deducted from parity prices. They prefer to be paid twice for the same production. This demand was met by both houses in the Bankhead bill, which was vetoed by the President as an open door to inflation.

Point no. 5: Farm leaders have several objections to subsidies. They are not so elastic as uncontrolled prices, and have a limit somewhat lower than the sky. Manager Ken E. Geyer of the Connecticut Milk Producers Association found another objection in the "AAA" decision of the Supreme Court, *U. S. vs. Butler*, which affirmed the right of the government to "regulate that which it subsidizes." Further, the war plan of the Department of Agriculture offered incentive payments only to the crops needed for the war effort, and some of the big farmer interests were not included.

The threat of lower production was a dud. The big farmers were not above withholding beef and corn from the market (in effect widespread strikes) and spreading false rumors of food shortages, but they failed to force the desired abandonment of ceiling prices. At the end of the sound and fury, 1943 food production exceeded the record set in 1942 by 5 percent, while beef and corn growers begged government aid to rid them of their hoarded surpluses.

Low Wages

On the other side of the ledger the farm lobby struck at both rural and industrial labor, realizing far better than either their common interest. Points 3, 4, and 11 are sweeping blows at the breadth of union activity, with the apparent intention of setting labor on the defensive at the outset of a campaign in which the lobby may have feared American labor standards to be inimical to their interests.

And with good reason: The "practical procurement and distribution conditions" for imported labor (no. 7), the "impractical restrictions" on domestic labor (no. 8), and "attempted regulations" (no. 10) all refer to the restrictions which the United States Employment Service under the War Manpower Commission and the Farm Security Administration have sought to place on the use of all rural labor, whether West Indian, Mexican, or domestic. These restrictions were simply 30 cents an hour

for a ten-hour day and decent housing which meant mainly a floor, a roof that does not leak, and sanitary facilities. It would probably be a shock and a revelation to almost any working farmer who does or does not have a hired man, and it would be to city consumers who have never been closer to a farm than their grocers' shelves, that by far the great majority of the large-scale industrial farmer do not and never have conformed to this low standard.

The farm labor the lobby has in mind does not include the year-round hired man. The farm lobby has no interest whatever in him. Neither, for all their talk of paying the farmer more so that he can keep his help, are they concerned with raising his wages. "What no one wants to see," said the *Country Gentleman* editorially in January 1943, "is a bargaining over what is a satisfactory farm wage rate. It might provide an inducement for union labor to move in and provide farm workers with a voice, also with labor organization."

The interest of the farm lobby lies in their 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 migrant and tenant workers, the reservoir of cheap labor built up over the past twenty years or so on the large-scale farms. In "Ill Fares the Land," Carey McWilliams quotes a California grower who states precisely the majority attitude of the employers:

"The old-fashioned hired man is a thing of the past. . . . There is no place for him and the farmer who does not wake up to the realization that there is a caste in labor on the farm is sharing too much of his dollar with labor. . . . We are not husbandmen. We are not farmers. We are producing a product to sell."

The war-created shortage of manpower threatened this reservoir. It appeared that social-minded government agencies might put an end to the substandard wages and subhuman conditions common to their broad, productive fields. So for a few months it appeared; by summer of 1943 Congress had been forced to grant the implementation the lobby had demanded in January.

Point no. 9: the Tydings Amendment to the Selective Service Law deferred all agricultural labor from Selective Service.

Point no. 10: the Pace Amendment to Public Law No. 45 moved all agricultural labor from the jurisdiction of the Farm Security Administration to that of the Extension Service, which is not only dominated by the Farm Bureau in a majority of states, but in many is almost indistinguishable from it. The amendment further, "freezes" all agricultural labor wherever it is, subject to permission of the Extension Service county agents. And, a Representative Clifford of the House Agriculture Committee put it, "No county agent or state agricultural commissioner is going to affront the farmers of his county or state by permitting labor to leave."

The passage of the bill indicated the southern influence within the farm leadership, as a large number of northern and midwestern farmers are commonly dependent upon the northward migration of

(Continued on page 511)

Juan: a Rural Portrait

He typifies an American minority who arrived here a century before the Mayflower, yet after 400 years remains in, but not of, our common life.

QUINCY GUY BURRIS

AT A TIME WHEN THE NATION HAS BECOME acutely sensitive about the minorities it shelters, the unassimilated Spanish-Americans of the Southwest, and particularly the 270,000 in New Mexico, present a problem without parallel in our dealings with small groups. By no means a violent malady, it is nevertheless a difficult one, for which no panacea has as yet been discovered.

Juan came here from Spain via Mexico our hundred years ago. He had lived here for two centuries before the Liberty Bell rang for the Declaration of Independence. Another seventy-five years were to pass before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in 1848, offered him his choice of citizenship in Mexico, of which he had been a national up to that time, or citizenship in the territory's new owner, the United States. He had one year to make his decision. Mexico offered him land grants in the Mesilla Valley if he would declare for her. We offered him the title and rights of American citizenship if he stayed here. Juan, with many of his kind, elected to stay. For ninety-five years now he has been a citizen of this country.

He Does His Share

They have been uneasy years for him. The westward migration of the *Anglos* troubled his serenity and complicated his life. He saw the battle of Glorieta Pass in 1862. In the 1880's, when the railroad came coughing through the sun-soaked distances of his country, he earned money as a section hand. In 1898, he and his brothers swarmed into the army to fight against Spain.

Indeed, no one has ever questioned his loyalty to his adopted country. During the first World War, the meager population of New Mexico gave heavily of its Spanish men. The casualty lists from France bore countless names echoing the opulent sonority of the Spanish tongue. Now in the second World War the names of men dead or prisoners in Japan bear the same echoes. Men from New Mexico crowded the American forces on Bataan, in the Solomons, and in Africa. At home the Spanish people give without stint. In the purchase of war bonds and stamps they stand high among the minorities. No small village that does not send in its quota to the Red Cross. It may not be much—a dollar from Pedro, from Palamon a quarter—but there is will and sacrifice behind it.

Beyond all this, Juan has, with an ageless dignity, given the world notice that he is not to be confused with Mexicans. He is Spanish-American. This name he insists upon, not because he is unwilling to be called a plain American, but because

—By the head of the department of English in the New Mexico Highlands University at Las Vegas. A year ago Mr. Burris directed one of the workshops in inter-American studies sponsored by the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. This past summer he conducted a workshop on problems of teaching English to Spanish-Americans, on the elementary and adult level, in classrooms and by radio.

his own fellow citizens have mistaken him for Mexican.

But He Stands Apart

Many peoples have come to our shores, fused and been melted into the racial amalgam which is America, and forgotten their origins. Not so Juan. Though his residence here antedates the earliest English settlements on the Atlantic seaboard, he remains an undigested lump, impervious to the chemistry which has assimilated so many other peoples.

Now, surrounded by an alien civilization, bewildered by the aggressive moves of the *Anglo*, whose ascendancy in the state he does not understand, he clings to the faded cultural heritage left him by the conquistadors and foregatherers with his kind in counties where the Spanish make up as much as 96 percent of the population. There he retires into villages in lush, lonely mountain valleys, breeds prolifically, pays a passionate loyalty to his small community, manages to subsist on a minute income, and husbands his shrinking means. The Spanish he speaks is bastard; his English, if he has any, is likewise bastard. Blinded by superstition, listless from an impoverished diet, trammled by disease, he has of late begun to discover that the callous world has passed him by and to lament that it has done so.

Through all his troubles, Juan has held fast to his passion for family, his passion for village, and his passion for the land. Wars, depressions, droughts have left him still unassimilated, still *in* but curiously not of his country.

Juan's isolation and his sorry economic plight are partly of his own making, partly the result of the clash of two cultures, two ways of living, two uses of the land. Water in the Southwest must be utilized to the last precious drop. Short growing seasons make a hazard of farming land which furnishes a subsistence to man only when he irrigates it.

Before 1848, Juan and the Indians treated the land with care, but his use of it even then lacked foresight. Juan's father inherited land from his grandfather, but he

did not get all the holding. Seven brothers and sisters shared equally with him. Juan shared equally with six or seven brothers and sisters in the irrigable acres his father left at his death. True, Juan bought his sisters' shares, but when he dies, his children will share as their uncles and aunts did. Division and subdivision such as this cannot go on indefinitely without reducing the holding of any heir to a tiny patch with a few feet of frontage on a stream from which the *acequia* or irrigation ditch flows.

Moreover, Juan knows very little about crop rotation. He plants his corn and beans and chili regularly in the same patches. The soil is tired.

He could, however, even on this shrinking freehold, have gone on in an easy poverty for a great time had not other forces hastened the reduction of his lands. With the westward migration he met a new sort of men and a new attitude toward the land. The *Anglos* came from the East with purpose in their eyes, commerce in their minds, and a drive in their temperaments which roiled the clear water of his tranquility. After them swarmed new customs and new laws: land taxes to be paid in money, not in kind; a new and exact system of land titles speaking ownership rather than communal use; money trading, great cattle enterprises, land speculation, dry farming, homesteading, and cash crops.

Juan and the *Anglos*

A codicil to the treaty of 1848 assured holders of land grants of their security if the grants could be proved valid. In 1854 the United States government seated a Surveyor General in Santa Fe. For sixty years this office fought to disentangle the coils of titles lost in mazes of casual boundaries and clouded definitions. It cost money to prove a title. Juan, without cash, sold a piece of land. He sold another piece to pay the new taxes. In eighty years he lost 2,000,000 acres of his private lands.

Of his communal lands, used freely by entire communities for grazing, he lost 1,700,000 acres in the same eighty years. The federal government took vast tracts for national forests and for the encouragement of railroads. The state took 800,000 acres for the support of education.

Greed took its share of and from the land. Men with money began to speculate in it. Combinations of cattle operators fastened upon the water, forcing the little man farther into the mountains. Both the big operators and the little men like Juan over-grazed their land in an effort to profit from the eastern cattle markets. For every ewe that cropped New Mexican grass in 1870, four ewes cropped it in 1935. For

every steer on the range in 1870, there were fifteen in 1935. In the forests men cut timber lavishly and without foresight.

The patient land rebelled. The grazing lands, cropped too close, gave way to naked patches among tracts of snakeweed. The topsoil, emancipated from its fetters, fled on every wind. Down from the mountains, unimpeded by the timber left standing, the swollen water crashed and foamed, sweeping over the land, taking the loosened soil with it. The banks of Juan's holdings crumbled into the muddy brown current.

Meanwhile, in finance and in politics, Juan's easy-going ways and his naivete handicapped him. His city cousins gave way to the *Anglos*; in the capital they lost political control.

The rich years after the first World War doated Juan a little longer. He made good wages in the mines, on the railroads, in the lumber camps. But 1930 came. He lost his job, drifted aimlessly, and finally reappeared in his native village. The village already living up its slight resources, welcomed him home, another mouth to feed. There were too many villagers to feed.

When the present war boom is over, Juan will leave his job in the munitions plant and go back again to his village. It is home to him. There will be too many Juans.

His Village and His Home

This village of Juan's, pleated into the folds of some high valley or sheltering under a rocky shoulder, startles the visitor coming round the mountain. But it is cautious in its welcome. The villagers are one close-knit clan, based on the family as its smallest unit, on the community as its largest. Within the village itself Juan lives in easy harmony with his neighbors, helping them with the plant or the harvest, helped in his turn. Together, every year, they turn out to patch the irrigation ditches and to shore up the flimsy dam which makes irrigation possible. If the floods should push over the dam, there would be hungry bellies in his village next winter. His children and his wife visit with the neighbors during his absence, for they are cousins and very intimate. In sickness or calamity the village pitches in as one man.

This cooperation, however, has narrow

limits. It may cover a small valley, but does not reach down the mountain into the next valley except among relatives.

Juan, educated through the fifth grade can write his native Spanish; perhaps his wife can write too. English he understands when he needs to, but he cannot speak well beyond a few phrases. If you offer him a ride, he will thank you when you let him out: "T'anks, *amigo*." He cannot write English at all.

His word is final in the family, which consists of his wife, six or seven children, and perhaps his mother or father or both. Moreover, Carmencita, his eldest son's wife, has come to live with them until the young people get a house of their own. At night, once a month or oftener, he squires them all to a dance in the schoolhouse, where he talks with the elders, not forgetting to keep a sharp eye on the girls' side of the room where his daughters are sitting. He squires them home again. He attends political rallies in the same room. He goes to family reunions; to first communions for his children, where after the service he marches proudly around the church behind the priest; to his daughter's wedding where she is fifteen; and to wakes at a neighbor's house where there is a death.

This family of nine lives in an adobe house of three rooms. Juan and the rest patch the dun walls with mud every year, and they see that the roof does not leak too much in the rains, even if doing so means putting another layer of earth over it. Once in a long time they paint the door blue. Geraniums, carefully tended, bloom in the windows, and long strings of scarlet chili peppers hang from doorpost or eaves.

Inside, on the bare, packed-earth floor, his wife arranges his furniture, not much in excess of the essentials, a pot and a cot and a picture of Christ. The kitchen boasts a wood stove with a woodbox beside it, a pail for water, and a homemade dining table flanked on one side by two chairs and on the other by a bench.

The sitting room contains a bed and two chairs. The *vigas* which support the roof stretch overhead, a dull brown under the herringboned poles laid over them. Pictures of the family, from grandmother to little Enepomoceno, crowd the whitewashed walls. The whitewash is made from native limestone called *jaspe*. In the bedroom two iron bedsteads make movement a little difficult. On one of them lies a thin mattress; on the other two mattresses. At night, before Juan blows out the lamp, the children pull the extra mattresses onto the floor between the beds. In the summer the unscreened windows stand open. When cold weather comes, they are kept close shut.

Juan is peckish about his food, without much regard for nutrient values. Meals made of the blue corn, chili, squash, potatoes, and the inevitable beans make up his staple diet, with syrup for dessert. Once a week he may get mutton or goat meat at butchering time pork, rarely beef. He keeps his beef cattle for sale; the hogs he values for lard. Chickens he treasures for their eggs, of which he may have as many as eight or ten a day in the laying season.



Carl Holzman photographs

He's Spanish-American, not Mexican. He holds fast to family, village, and the land

His children get milk when the cow freshens, but they prefer coffee, of which the family consumes quantities. Juan's wife fills the pot with coffee and water and boils it. When the first pot is gone, she is not so improvident as to throw away the grounds. She puts more water on them and sets the pot back on the fire. The process goes on.

He is lucky if he has a well or a spring for drinking water. If he has neither, he brings water from the river in barrels and empties them into his cistern. If the river is distant he drinks straight from the irrigation ditch, parasites and all.

His sewage disposal is simple. After the manner of his forefathers, he digs a little hole in the adobe earth of the hillside not far from the house. Above this he erects a small house, unscreened and ventless. Thus his cistern, his privy, his house, and his corral, a little farther away, form a compact group, with no unit more than seventy-five feet from the others.

The Furniture of His Mind

Juan's stomach is not good. He loves his carbohydrate-laden diet and the rich greasiness in which his foods are fried and served to him. His periodical bellyaches he accepts philosophically. His children learn early that *mañana* is as good as today. The altitude they live in makes it a practical philosophy, and their food, light in proteins, does not build enough red corpuscles to supply sufficient oxygen. They cannot keep going at strenuous exertions for very long periods. After the long walk to school, they spend the day recovering energy for the long walk home. Surplus vitality goes to learning.

In sickness, Juan consults first home remedies, then the village *curandero*, the herb doctor. Failing these, and as a last resort, he goes for a physician, of whom there are two in the county. It is a journey of twenty-five miles over hazardous and uncertain roads. The doctor, whose fee is one dollar a mile, arrives too late. Philosophically Juan buries another. "*Dios lo quiere.*"

The illness of his children he explains by reference to the curse of the evil eye. Against such occult malice, the child's grandmother, possibly a carrier of diphtheria, spits in the eye of the afflicted one. If Juan lives in a good county, the public health nurse and one of the doctors conduct a clinic periodically in a nearby town. Juan doubts his own wisdom, but his grandchild, little Ramón, has been ailing beyond the *curandero's* skill. On the day appointed, therefore, he bundles his family into his wagon and they set off. At the clinic, the doctor and the nurse, kind, busy people, ask Carmencita questions about her son. The doctor plants a stethoscope on Ramón's chest, and Carmencita catches her breath, her eyes large with fear. Then the doctor inserts a rectal thermometer, and Carmencita stifles a cry. Told what to do, how to do it, and when to return, she wraps the child in his blankets. She does not always come back.

Juan has learned that vaccination and immunization make his cattle healthier and



Three Spanish-American families live in this house, which is of red stone, not adobe

safer. For this reason he will consent to vaccination for his children.

Midwives delivered all his children. Two of them lie under a cross in the graveyard by the church. The five who lived have a three to two chance of becoming adults. All five have already weathered rickets. Tuberculosis, once contracted, may waste them like a flame, for Juan will not hear of segregation. Diphtheria comes hand in hand with the late winter months. Smallpox may touch the village; typhoid strikes mysteriously and without warning. Pounded by hurrying feet, the path to the little house on the hill wears hard and sharp, for dysentery is a family complaint. Measles, chicken pox, and whooping cough keep the children from school. At home they scratch with boils, impetigo, and scabies.

Juan's income, never in excess of \$900, ranges normally at \$700. Half of this he derives from the sale of calves and one of his beef steers for slaughter. Labor away from home, in the beet fields or the mines or the lumber camps, accounts for the other half. He spends some \$280 a year for food; for clothing, \$175; for housing, \$40. The remaining \$205 must pay for his travel to and from his labor, his medicine, and the education of his children, not to mention his amusements.

This income shrinks steadily for, though Juan's son brought his wife's land into the family, Juan's narrow tract of 150 feet of river frontage must be equally divided among his children. Each will have twenty-five feet on the river, stretching back a mile or two. His unirrigated lands for grazing, not more than fifty acres, will make eight acres for each of his children. He raises the same vegetables in the same places every year: Corn, squash, chili, beans, and potatoes. For his stock he raises alfalfa and perhaps a little grain.

His turning plow, his rakes, and hoes he shares with needier neighbors. In the spring he plants by hand. Timoteo, over the hill, has a walking planter which will

plant a row at a time. Juan looks upon him as a modern farmer, but he doubts the wisdom of sinking so much money in machinery. Nevertheless, he borrows a mower to harvest his alfalfa and his grain, if he has any. This latter he threshes by employing his whole family at flailing, or he may drive his horses or goats over it, winnow it, and store it. His orchards continue to bear, though the yield diminishes from year to year. Juan does not spray.

The furniture of Juan's mind, like that of his house, is simple. For the feast of his reason he turns to a newspaper in Spanish such as *El Nuevo Mexicano*. He reads no farm journals. His recreations fall largely in the narrow round of his village fiestas and *funcións*. In addition to these, he may listen to a neighbor's radio, though that is now out of commission. Priorities have put batteries off the market. He may visit with his neighbor in the field. He may fish. He may get drunk.

His creed is Roman Catholic. Once or twice a month the priest arrives in his well kept car, conducts a mass, hears a few confessions, and drives away again. Juan's wife attends mass; Juan, though he regards his priest as his spiritual monitor, does not usually attend. He sees, however, that his children learn the catechism. Like 50 percent of his neighbors, Juan belongs to the Brotherhood of Jesus of Nazareth, commonly called the *Penitentes*, a society which guards its secrets jealously, exerts a considerable power in community politics, and busies itself during Holy Week with cactus-whip flagellations.

He does not understand clearly the purpose of politics in a democracy, for it is not plain to him that to elect a man to office is to make him a public servant. On the contrary, to Juan a candidate for office is a man out to get what he can for himself from the body politic, and one from whom Juan may expect some morsel of patronage for his vote. Juan may get a local job out of the shuffle. The government agencies.

Hijos de Nuevo Mexico

En recomendación de Gen. M^{or} Arthur, y por orden del Presidente, el Depto. de Guerra de los E.U.A. citó el 200 CA. en las palabras siguientes: "Desde el día 8 al día 22 de diciembre 1941, este regimiento defendía Clark Field, Pampanga, Filipinas, con devoción y valor magnífico,

siguió valientemente protegiendo los soldados americanos y filipinos en su retiro a Bataan. En servicio activo y distinguido, este regimiento, con habilidad experta y resistencia admirable, hizo posible la defensa magnífica de Bataan."

LA ISLA DE CORREJIDOS & MANILA
 50000 AMERICANOS CAPTURADOS A BATAAN
 SE RETIRO A BATAAN
 MANILA CAPTURADA EN DIC. 31
 EL JAPON ATACO, DEC. 31
 LLEGO A MANILA, 1941

PARABAOS EN EL RIO PASIG MANILA
 SE EMBARCO DE SAN FRANCISCO, NOMBRAMIENTO 5-400, 29,400 91

200
 (AA)

CONVERTIDO EN ABRIL 1940, 200 COAST ARTILLERY

BARCOS CHINOS EN EL MAR DE CHINA

NOBRE

NEW MEXICO NATIONAL GUARD 101 CAVALRY REGIMENT

Sanchez-Salas

War bond promotion material, produced by two Santa Fe artists, Agnes Sims and Dorothy Stewart, interprets national issues in regional terms for New Mexico's Spanish-Americans. Above, frame for a serviceman's photograph; it honors the men of the famous New Mexico National Guard unit, known as the 200th Anti-Aircraft Regiment, most of whom were killed or taken prisoner at Manila and Bataan. And carries the reminder to buy bonds

Hoy lucha por nosotros

Demos nosotros armas a el

PERO TARDE ES NUNCA

COMPRAREMOS BONOS DE GUERRA HOY

PRINTED FOR WOMENS CIV. NM. V.F.C. AT NO COST TO U.S. GOVERNMENT

Bond poster: "Today he fights for us—let us give arms to him. But Late Is Never. We will buy bonds today"

A Sus Ordenes

Los Hijos de Nuevo Mexico

COMPRE UD. ESTAMPILLAS Y BONOS DE GUERRA

Bond poster: "At Your Service, the Sons of New Mexico. Buy stamps and war bonds"

ch as Farm Security or Soil Conservation, which try to minister to his needs meet with mistrust until they can show that they have immediate needs, for Juan has no long vision. To the suggestion that it may be wise for him to resettle his family on a tract of richer land some miles away he opposes the argument that it would mean uprooting three generations from their native village. That village is his horizon. The schools his children attend are conducted in English, by teachers not adequately prepared. The curriculum is not designed for their needs. Moreover, Juan often finds it expedient to keep them at home to help with planting or harvesting. Two of them have fallen behind their proper level. Margarito, eleven, is in the third grade; Alfredo, eight, is still struggling with the first grade. They remember with difficulty to speak English in school; at home they revert happily to Spanish. If one of his children goes through high school and on to college, he will find it hard to meet the discrimination and competition which confront him. Unless his spirit is strong indeed, he will go back to his native village to live. There he will find that his old contentment with village life has vanished. The world has alienated him from his elders. For this reason, though Juan believes in the virtue of education, he is vaguely distrustful of it. He has seen other children leave the village and come back bitter.

The will to do sleeps in Juan. He wants better things, better ways, but he has no river toward them. He is a fatalist person, whose way of life is perhaps best called wishful inertia. In the words of a Spanish-American student, Alfredo Romero, "Today I live; tomorrow I may die. *Mañana* is another day. God never forsakes anyone. Life is so short. Why should one worry so much about having, having, having?"

The Solution of His Plight

Social minorities are combustible subjects. Any tortured interpretation of fact, however slight, may kindle fires which defy control. One such distortion lies in the effort to make Juan nobler than he is. Statements to the effect that he never sullies himself with theft, that his life is innocent of criminal impulses only serve to give him more spurious virtue than Fenimore Cooper gave the Indian. Actually, Juan's sneaking is not flagrant. Neither is his honesty spectacular.

A second misinterpretation flows from an excess of pity. That calamity befell Juan with the coming of the *Anglos* to the West is beyond disputing. It has been pointed out, and among informed people that it is regretted as an incident of our expansion. But shrill and repeated lamentations about the injustice done him only encourage him in the habit of self-compassion which he has lately put on. The net gain is to aggravate such racial friction as already exists and to excite petty recrimination.

A third is the statement that Juan is the northernmost tip of the Latin-American peoples extending solidly from New Mexico

to Cape Horn. Ethnically and geographically there is some truth in it. Culturally it is doubtful. Latin America, with Spain and Portugal as its background, has gone one way; Juan, with the same background, has gone another. He is careful to differentiate himself from Mexicans. He remembers that in 1848 he chose to cast his lot with the United States. Moreover, he is well aware that his best future lies with the culture of this country. It is clear that, in any program of friendship with the peoples south of us, he is only a potential liaison—potential because, like other Americans, he must be educated to it.

Romanticism, hysteria, misidentification get us nowhere. The damage to Juan has long since been done. It is time now to concern ourselves with seeking a permanent solution for his troubles.

Some sorry notions have been advanced under this head. One hears the saying, "Juan is happy as he is. Let him alone." It is not so. This attitude reeks of wish-thinking. He is not and he ought not to be happy as he is, but he does not know where to begin helping himself. Again, the imperialistic doctrine that this country was intended for *Anglos*, that the Spanish can compete or go back to Mexico, heard occasionally, is too callous and stupid for comment. Finally, there is the attitude, fortunately not widespread, that the Spanish are a shiftless, worthless lot anyhow. This is, beyond all the others, uninformed and ignorant. Surely men who have for four centuries withstood drought and flood, tilled the land faithfully, adapted their building to the contours and rigors of the country, maintained the solidarity of their families, and fought our wars along with the rest of us have a staying power we can ill afford to throw away.

Any solution of Juan's plight worth utterance must begin with his resources, land and water, and must depend on his cooperation and help. No agency, single-handed, can check timber-free run-off. Juan cannot alone put back the binding grasses on the topsoil of his pastures. Already the United States Forest Service has begun a long-term rehabilitation of mountain timberlands which ultimately will slacken the run-off. On the grazing lands, the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 has borne fruit in a "democracy of the range" designed to conserve the resources of the grass and to limit grazing. By and with the cooperation of Juan and his neighbors, the Soil Conservation Service has made a beginning at the stupendous job of checking erosion. What to do against the aggradation of his streams is a problem yet to be solved. Annually the torrential run-off carries an increasing load of silt, until in some localities the bed of the stream has risen higher than the land it irrigates. Raising levees and patching them against erosion can help only temporarily. Definite plans for long term solution are still only local; flood control dams and silt detention dams are as yet only on paper. All this is going to take time, a great deal of it.

Economic measures to bring Juan into the full current of the nation's life must be reckoned in terms of generations. If he

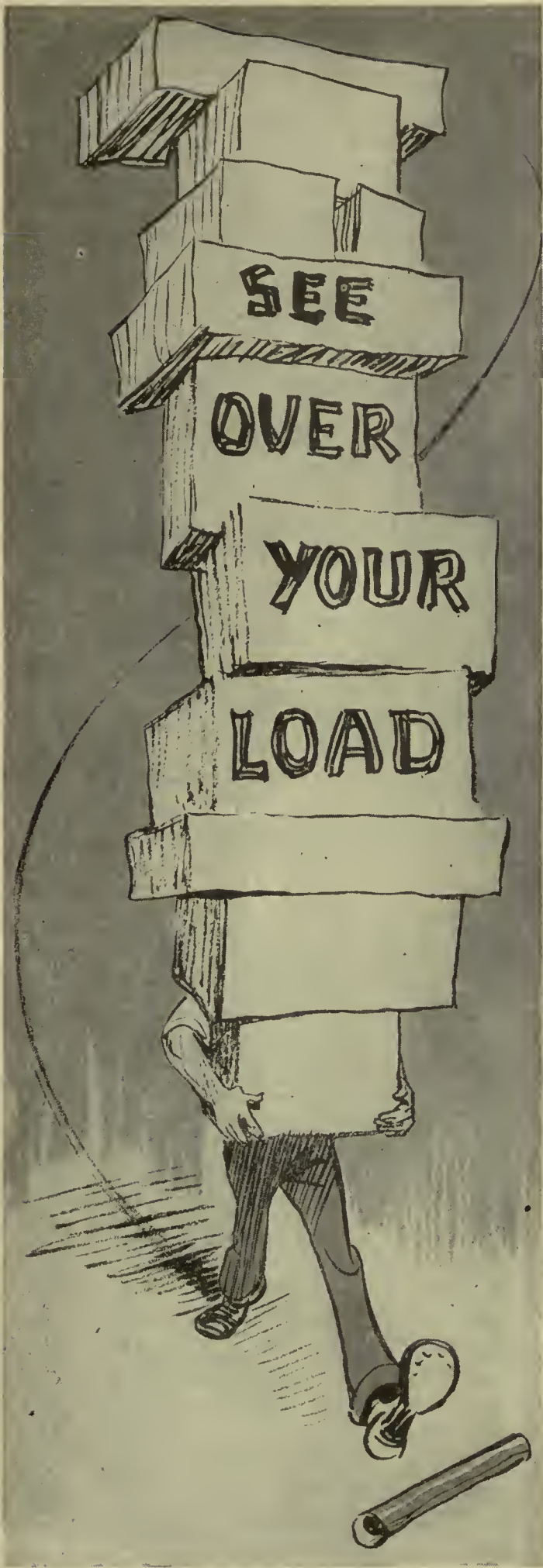
and his cousins are to prosper even modestly, they must own larger tracts of land. If his new lands are to bear enough for him to live decently, they will need help from federal and state sources, not only now but permanently. If he is to have a better subsistence from the soil than he has had, he will need all the encouragement Congress, the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of the Interior have begun to give him in such concrete forms as the Farm Security Administration. The state department of public health is vitally concerned over his health and his medical care. All this will be costly.

And Juan must exert himself in his own behalf. Redistribution of grazing lands, land purchase by the federal government, training for jobs in industry—all these will be worthless if he will not make his own cast for a better world. To do this, he will have to stretch his little horizon. His narrow preoccupation with his village must give way to an interest in his whole valley. His cooperation, now limited to his immediate community, must embrace more. No longer will the fields outside his village straggle with all the crops, rich and poor alike, which his family needs. If the lower end of the valley lends itself to better chili peppers, he will have to grow them there. His grapes will grow exclusively in the middle valley, his grain in the higher reaches. All in all, his valley and his village will both prosper if his bigotry melts a little. He must come alive to potentialities he has ignored.

In His Own Language

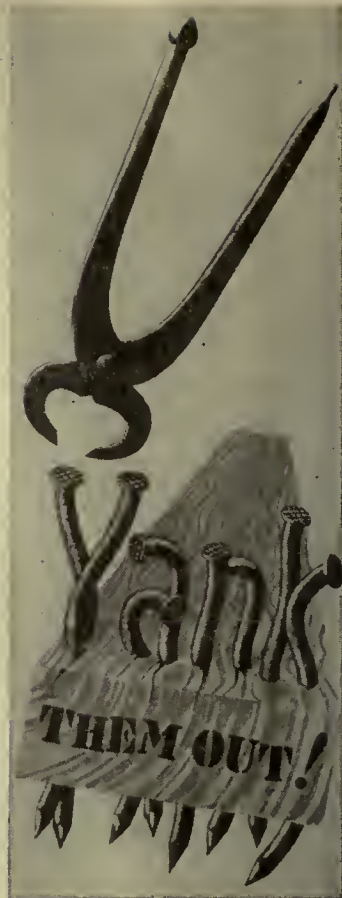
In this circle of forces, everything depends on something else. Nothing can be achieved by a clean stroke. While the soil grows firm and the rivers are checked, where to begin Juan's preparation? He needs better schools, better medical care, better food, better English, better sanitation, more confidence in himself. It is all very well to say that he must learn to speak English as rapidly as possible. What is to be done while we wait for that? The answer is education, in any form, through any medium, in any language. One way is to begin with his self-confidence. To do that we must talk with him in his own language. About what? Tactfully, about his diet, his stock, his use of the land, his conception of politics, his health, his responsibilities as a citizen, the county, state, and federal agencies intent upon serving him, the features of his culture any nation might welcome. To the question of how, the radio and listening centers conducted by the teachers of his own community are the answers.

Juan is a man with hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions. He has his contributions to make to the national life: his music, his folk tales, his architecture, his foods, his handicrafts, and his customs. Once he is conscious of a value set on them, his outlook will brighten. We can only tell him how to be a healthier, more open minded, better informed citizen. It is up to him to discover his own leaders, men he can trust. He must make a beginning himself.



Reverse Lend-Lease in Posters

Reproduced by the Division of Labor Standards, US Department of Labor, Washington, by permission of the Ministry of Labor and National Service, London — new job safety posters are now procurable from the division in Washington. Having proved their worth in Britain in making workers safety conscious, they should be helpful in our country, where in the first six months of this year 377,000 workers were injured in manufacturing, 1,500 fatally and more than 15,000 with permanent physical impairment.



When the Soldier Returns

HARRY HANSEN

A DIFFICULT, HEARTBREAKING EXPERIENCE has come to a physician associated with the rehabilitation of men who break under the strain of training as plane pilots. He often accompanies these men from the hospital to their homes, in order to explain to the soldier's family exactly what kind of care is needed to restore him to normal usefulness. The resentment of the family may be mute or outspoken, but it is always present and no amount of explanation by the doctor can turn it aside. For the soldier's parents invariably say: "He was perfectly healthy when you began on him; now see what you have done." Whereas the doctor must explain that the condition that wrecked the man's nervous system was always present and training has merely intensified it.

A Guide for Home Towns

Description of what happens to men in training and at the front runs all the way from instability, nervous breakdown, and tantrums to insanity—they all need mental hygiene and help in readjustment to civilian life. When the soldiers return there will be many more than are visible now who need this help, and the task of every community will be hard and long. To prepare for the future Dr. George K. Pratt has written "Soldier to Civilian; Problems of Readjustment," (Whittlesey, \$2.50), a work especially intended for community study, carrying a recommendation by Dr. George S. Stevenson, medical director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene.

Dr. Pratt's equipment for this special work is extensive, for both in the army and as a teacher of psychiatry he has had to do with rehabilitation of men. In the first World War he was a captain in the neuropsychiatric division of the Medical Corps; afterward he continued to be associated with the U. S. Public Health Service as consultant on rehabilitation, and since the outbreak of this war he has been examining men for mental handicaps at the New Haven induction center. He is a member of the faculty of the School of Medicine at Yale, has served as medical director of the Massachusetts and Connecticut societies for mental hygiene, and for eight years was assistant medical director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. Thus his knowledge rests on direct observation and his advice should be valuable.

Dr. Pratt wants people to know that "psychiatric" is not a synonym for insane, even though veterans with psychiatric disability confuse their families and friends and often behave in an abnormal manner. Any one of a dozen matters may cause a

"disorder of personality" that interferences with fighting at the front and ordinary work at home.

The number of such cases is large: 45 percent of all medical discharges out of 1,500,000 released since war was declared have been for some psychiatric reason. Few were insane; many were classified as subject to psychoneurosis, "an emotional disorder in intensity and often in nature far from insanity." Many had been "subtly disposed" toward instability before the war; others broke down under the strain of fighting. In the first World War the number of men affected by mental and emotional disorders—then called shell shock—was very large. Dr. Pratt says that every psychiatric casualty will cost the government \$30,000.

To understand the magnitude of the problem and the methods used, Dr. Pratt patiently describes the nature of men who are likely to develop psychiatric quirks and the early behavior that results in adult deviations from the normal. This makes his book extremely valuable to the layman, for it is a compact introduction to psychiatry, free from professional terms and extraordinarily lucid. Knowledge that all of us have some peculiarities will help us sympathize with those who have them intensified. Every child is frustrated at one time or another; some adolescents remain emotionally immature for a long time; not all adults achieve responsibility and independence.

Dr. Pratt points out that many of the young men now in the services passed through the depression in their formative years; they were "slowed down" by their forced dependence, some of them possibly by their feeling that the Relief Bureau took on "parental qualities of support and assumption of responsibility." The army suppressed much of their individuality, at least all that did not conform to normal military conduct. Then they began to develop a feeling for the group and to lean on it: for the first time the group became as important as parents and family as an agency of protection and social expression. The next adjustment must involve breaking from the group and working back to individual responsibility in civilian life. This will fall most hard on those who are emotionally unstable.

The Army Did Its Part

The care that the government has taken to prepare civilians for combat duty is without parallel. The army recognized the disadvantage of having in any group one man who did not properly follow or obey orders—such as the frontline soldier who left his comrades and created a diversion,

thereby giving away their position and drawing fire on all. Though the army began weeding out misfits at induction centers, many did not betray their quirks until faced with the hard routine of life in the jungle or terror-stricken by experiences under fire. The soldier who found a German and an American dead in a foxhole, used their bodies to cover himself, then had the bodies blasted away by shellfire, had cause for going blotto; the man who began griping and sulking in camp was betraying emotional maladjustment.

To overcome such handicaps the army installed the advisor system, which started in 1943 at the Tank Destroyer Replacement Center at North Camp Hood, Texas, under the direction of a psychiatrist, Major S. H. Kraines. Men with problems were encouraged to talk them over with non-commissioned officers who understood them—the program was not one of "pampering and coddling," but was to toughen men for military usefulness. Dr. Pratt comments: "No nation has ever done more than ours to build and maintain the morale of its fighting men, both in groups and in individuals." The results have been good, yet "considerable numbers of men did break down in military service." Some, we are aware, should never have been inducted; they were victims of pressure put on draft boards, which had to meet their quota—but that story is outside Dr. Pratt's discussion.

Preparing for the Veteran

Appended to the book is a preliminary guide for action on behalf of returning soldiers, provided by the National Committee on Service to Veterans under the auspices of the National Social Work Council. It stresses the responsibility of each community for the welfare of returning veterans and suggests the organization of an over-all planning body, which should not deal directly with veterans but should coordinate the work of special groups, act as a clearing house for ideas, start action and avoid duplication.

It makes clear that those who engage in work for veterans must avoid interference, fault finding and unwelcome advice; they must cultivate tact and sympathy, for these men will be ill at ease, unsettled, restless. Some of the veterans may be asked to help get the civilian efforts on the right track. Much work must be done to train community representatives; the committee warns that while a veteran may *have* problems, the community must not gain the impression that he *is* a problem. No community need wait for general demobilization to get started; discharges already average 1,000,000 a year and groups can de-

All books ordered through Survey Associates, Inc., will be postpaid.

termine the extent of their responsibilities in advance.

This book is by far the most valuable study of our duty to the veteran that has been published. Just as it tells what extraordinary measures the army authorities have taken to make good soldiers out of civilians, so it explains our part in helping to make good civilians out of returning soldiers. Our job is a hard one.

Although Dr. Pratt does not say so, we should remember that part of the readiness to shoot that became a national disgrace in the 1920's was inspired by the war; the violence of the gangster era could be traced in part to the experiences in killing that some men had in battle. No doubt Hitlerian ruthlessness was intensified by war experiences, which should be an argument for a long period of tactful and helpful reeducation of the enemy. In other years, as Dixon Wecter pointed out in "When Johnny Comes Maching Home," returning soldiers begged on street corners, sold apples, and made the best of things; the community assumed no responsibility. Today, our assumption of responsibility for the veteran is a measure of our advance.

BRAVE MEN, by Ernie Pyle. Holt. \$3.

IF YOU CAN'T TAKE A FEW VERBAL TRANSPORTS you'd better stop right here, for I have been an Ernie Pyle fan since long before he emerged as a distinguished war correspondent, recipient of the Pulitzer award in journalism—and this comment on his new book gives me a chance to say so.

Ernie Pyle—no one seems to call him Mr. Pyle, and after reading him you know why—is the protagonist of "the little guy who goes through life doing the best he can" but not always knowing what it is all about. For years he traveled the byways and highways of America, observing and writing with warm human understanding about life at the grass roots. His syndicated column was more widely circulated in small town dailies and country weeklies than in metropolitan newspapers. But as soon as he went overseas and began writing about the American soldiers, his "reader circulation" began to mount until it reached an estimated fifteen million, probably the largest of any of the syndicated war correspondents. The reason for this is plain. Ernie Pyle writes not of war but of the "little guys" from Main Street who are fighting it. And there are a lot of Main Streets in the USA.

His new book, like the previous one, "This Is Your War," is based on his daily cabled dispatches from the front, with additional material that makes it a consecutive narrative. In terms of time it reaches from July 1943 to September 1944; in terms of events it covers the invasion of Sicily, the Italian campaign including the fighting on the Anzio beachhead, the invasion of Normandy with the battle of the hedgerows and the break-through, and finally the liberation of Paris. But it is not events or campaigns that Ernie Pyle writes about.

His concern is with the expendables, the men who do the waiting, the slogging, the dying. In order to know how they

lived he lived with them, in the "almost inconceivable misery" of the infantry foxholes, in the gun-shaken pits of the artillery, in the camps of the engineers, the dive bombers and the hard-driven men of the supply line. By sharing their cold and dirt, their danger and utter fatigue, he came to know as few civilians have, the bitter humor and the indomitable fortitude of the American soldier. "The human spirit is an astounding thing," he says.

Of all that he saw and heard Ernie Pyle writes with the simplicity of a good reporter. With no illusions of his importance he doesn't tell you what he feels; he lets you do your own feeling. He has no heroes, except of course the infantry, and he confesses his own incapacity to do justice to great historic events such as the first day in Paris. "It was so big that I felt inadequate to touch it. I didn't know where to start or what to say." But there has been little writing from any front that in moving quality measures up to his account of the mountain fighting in Italy, of his walk along the littered invasion beach of Normandy shortly after D-Day, of his visit to the quartermaster's salvage dump at which "it was best not to look too closely."

As this is written Ernie Pyle is home in New Mexico, restoring his frail, exhausted body. The soldiers in Europe are begging him to come back; the men in the Pacific are clamoring for him to join them. The "little guys" know him for what he is, their friend and interpreter. No war has ever had his like before.

Osterville, Mass. GERTRUDE SPRINGER

YOUR SCHOOL, YOUR CHILDREN: A Teacher Looks at What's Wrong with Our Schools, by Marie Syrkin. L. B. Fischer. \$2.50.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF YOU WERE A NEW YORK high school teacher and found anti-Semitic jingles repeatedly scrawled on your classroom blackboard? What would you do if soon after a "successful" lesson on "tolerance" your Negro and white pupils fought each other with knives in the school cafeteria?

These are no theoretical situations. They are ferocious realities confronting many a teacher in our larger cities. In a narrative as enthralling as a novel Marie Syrkin, herself a New York teacher for eighteen years, describes her own experience with teen-age interracial enmity and suggests a hopeful dénouement.

She believes that if schools concertedly set about it, they could change the hearts of some of these unthinking young haters. They could educate, as the founding fathers desired, in the true practice of democracy. But to do so they must teach democracy from kindergarten to college as thoroughly and directly as they teach grammar and arithmetic. They must make it a required part of the curriculum, as the Springfield, Mass., schools have done. Miss Syrkin urges them not to be afraid to "be doctrinaire in regard to democratic ideals, even though indoctrination runs counter to our natural tendencies and to our entire previous tradition of instruction."

Most important of all, schools must teach

democracy in terms of specific current situations. The hush-hush policy does not work. The teacher who quietly erases the anti-Semitic scrawl from the blackboard is not averting any threat, Miss Syrkin holds. Instead, she should bring the offending rhyme into the glaring light of classroom analysis. There it should be shown for what it is — an attack not so much upon a minority group as upon American democracy — "Hitler's most effective disruptive device."

"Questions such as tolerance and democracy cannot be taken up in general terms," Miss Syrkin says. "There is no carry-over between sentimental appeal and specific application. . . . If we are genuinely concerned with fighting racial intolerance, our schools must be willing to challenge particular violations of our beliefs. If we are concerned with the growth of anti-Semitism, the doctrines of a Coughlin or a McWilliams should be exposed without fear of giving offense to some secret or open sympathizer."

On the strictly academic side of the program, Miss Syrkin believes the school would impinge more effectively upon its pupils' lives and reading habits if it would forget such hoary English requirements as "Sohrab and Rustum" and would substitute current writings like those of Ernie Pyle. Modern city children of none too high I.Q. are sometimes permanently alienated from all serious reading by the enforced study of classics of another age and strange idiom.

"A syllabus of current books, magazines and newspapers, chosen by an intelligent and responsible committee so that danger of the overemphasis of any one political trend would be avoided, could galvanize many an expiring English class," Miss Syrkin says. Her own passionate and forthright book might well be a candidate for the list.

EUNICE FULLER BARNARD
*Educational director
Alfred P. Sloan Foundation*

PUBLIC CONTROL OF LABOR RELATIONS—A Study of the National Labor Relations Board, by D. O. Bowman. Macmillan. \$5.

THE AUTHOR OF THIS VOLUME PREFACES THE work with a statement to the effect that "the study was formulated with the purpose of making a close and detailed observation of the National Labor Relations Board and its functions, not only for purposes of appraisal, but also to relate the experience of this agency to the basic problems that are attached to the use of a public administrative agency to control relations in the various sections of the economy." While the finished product falls somewhat short of these objectives, the defect lies in the breadth of the objectives rather than in the quality of the finished work, for it is perhaps the most useful and suggestive book which has yet been written about the National Labor Relations Board.

An opening section summarizes the development of legislative policy on questions of labor relations covered by the statute. Following sections analyze the unfair labor

actices forbidden by the statute, the problems related to the selection of representatives for collective bargaining purposes, the procedures of the board, and its organizational structure and personnel policies. A final section reviews the record of the board, raises questions of public policy, and praises the board as an administrative agency operating in a field of economic relations in which there was relatively limited precedent.

The selection of material follows the central purposes of the study. Court decisions and decisions of the board are used frequently, but there is no exhaustive examination of the case materials. Therefore, it is likely that the members of the legal profession will find the book limited from that point of view. Those interested in the field of administrative law will discover that the sections dealing with board procedures are excellent descriptions and that throughout the book pertinent, long range issues of administration are brought out constantly. The labor economist would see more extensive treatment of the effect of the new type of public control on the long run pattern of unionism, especially in relation to the controversy over the appropriate bargaining unit, as well as to the issue of political action on the part of the labor movement.

As a case study and as an over-all analysis of the board's function and procedure, the book is an excellent work.

LOIS MACDONALD

Department of Economics
New York University

THE CONTROL OF GERMANY AND JAPAN, by Harold G. Moulton and Lois Marlio. Brookings Institution, \$2.

ALTHOUGH THERE MAY BE FUTURE HAIR-splitting on the subject of war guilt, the authors of this extremely useful book start out with the assumption, plain to every intelligent man and woman of this generation, that Germany and Japan are the aggressor nations. If mankind is to win the peace for which we are fighting, these nations must be prevented from any future acts of aggression.

The specific challenge of this problem cannot be evaded by pleasant discussions of social security or comprehensive international organization. Specific action to prevent any future aggression by these two nations will do nothing to prevent an improvement in the welfare of the common man; it will not hinder the creation of a world order. But both of these ideals will be jeopardized if the General Staffs of Germany and Japan are allowed to prepare for still another attempt at world domination.

Realizing that the procedures of the League of Nations "were intended only to stop a war as soon as possible after it had begun, or at the most to restrain a nation about to commit an act of aggression," the authors of this book set out to impose restraints at an earlier stage. They explore, and discard, a good many theories that are widely held at present. Japan would be less menacing if deprived of all her colonies (including Korea) and reduced to the

boundaries of 1895, but such a policy would also entail some effective regulation of Japanese imports. Political subdivision of Germany is found to be impractical, and the same conclusion follows upon an analysis of the suggestion that all German industry should be destroyed and the country reduced to an agrarian status. Nor is it possible to do much in regard to the control of German imports, in view of the complex network of communications linking that country with the rest of Europe.

So far as economic controls are concerned, it is suggested that the only effective policies would be the prohibition of synthetic oil plants and factories for the production of aluminum ingots, together

with a prohibition on the manufacture and operation of airplanes by citizens of either country. In the case of Germany, it might also be useful to control the production of electric power.

The careful reasoning and statistical evidence which are to be found in this book deserve study by all those who have not yet reached a similar conclusion. Economic controls are of limited value, and, if those controls are to be enforced, military power is necessary. Indeed, the most serious defect of this study lies in its tendency to underestimate the need for military control.

The idea of an army of occupation is dismissed as too expensive and likely to



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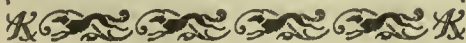
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cause friction, yet the plain facts regarding the work of the Allied Disarmament Commission after the last war suggest that the proposed Rearmament Prevention and Detection Board would get little aid from the German (or Japanese) government in carrying out its task. It seems scarcely realistic to suggest such coercive measures as "bombing the seat of government, bombing or shelling vital parts of key industrial centers" if the defeated government does not do what the Rearmament Prevention and Detection Board orders. Unless morality, and even personality, has changed, I cannot imagine an American or British air force, in times of peace, setting out to devastate Berlin because the German government had begun, let us say, to build a synthetic oil plant.

Quite clearly, there is no cheap and easy way of preventing another war. The idea of a Rearmament Prevention and Detection Board is splendid. The practical policies suggested are admirable, but these policies will not be carried out, and the board will fail to do its job, if there is no military army of occupation to execute its orders. The last chapter of the book, which emphasizes the fact that the United States, in its own interest, must cooperate in the effort needed to maintain the peace of the world, is admirable. It applies with equal force to Canada, and many another country. But we must, I think, realize that the extent of the effort that is required exceeds anything that these authors suggest.

The prevention of a new aggression by Germany and Japan will not solve all the problems of world peace during the generation that lies ahead, but the extent of our determination to deal with this specific matter may well be the decisive factor.

F. CYRIL JAMES

Principal and Vice-Chancellor
McGill University, Montreal

PRICE MAKING IN A DEMOCRACY, by
Edwin G. Nourse, The Brookings Institution. \$3.50.

A FEW YEARS AGO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF competition as the regulator of business was rarely questioned. True, there were areas of monopoly that required government regulation; and an occasional trust might have to be dissolved. But the great majority of thinking people put their faith in the selective process of competition, with a little aid in stubborn cases from government commissions or the Sherman anti-trust act.

Today, with the experience of the recent depression behind us, and the TNEC's five-foot bookshelf for evidence, our faith in free competition has been somewhat shaken. Not only is the area of monopoly wider than some had suspected, but the monopolistic practice of restricting production in order to maintain price has come to be regarded as an important factor in business fluctuations. Consequently, there is growing insistence that "something ought to be done about it."

Mr. Nourse approaches the problem as one who believes that "democratic private enterprise" will have a lower social cost, in the long run, than bureaucratic centrali-

zation of power. He points out that over a long period of time the gains of technological improvement have been passed on to consumers in lower prices. He recognizes, however, that price reductions have not come fast enough to maintain production at high levels. Rather, industries have tended to maintain prices when labor-saving devices have been introduced, and to reduce the number of employees. This tends to result in business recession, and only then—too late—are prices reduced.

The solution proposed is the widespread adoption of low price policies in periods of business prosperity. The author recognizes the difficulty faced by individual producers in adopting such a policy. Concerted action is necessary. This, he suggests, could be achieved through trade associations. In support of this plan he points to the growth of trade associations and the broadening viewpoint that some of the leaders have shown in recent years.

Dr. Nourse's many studies in the field of prices have given him a rich background of fact and theory on which to draw for this work. And he has developed his thesis logically and convincingly. The reader may disagree with some of his conclusions or he may doubt the willingness of business to adopt such a low price policy, but he is sure to gain a broader understanding of the problems involved from a careful reading of this book.

MABEL NEWCOMER

Department of Economics, Sociology and
Anthropology, Vassar College

FAITH, REASON AND CIVILIZATION
by Harold J. Laski, Viking. \$2.50.

HERE IS AN INQUIRY INTO HOW OUR GENERATION can find some commanding faith to which it can give allegiance—a faith consonant with our sense of reasonableness and our awareness of what the survival of civilization requires. Professor Laski is struggling valiantly with the basic problem which modern society faces. He rightly wants to get beyond a religion of nationalism; the obligation "is to the inner self in each one of us which will can never yield to anyone's keeping without ceasing to be true to our dignity as human beings." He hopes to transcend a faith in the supernatural and in Christian doctrine in particular since this "would leave unsolved the problem of the relevance of its dogmas to the non-Christian world religions." The "social quality" of the citizen does not depend "upon his acceptance of religious dogmas in any sense which claim for these an ecclesiastical sanction."

After some critical examination of the inadequacies and shortcomings of Christianity—appraisals from which there are sure to be vigorous dissents—Mr. Laski turns to the Russian faith, hope and practice for his way of salvation, for his "new system of values which enables men to live together in peace," since it represents a "movement from force to persuasion." One wonders about certain claims, such as that Russia "has insisted upon his [the common man's] inherent dignity as a person." And such as that Russia may "soon" [italics the reviewer's] to of

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... at two levels of morality, one for themselves and one for those who do not ... able to share their faith."

On the other hand, he affirms with truth ... "in no other country in the world ... has there grown up an exhilaration ... are profound, a will to self-sacrifice so ... erently compelling. . . . It is a call to ... at is highest in man, and a call to the ... fulfillment of what is highest . . . as a ... contribution to a fellowship in which self ... d is fulfilled in the context of a great ... purpose by which it is absorbed." It ... "meets the two supreme tests which ... faith must be able to meet which hopes ... achieve a regeneration of civilized ... ues."

One cannot but respect the high earnest- ... of Mr. Laski's search and his insight ... to the tests a faith must meet. One ... not but agree as to many of the gains, ... essentially moral in character, which blow ... like a fresh breeze from the Russian ... vance. One has the sense that Mr. ... ski wants to put first things first and ... ng the benefits of a newly affirmed ... macy of human values to the service of ... peoples. "To be born anew"—nothing ... —is the prescription he offers.

And in the light of his own exhilaration ... says many penetrating and devastating ... ngs about Western society. Indeed, at ... oments one finds again in this polemic ... e: clarion tone of Tawney's "The Ac- ... isitive Society." Thus, the book in total ... pact will prove salutary if sometimes ... ter medicine to those with strong men- ... digestions. Others will be moved to ... row the book out of the window.

It is, I believe, less than effective to ... ar over the admitted weaknesses of Rus- ... n practice as is here done. Making the ... ed justify every means may be practical ... lities. But it is a dubious foundation ... a universal religious faith. Respect for ... rsonality may not inevitably imply gen- ... eral suffrage; but soon or late the linkage ... tween personal growth and affirmative ... d formal political consent does have to ... acknowledged.

Nonetheless, this book says things about ... ssia and about vital religion which we ... ed to hear and to get into the fabric of ... r national attitude toward Russia. Laski ... ay not be the modern Isaiah; but he ... nks well up among what, in biblical per- ... nce, we may call the latter-day minor ... phets.

ORDWAY TEAD

Editor of economic books, Harper

PEOPLE, CHURCH, AND STATE IN MODERN RUSSIA, by Paul B. Anderson. Macmillan. \$2.50.

PAUL ANDERSON KNOWS THE RUSSIAN PEOP- ... e and the present Soviet Government ... th sympathetically and critically. He en- ... ed Russia in 1917, saw the rise and fall ... Kerensky, and attended the historic ... ict at Smolny Institute on November 7, ... rving Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky in ... tion. He served with the War Prison- ... 's Aid of the YMCA in Russia and Siberia ... 1918, and then the two hundred thousand ... ssian war prisoners in Germany and Pon- ... d. As managing editor of the Russian

YMCA Press in Paris, he worked with Berdyaeff, Bulgakoff, Florovsky, and Ivan Bunin. He keeps in touch with present currents of thought in Russia.

Stalin's present favorable attitude to the Church is not due to any change in Stalin, but to a change in the attitude of the Church. The former Patriarch, Tikhon, was an anti-social force, in sympathy with the Tsarist landlords, resenting the confiscation of the jewels of the Church to feed the starving in the famine, and hurling his anathemas at the atheist Bolsheviks. The Patriarch Sergius, on the other hand, was a loyal patriot of the Soviet State, calling all Christians to the defense of their fatherland, and heartily supporting the social program of the Soviets. He had presided at the religious philosophical meetings thirty years ago for the much needed reform of the Church, to make a study of Marx and see how organized religion could become a force for social justice.

Mr. Anderson shows that in 1941 there were in the Soviet Union thirty thousand recognized religious associations, 8,338 licensed places of worship; and in the Orthodox Russian Church alone 4,225 churches, 5,665 priests, 3,100 deacons, 28 bishops, and 38 monasteries.

The Religious Book of the Month Club did well to select this book. It is more than a description of the religious situation in the USSR; it reveals the direction along which the people in Russia are moving with such creative force, expressing themselves in religion, as well as in science, art, warfare, and government.

SHERWOOD EDDY

Author of "The Challenge of Russia"; "Russia Today"

BIG GOVERNMENT

(Continued from page 487)

before the war, and the prospect of more than that after the war. The functions involved are of the first importance. Private enterprise does not want to be responsible for them, as the outlook for profit is mostly nonexistent. Unless these functions are boldly and effectively undertaken, the whole economy may go swirling down in another debacle like 1932. Unwinding war controls alone is a most delicate and difficult task, calling for statesmanship of the highest order. Yet it is hard to approach the Agenda with boldness and efficiency because of our popular ideology.

We Americans, most of us, do not believe in governments—any government, and especially our government. We work for government, use it, take its benefits, would be lost without it, but we do not believe in it. So these vast and essential tasks start under a tragic handicap.

Geoffrey Crowther, editor of the London Economist, is greatly disturbed about this deadlock—which affects all the democracies to a degree.⁷ He observes that full employment and social security are political imperatives today—as any opinion poll will show. The Russians and other authoritarian states can comply with the imperatives.

(Continued on page 510)

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That puts it squarely up to the democracies to find a way of their own. If complete free competition is impossible for democracies under twentieth century conditions, a highly regimented economy is no less so. It is not as efficient in satisfying the wants of consumers for many goods and services. It is incompatible with any degree of political freedom.

Hydraulic Brakes

So the democracies must have *both* free areas and controlled areas; both the profit motive of business, and the service motive of government. But it is very important to fix the zones for each. The deadlock comes in the marginal area between them. Those planners who want to extend the government Agenda on theoretical grounds have repeatedly held back business expansion, while businessmen and their friends have tossed one monkey wrench after another into necessary government enterprises.

Mr. Crowther is specific: "Risks of loss [for the businessman] have been increased by the great load of prior charges that have been put upon him . . . while his incentive to take risks has been dulled by heavy taxation, and his arm has been joggled by all manner of inspectors, controls, regulations, inquisition, prohibition and indictments." Government planning has often been negative; worse, it has been *punitive*.

The other side of the picture, says Mr. Crowther, is equally stultifying. Whenever a democratic state has tried to make headway against dire community problems, "it has been held back by a hundred visible and invisible strings of timidity and orthodoxy . . . every step is taken to the accompaniment of charges ranging from corruption to red ruin." The Liberty League hullabaloo in this country was an excellent example.

These restraints are like two hydraulic brakes, continually pressed down, under which the economy of the democracies has repeatedly lost its momentum. One brake has been at work suppressing the enterpriser who tries to promote something, and the other suppressing the "bureaucrat" who tries to perform essential public tasks. Both are stymied.

The problem before the democracies is to work out a plan so that the organizing principles of service and profit can both operate.

The role of government in a democracy is to act as agent for all the citizens, superior to any special interest, and to undertake essential things which citizens cannot undertake as individuals. In our form of government the federal executive is the most logical agent. To represent the citizens effectively, the government should not only keep a tight leash on the pressure groups—a negative activity—but, under power age conditions, it must act positively and aggressively in the interest of consumers, who have no pressure group to represent them.

The consumer interest is always the public interest. Every American is either a consumer, or dead.

HEALTH FOR THE NATION

(Continued from page 493)

ist services under certain conditions

"Under the capitation method, the physician is paid a fixed amount per annum for each person who selects the physician as his regular doctor. The amount of remuneration of each physician thus depends on the number of persons choosing him, but is independent of the amount of work he does for them

"Full time salaried physicians caring for patients (excluding those performing administrative work only) numbered probably about ten percent of the physicians in the United States just before the war. A larger number was on part time salary"

Fee-for-service payment is at present so habitual among physicians and patients that despite its recognized disadvantages, the conference did not feel it practical to ban its use. The principles stated in the report would permit fees for service, but "would tend to encourage the compensation of general practitioners by the capitation or the salary method."

How would the method of payment be decided? In each local area, the general practitioners carrying on individual practice would determine by majority vote the method of payment which they preferred, but "those physicians who wished to carry on group instead of individual practice in the same area and to be remunerated accordingly, would also be protected in their right to do so." Specialists, qualified under standards set by professional bodies, would be paid on a fee or a salary basis according to local arrangement.

As to hospitals, their income under a nationwide health program will be mainly derived from services rendered to beneficiaries of the program. Consequently the payments from the health insurance fund to the hospitals must be adequate to support high quality service. The administrative independence of hospitals should be maintained.

"Principles of Freedom"

7. Freedom for great professions and institutions, freedom for patients, are "basic protections against regimentation" and "should be extended beyond what exists today." Low income, location, and other factors now greatly limit free choice by the people among medical resources, while medical societies have commonly restricted the freedom of doctors to participate in groups and in other new experiments in medical practice. The "principles of freedom" put forward by the conference recognize the right of the patient to choose an individual doctor, or an organized group of doctors, or a hospital or a clinic and also his right to group choice, that is, to delegate the choice to representatives of his own choosing.

The corresponding rights of physicians are also stated explicitly. "Physicians should have the right to accept or reject patients; the right to participate in a publicly established system; the right to be represented in

negotiations through organizations of their own choosing; and the right to furnish services as individuals, or to organize medical groups, or to associate themselves with existing medical groups or hospitals which will accept them."

What contribution does the report make to the strategy of action during the next few years by governmental bodies, medical societies, hospitals, labor unions, farm organizations, veterans, welfare, insurance and civic agencies? And by political parties? The direction and tempo of action on health matters are largely determined by economic and political conditions; like everything else in this country they will be affected in the near future by the international situation and by demobilization and reconversion on the home front. The controversies between progressive and conservative doctors and between those who fear and those who favor more government action in medicine shrink when seen in this perspective.

Strategy of Action

The Health Program Conference report represents an assembling of ideas. It offers working drawings, not blueprints drawn to scale. It is not a bill, but it may influence the design of legislation, promoting health insurance bills which give fuller consideration to the quality and organization of medical service than such bills have in the past. By omitting the details of administrative organization, it may provoke consideration of how sound principles of medical administration can be applied under the existing conditions of public administration.

It should be a useful educational document. Labor unions, farm agencies, and other lay groups which feel keenly the need of less burdensome ways of paying for medical care need to appreciate those conditions of professional organization and remuneration which make for quality of service and to associate themselves with physicians who will cooperate with them constructively.

It is of equal importance that those physicians who appreciate that medical care does not live by doctors alone shall move towards teamwork with large lay agencies. Health insurance has been unjustly decried and misrepresented by those who want to keep the *status quo* or who fight delaying actions. There are others of a different stripe who are convinced that governmental action is necessary if health insurance is to serve more than a small fraction of the population, but who feel anxiety lest a large scale pattern of payment for medical care be set in a form which directly or indirectly would crystallize present methods of furnishing medical service and would seriously delay the evolution of more efficient and more economical forms.

The negative stand of "official" medicine in these matters has deprived this country of a positive professional leadership which is only now beginning to be supplied by a few forward-looking and courageous physicians. *The Journal of the American Medical Association* has just editorialized against this report, criticizing the medical and some non-medical members of the confer-

ence as "representing" only themselves. It does not much matter what individuals represent if they present ideas whose time has come.

The Health Program Conference report represents an effort to integrate professional and economic aims. It is an attempt towards an American pattern of medical care and health insurance, building upon our existing institutions and customs, employing the national, state, and local governments among its instruments, clearing the financial barriers between science and service, and enlarging the powers of medicine, to its own gain, to serve more people and serve them better.

SMALL FARMING

(Continued from page 498)

southern labor at harvest seasons. They protested, however, without avail.

On the "impractical restrictions," however, the lobby was forced to compromise. The planters from Florida to California, and northward to New Jersey, refused to accept domestic labor, white or Negro, to any great extent, and Congress permitted the importation of large numbers of Mexicans, Jamaicans, and Bahamans—but, at the insistence of the Mexican and British colonial governments, at the guaranteed rates.

The promised rates and conditions were not always forthcoming, but the domestic workers not only did not receive the guarantees but widely lost their accustomed work to the newcomers, many of whom are expected to remain after the war. Thus, while much domestic labor was later temporarily absorbed by industry, the farm leadership believes its reservoir of cheap labor has been preserved for the postwar period.

What They Don't Realize

The small farmers whose political support has been indispensable to the passage of this program will not be interested in the plight of this migrant and tenant labor even should they hear of it. They apply the program strictly to themselves.

High prices? Any farmer knows he never seems to catch up, even though he may not keep books to prove it. He is glad to hear of more money for his products. Low wages? He has had his own troubles with hired help—admittedly no longer of the highest quality since the passing of the days when any man by hard work might own his own farm, and "hired out" partly to earn his nest egg and partly for his apprenticeship. Nowadays it is next to impossible to acquire a farm without previous resources, farm work no longer offers much incentive, and the best workers have long been leaving the farm for greener fields. But it does not yet occur to the small farmer that he is in the long run measuring the value of his own work by the wages he pays the man who works beside him.

The small farmer may call himself an entrepreneur if he likes, but he is still competing with the wage labor employed



by large farmers, and any change in prices will do him very little good. It never seems to occur to the letter-writers to the farm press, or to the editorial writers they reflect, that when the prices they receive for farm goods go up so do the prices they pay for other goods—that the only man who can benefit from high prices is he who can stabilize what he pays out at a fixed low level. In other words, the beneficiaries of the high price—low wage policy are the farmers who hire all their work done and depend for their profit on the spread between prices and wages.

Farm Labor Standards

As in business and industry, war production has sharply accelerated the trend away from small farming. The enormous increase of farming has gone mainly to large farmers. Loss of labor and of drafted sons has hurt small farmers far more than large because the small amount of machinery available has necessarily been allocated on the basis of production. Likewise priorities have favored the maintenance of larger farms. Altogether large-scale farmers emerge from the war period in a stronger position while small farmers whose working capital lies mainly in their barns, stock, and equipment, are not always compensated for deterioration by lowered indebtedness.

The displacement of small farmers has been accelerated by lack of labor or labor-saving equipment because longer hours willingly undertaken have often been too much for the older men left behind, as evidenced by the increase of auction notices giving "ill health" as the reason for sale. Further, land prices are rising out of reach of working farmers. A growing number are replaced by absentee owners, some of whom buy specifically to show losses for income tax purposes.

The most far-reaching influence in drawing the pattern of postwar agriculture, however, now promises to be in the disposal of surplus government-owned lands. Not all, but many signs indicate probable sale to large if not speculative buyers. In line with this, great efforts are being made to remove the long-standing restrictions on government-reclaimed lands to family-sized farms.

In sum, the trend toward an industrial agriculture grows more apparent every

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day. Whether or not that trend is believed desirable, according to one's point of view, there is little doubt that unless steps are taken to arrest its decline family farming will eventually be supplanted. The question that must be answered is whether the family farm group is of social importance to the country. If it is assumed to be so, its rehabilitation must start at the very base of its economy.

Proposals are before Congress to include all farm people in the benefits of the Social Security Act. This should, of course, be done. But social security, capital at low rates, rehabilitation at the subsistence level, price supports—these are adjustments forced by the low-wage policy in agriculture in a general low-production economy.

The Value of His Work

Only when a proper value is set upon a farmer's labor can he afford to work an eight-hour day. Contrary to a great deal of sentimental claptrap, nothing prevents him from doing so now but the economic barrier. A farmer has too much to do? The key to industrial hours and conditions is division of labor, and the principle may be applied to agriculture.

Already a progressive few of the large-scale producers in diverse fields, including grain and dairy, work their men on eight-hour shifts. Trends are readily discernible in small farming which will make the same hours possible on an average. It is true that emergencies will make some elasticity of hours necessary, in seeding and harvesting, with sick animals, and so on, but emergencies arise in industry. It is true also that in any business a man is likely to work harder and longer at his

(Continued on page 512)

(In answering advertisements please mention SURVEY GRAPHIC)

SMALL FARMING

(Continued from page 511)

own enterprise. But the choice will be his.

It is possible that plant crops—grain, vegetables, fruit—may be most adaptable to regular hours. Cattlemen work on shifts already, though the hours are longer than eight. The poultry business has been transformed from a backyard affair to the most efficient in agriculture. Hours here are purely an economic matter. Even small dairying will lend itself, for cows are adaptable creatures so long as their hours are regular. It is the summer work which makes the small dairy farmer's hours so long, and to this the principle of division of labor may be applied in a different way. Farmers are already supplementing their crops with purchased hay, beet pulp, and other feeds. There is reason to believe that just as eastern dairy farmers no longer raise their own grain but buy it from mid-western farmers, dairy farmers in all the areas around metropolitan centers will turn their meadows into more valuable pastures, increase their herds, and buy their hay from outlying districts—many of which are also better equipped by weather and terrain.

Money for Machinery

Moreover, for lack of means the small farmer is left out of the technological advance of agriculture. Practically all published advice on making good hay, for instance, presupposes the use of a hay loader and side-delivery rake—impossible for the average small farmer to buy. Without such means for intensive cultivation, he is kept pretty much on the subsistence level, depending on production of his own food and other perquisites for fully half of his return. He is thus able to exchange relatively little of his production for the production of others. If he had the money he could replace the low producers of his milk herd with better stock—to the advantage of everyone. If he were known to have the means to buy the machinery needed, implement manufacturers would no longer merely scale down the machinery designed for large farming, but produce new lines specifically adapted for the new market. His working time would be shortened as his production increased.

Then, too, the rural areas would support increased numbers in the service trades and thereby relieve present overcrowding on the farms. Better education—sorely needed—would follow the leisure and the money for it. With greater purchasing power household appliances would give many a tired farm wife full use of her abilities. The habit of canning hundreds of quarts of food each year would be seen for what it is—drudgery as senseless as hand laundering of blue jeans and hand turning of hay. Hand work would be put in its place—a prideful and pleasant accomplishment—seldom, in peacetime, a necessity.

It may be that the admission of agricultural labor to prevailing wage and hour standards will end in higher food prices. The danger is that—as frequently has hap-

pened before—people will be tricked into believing that higher prices are the panacea and overlook the necessity that the change in labor standards must come first. Consumers should not overlook, also, that a counter influence will be applied by improvements in production and distribution methods. The need for these is widely recognized and a certain amount of such planning is under way.

The whole view is most important. It is not a question of prices, but of purchasing power. The automotive industry lost nothing by paying high wages. And, though most big farmers are blinded to it now by—shall we say—what they conceive to be their dependence on cheap labor, the same step will be of great benefit to industrial agriculture. It should at this late date be needless to point out that the high purchasing power which would derive from high production and full employment would be of infinite benefit to all, both within and without agriculture.

JAMAICA TAKES A CENSUS

(Continued from page 490)

that 364,620—nearly one third of the population—live on farms. Of this total, 20,000 are farm operators, 230,572, farm workers. There are 67,023 farms in the island, with a total acreage of 1,793,490 which gives a general average of 26.8 acres per farm. That, however, is not the true picture of farm life in Jamaica. Broadly speaking there are two kinds of farms—those of five acres and under, owned by the man who works it, and large estates, a relic of slave days. The estates are chiefly sugar-producing—and are still owned by large foreign companies. Tate and Lyle, an English company, operating in Jamaica under the name of West Indies Sugar Company, own the largest block of sugar estates. Because it affords employment for only five months of the year for the farm laborer, the sugar cane industry creates constant partial unemployment.

The agricultural census proved that there was no shortage of meat or of vegetable staples, as had been feared. There is still a great deal of arable land lying idle (311,960 acres). Jamaica could be almost self-supporting if imports were cut off.

When the census was taken, of the 750,159 people between the ages of fifteen to seventy, 503,936 were gainfully occupied. In the wage-earning group of 284,110, only 195,140 were working at that time. On the day of the census, 143,126 were unemployed. Partial unemployment is great in Jamaica; among the wage-earners 57,908 had worked only from 1-20 weeks during the previous year 1942, and 35,302 for but one to three days a week. There were 54,156 under twenty-five years of age who had never had a gainful occupation and were looking for work. So great is the practice of unpaid apprenticeship that 45,669 persons were listed as working without wages.

Although quarrying and stone-breaking represent one of the most arduous tasks performed, there are three times as many

women employed in this occupation as men. These women sit by the side of the roads, breaking stones with small iron hammers from sunrise until sunset. They are paid by the square yard of stone broken.

Political Stirrings

Electoral districts based on the census figures have been established. The first general election under universal suffrage will be held shortly, it is hoped in January, 1945. The British have granted a new constitution which will be tried out under a five-year plan, with the promise of a greater degree of autonomy at the end of that time in the event of success. The effort to obtain the constitution was led by the People's National Party, which has followed the policy of demanding responsible government now and complete self-government eventually. Its program is truly democratic and progressive and all its plans are for the development of Jamaica and its industries by Jamaicans, where possible, and with expert foreign help where necessary. The party leader, Norman Washington Manley, is a distinguished barrister and a consistent patriot. It is significant that most of the plans advanced by the People's National Party have been adopted.

The planters and merchants—comprising the moneyed class generally—have banded themselves into a party called the Democratic, but really conservative in character. Their object is to preserve as much of the old system as possible.

The third important party, led by Alexander Bustamante, calls itself the voice of the laboring masses. Though the leader is magnetic, this Labor Party has no definite policy. It declares that it stands for self government, but for no stated reasons.

The war relieved unemployment considerably. Thousands were engaged in the construction of the American naval base. Thousands are now in military service. Some 10,000 have been sent this year to the United States under a special war emergency agreement to aid in the harvesting of crops.

In fact, thanks to the war emergency Jamaica was enjoying a measure of prosperity when late in August of this year it was hit by a devastating hurricane. The farms in the whole northern and northwestern sections of the island were swept bare and there has been considerable damage to towns and farm buildings, leaving hundreds homeless, though few deaths occurred. A quick survey of the island showed that there are approximately three coconut trees in every hundred standing and the banana trees in the north and northwest are down. Small crops have been uprooted and half the citrus has suffered.

It will take the island about five years to recover; in an agricultural country, every form of industry is affected by such a catastrophe. Bananas take only ten months to grow but coconuts and citrus each take five years. At first, clearing of debris and replanting will give employment, but repercussions, especially on the trades people, clerks, and middle class workers are bound to follow in a few months.



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THE AMERICAS: South and North (which dealt with the Western Hemisphere in Wartime; March 1941);

COLOR: Unfinished Business of Democracy (which ranged from Atlanta to Africa and the South Pacific; November 1942);

FROM WAR TO WORK (which early held up full employment as a postwar goal, here and everywhere; May 1943).

As in **AMERICAN RUSSIAN FRONTIERS** (February 1944), now in its second edition, it will deal with our relations with another great partner of ours in World War II.

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"**AGENDA FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE**": In *Survey Graphic* for January, Stuart Chase will follow up his realistic analysis of **BIG GOVERNMENT** (lead article in this issue) with a sheer stroke of creative prophecy.

Its setting is a mythical mountain conference before the war's end—high up above the smokescreens of propaganda issuing from the tents of the mighty (**Big Business, Big Farmers, Big Labor**).



—1945—

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HEALING WATERS FOR A WOUNDED EARTH. This last month the White House has thrown down the gauge of making the river basins of the United States great footholds for postwar development and revival. That's up our street.

Beginning in July, in collaboration with Morris L. Cooke, engineer and public servant, we have brought out articles interpreting the huge wartime tasks of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the drive of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* to enlist newspaper editors in nine states to match the TVA in the Missouri Valley. And, no less, the promise embedded in the basin of the San Francisco, which runs like the Nile, south to north—through Brazilian country as thirsty as Egypt.

Survey Graphic for January will turn from South America to West Africa. M. Maurice Claude Rossin, state engineer, will tell the even more dramatic story of what's afoot in the Niger Valley, which gave its name to a race, and which is ready for fresh adventure in liberty, equality, fraternity—at the hands of a new France.

Later articles will range from the Great Central Valley of California to the Danube Valley, key to Central Europe.

PENICILLIN, JET PROPULSION, TELEVISION, SYNTHETICS—these are among the wonders wrought by science in a period of production miracles. Speeded up in wartime, they are bound to bring changes all down the line in our ways of life and livelihood. Beginning in January, *Survey Graphic* will assess some of these entries on both sides of the grim ledger of war in a stirring series of articles on the new technology, edited by Beulah Amidon; with Waldemar Kaempffert, scientific editor of the *New York Times*, as counselor.

These will canvass how revolutionary discoveries, applications, and attitudes can—if we make them serve us rather than upset us—speed, transportation and communication, improve the things we eat and wear and use, halt epidemics, banish hunger from the planet, throw open vast vistas for healthier and more secure living

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MORE TO COME. Another sheaf of arresting announcements can be looked for at the turn of the year with respect to such fields as

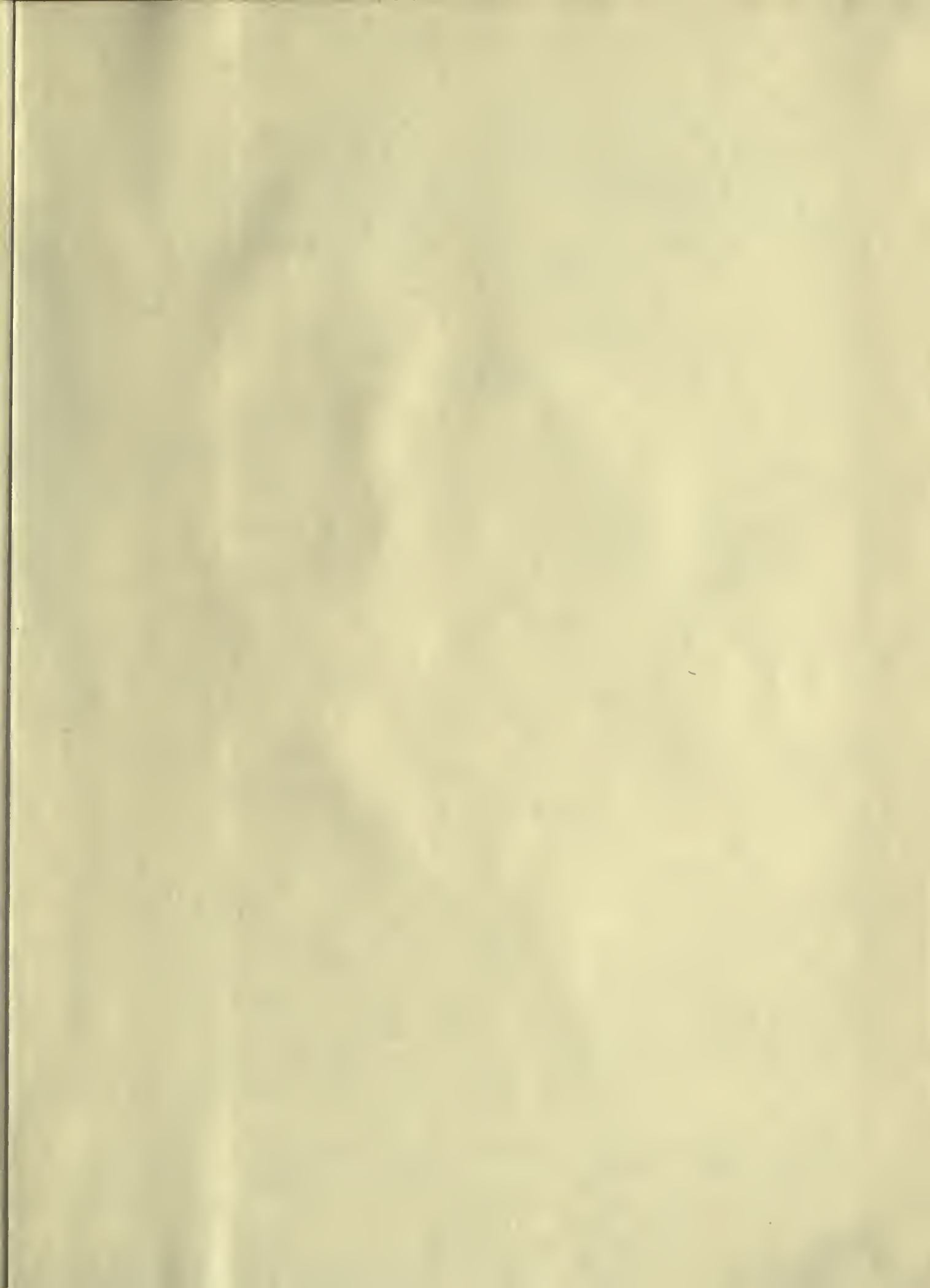
CIVIL LIBERTIES in the epoch of transition. Are we to put the freedoms we've fought for to new account, or let them lapse in a postwar epoch of intolerance such as that of the early '20's?

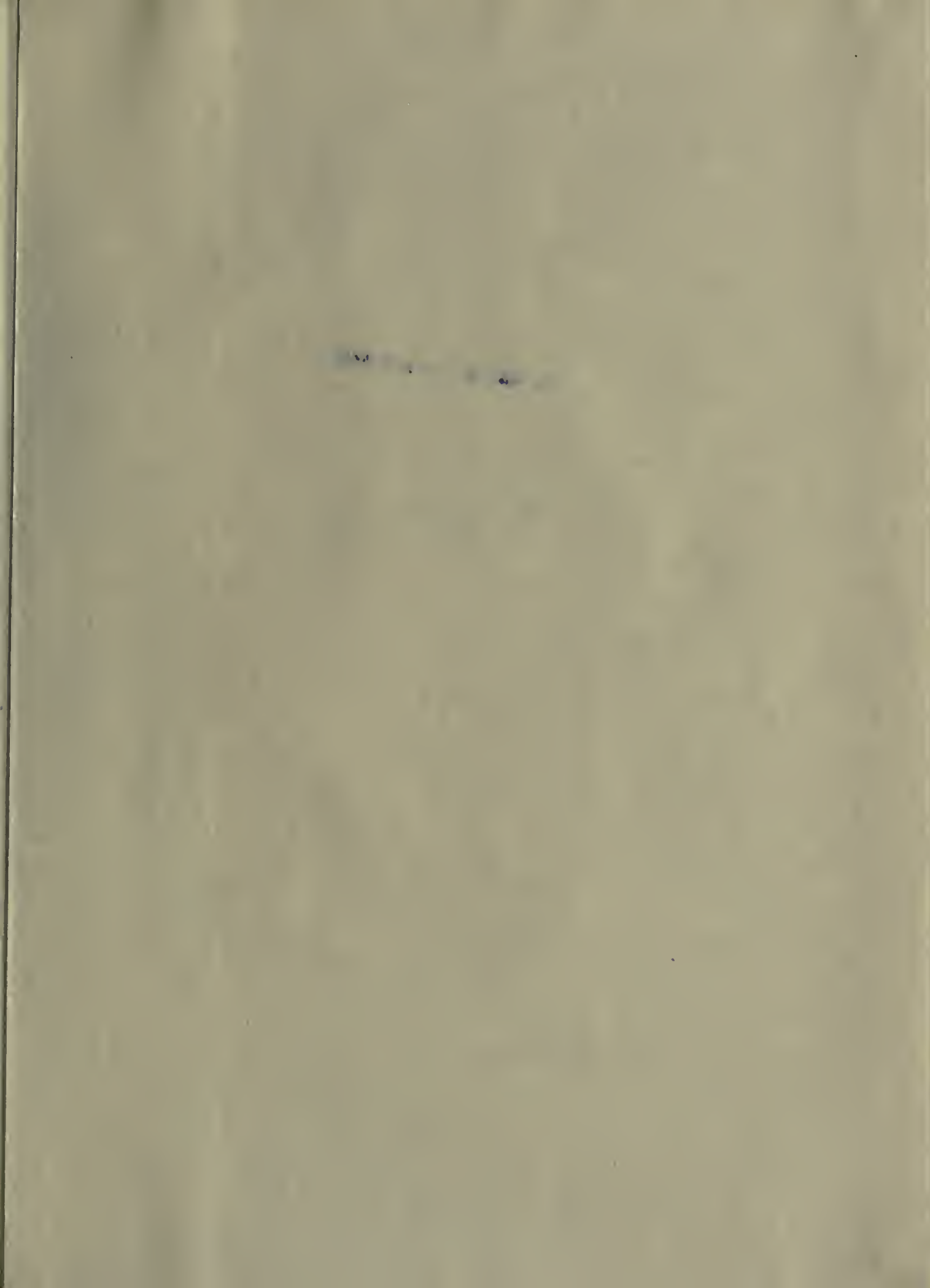
THE FORTUNES OF SERVICEMEN AND WAR WORKERS—and the claims on governmental and social agencies in the coming days of demobilization and reconversion.

WORKERS EDUCATION—the "know-how" which wartime demonstrations—both in the armed services and in the defense industries—bring to an industrial democracy in pulling itself up by the bootstraps in a lifelong, changing world.

HEALTH—from nutrition and medical care, through the advances in prevention and control of tuberculosis, cancer, heart disease, to those through which organized medical service will come abreast of organized medical science. [See, in this issue, "Health for the Nation" by Michael M. Davis, chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics.]

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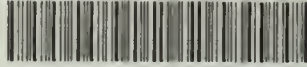
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